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4 September 1985

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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ANGOLA

MINISTER OF INTERIOR DELIVERS ANNIVERSARY MESSAGE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 23 Jun 85 p 2

[Message from Lt Col Alexandre Rodrigues ("Kito") on the 6th Anniversary of the Interior Ministry]

[Text] Strengthen Coordination between Defense and Security Agencies

On the occasion of the 6th anniversary of the establishment of the Interior Ministry, Comrade Alexandre Rodrigues "Kito," member of the Political Bureau of the MPLA-Labor Party and Angolan interior minister, addressed a message to the officers, sergeants, agents, soldiers, and workers of this organization which we publish in its entirety below.

Text of Message

It has been precisely 6 years since the Interior Ministry was created through Law No. 7-79, dated 22 June, of the Council of the Revolution.

This marked the end of the Secretariat of State for Internal Order which had been created a little more than a year ago and which included various agencies charged with the maintenance of internal order; these agencies had been scattered throughout various ministries and that helped prevent the inefficient dispersion of human and material resources.

After a little more than a year and as a result of a decision by the Central Committee of the Party, the various government agencies were reviewed and some changes were introduced in an effort to improve the organization of the central and local administration of the state and its adaptation to the requirements of the country's economic-social development; State Security was taken out of the Interior Ministry and was established as a new ministry--the Ministry of State Security.

The first few years of our ministry were years of tenacious struggle in the search for solutions facilitating the adaptation of its organization structure, its operations, and the working method of the divisions which had constituted it and which, as we all know, had been profoundly marked by an administrative and bureaucratic concept, not permitting a prompt, overall, and effective response in the fight against the countless and multifaceted situations

that disturbed the country's internal order. The 6 years of existence of our ministry were really not easy since objective and subjective factors were combined in a manner unfavorable for the normal development of our activities.

However, and in spite of the difficulties we faced, significant results were achieved in the accomplishment of our tasks in the political, educational, and party areas; here we must underscore the action and dynamism of the party's base organizations, the JMPLA [Youth of the Popular Movement for Liberation of Angola] Party Youth and the party commissions attached to the national political directorate and the provincial political directorate of the ministry, presently engaged in the process of growth of the party and of party youth and in the perfection of its organization so that the guidelines and decisions of our vanguard party, the MPLA-Labor Party, may be carried out completely.

Looking at the specific area of concern of our ministry, which is the central organ of the state machinery, charged with developing and executing the policy charted by the party and by the state concerning prevention, investigation, and repression of criminal and antisocial conduct, responsible for the maintenance of public order and peace and the exercise of control over the population as well as the re-education of criminals, protection of community and private property as well as human lives, defense against fire and other disasters--these were carried out satisfactorily by the various agencies, regarding their respective tasks, under the conditions determined by the rather disturbed political, economic, and social situations which the country which the country has been going through as well as the shortage of resources.

On the other hand, we must single out the efforts and the fighting spirit which our entire personnel force has in general been displaying in an effort to overcome the difficulties with which we had to struggle at each and every step.

The spirit of sacrifice and self-denial revealed by the personnel force of our ministry has indeed been laudable; even under difficult conditions, our personnel spared no efforts in order faithfully to discharge their obligations, both at their assigned posts and on the battle fronts, side by side with the valiant fightingmen of our glorious FPLA in the progressive breakup of the armed puppet bands which, in the pay of Pretoria and international imperialism, have been trying to hinder the advance of our revolutionary process.

The 6th anniversary of our ministry's establishment is taking place during a year in which the entire nation will mark one of the most highly significant historical dates for our people, our party, for Africa and for the world, that is to say, the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the People's Republic of Angola, the same year during which the Second Party Congress was held. Other important events have taken place or will take place throughout this year. Here we might mention the first national conference of the MPLA-Labor Party and the Ministerial Conference of the Nonaligned Countries which is scheduled to take place within a few months.

In a desperate attempt to force us to accept its neocolonialist policy, the enemy will do everything to tarnish these important events in order to sabotage our achievements, to discredit our institutions, to destabilize our economy, and to shake the confidence which our people has in the party.

This is why we must permanent strengthen our organization, make cooperation more effective not only between the agencies constituting our ministry, but also with other defense and security organization, especially.

In the speech delivered the solemn opening of the First National Party Conference, Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos emphasized "It is therefore necessary for the competent agencies of the party and the state to continue to make every effort to overcome the shortcomings that still exist."

It is therefore indispensable for each worker of our ministry, in general, to fight in order to strengthen our structures, to fight for the improvement of our work methods, for strict compliance with procedures at all levels, for active and conscious participation in political, educational, and party activities, in order better to understand and keep up with the domestic and foreign policy pursued by the party.

The activities we must develop are in effect many and complex and therefore we must with firm confidence in the party commit ourselves more and more consciously to this struggle in an active, courageous, and honest form, with a high spirit of discipline, daily implementing alert vigilance, so as to deserve the confidence placed in us by the party and the government and especially by our commander-in-chief, Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

In celebrating the 6th anniversary of the establishment of the Interior Ministry today, I bow with profound respect before the memory of the heroes who fell for the noble cause of our revolution and, with every revolutionary warmth, I wish all of our personnel, in the various trenches of this struggle, much success in their tasks, so that the results of the contribution of all of us to the consolidation of the revolutionary gains achieved so far with so much sacrifice by our heroic people may be positive.

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ANGOLA

FORMER FNLA OFFICIAL ON ORGANIZATION, HOLDEN ROBERTO

Maputo DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 22 Jul 85 p 3

[Interview with Johnny Eduardo Pinock: "Secret Tales of Conspiracy Against People's Republic of Angola--Story Told by Former Prime Minister of Holden Roberto"]

[Excerpt] Johnny Eduardo Pinock has a long story to tell: The story of his political career from number-2 man of the FNLA and prime minister, via the FNLA the Angola transition government, all the way to his return to Angolan society. It is a story with many episodes some of which were revealed for the first time in the interview which Pinock gave to O DIARIO: The real face of Holden Roberto and the true identify of the FNLA chief in 1975-1976, the Spínola plan to perpetuate rule over Angola and the recent undertaking of the United States to regroup the FNLA and UNITA. The interview subject spoke from personal knowledge which he acquired because he was a party to some of these events. As for Spínola's neocolonialist plan, for example, Pinock accompanied Mobutu to Sal Island where the project was presented. He also met with Mario Soares in Tunis and, as for those persons who today act and speak in Portugal in the name of the FNLA, he has a very precise idea: "They are wasting their time."

Johnny Eduardo Pinock answered the questions put to him by O DIARIO in Luanda where he has been living since he returned to Angolan society, without holding back. "I am free. I say what I think. I go where I want to go," he said.

Question: Tell us about your career since you were number-2 man of FNLA and until you returned to Angolan society.

Answer: This is a long story. I decided to return to this country after a period of reflection. I had fought with conviction in the FNLA; the objection was the liberation and construction of a really independent and united Angola, free of any exploitation. But over the years I came to realize that Holden and his bosses were undermining the fighting spirit of the people who trusted the movement.

Holden Roberto's mask fell completely in 1975 when, after the establishment of the transition government, he did not want to come to Angola. I must say, regarding the period of the transition government that, although almost all of the FNLA leaders were present in Luanda, the decision-making center remained in Kinshasa where Holden Roberto had stayed. Holden Roberto decided to enter the Angolan capital only after the evacuation of Luanda by the FNLA forces; he worked hard to recruit American and Portuguese mercenaries, allying himself with racist forces of South Africa which at that time supported UNITA with which the ephemeral government of Huambo was forced.

On returning to Kinshasa in January 1976, I addressed a letter to President Antonio Agostinho Neto, proposing a kind of historical compromise in which the most effective leaders of the FNLA stated that they were at the service of the party in power, the MPLA, for national reconstruction. As was to be expected, that proposal produced a burst of indignation from Holden Roberto and his aides. The only ones to support the idea were the members of the FNLA general staff who later on established the COMIRA [Military Committee of the Resistance in Angola] and who today have returned to Angola. Holden Roberto was afraid to admit the failure of the movement because of his blind policy, his dictatorship, and his unnatural compromises with fascist circles; above all he tried to shift the blame for his failure on others and he even wanted to send innocent individuals taken from among the people to their deaths.

This is when I decided to dissociate myself from him and from the FNLA progressively.

Question: What did the Spínola plan consist of specifically?

Answer: I can talk about that problem because I accompanied President Mobutu to the meeting with Spínola. Spínola presented his plan which was to establish a so-called federation of multiracial states in the Portuguese colonies, including in Angola, with a certain degree of autonomy although Portugal would handle foreign relations, defense, and economy.

Question: And did he want support from the FNLA for this plan?

Answer: From the FNLA and from the puppet groups that were being created in Angola.

Question: What about the MPLA?

Answer: He excluded the MPLA.

Question: Were there any more contacts with the Portuguese after independence?

Answer: Yes, there were contacts with various delegations. But I do not have any details on that. I only know that Col Santos e Castro was the link between Holden Roberto and those Portuguese.

FNLA No Longer Exists

Question: Does the FNLA still exist all of this? What is there left of the FNLA?

Answer: I can tell you quite truthfully that the FNLA no longer exists. Not because it was kicked out of Kinshasa, which was its traditional headquarters. It does not exist because of the determination of the majority of the members constituting the movement. Of course, an individual or even a handful of individuals might continue to say that they belong to the FNLA or there might be a leader who might say that the FNLA goes on.

But initially the FNLA essentially was a liberation movement. It made mistakes, it had shortcomings, but, after all, it was fighting. However, the moment it stopped fighting, I think the movement ceased to exist. It cannot exist simply because of the will of one or two individuals, 6,000 kilometers from here, or because of the will of the Americans who continue to support Holden Roberto, 14,000 kilometers from here. This happens only perhaps to justify the funds which they have received.

But, in all sincerity, FNLA no longer exists. There was former militants, former cadres, and former leaders who do not want to return, some because of their bitterness and others out of fear of having to face the country's reality. But I know that they will return sooner or later.

Question: But they continue to show up in Portugal speaking in the name of the FNLA.

Answer: First of all, this is due to the ambiguity of the political position of those who run Portugal today. It is my opinion that Angola's independence and the socialist option of the MPLA turned them into men full of hate, men who are still at war, something which is still in the hearts of many Portuguese. It is up to those Portuguese men in power to root these feelings out of their mentality and nostalgia and face the situation such as it is in reality.

I believe that Portugal must make a major and intelligent effort to ensure the centuries-old bonds of friendship that exist between the Portuguese people and the Angolan people. This tragic reality which is represented by the quasi-official support given by Portugal's present leaders to these puppet grouplets, that spoils relations between Portugal and Angola. It is sad that, 10 years after the downfall of fascism, certain Portuguese leaders act as if Angola were still a colony. This is unacceptable. I think that they have the obligation completely to prohibit the actions of those individuals who operate freely in Portugal against Angola. It is a waste of time to try to impose neocolonialist regimes on the Angola people. They will not prevail.

Question: Looking at the individuals who are operating in Portugal in the name of the FNLA, specifically, for example, a man such as Mateus Santos, whom do they represent anyway?

Answer: Mateus Santos was a rancher in the region of Uige. A settler. I knew him in Kinshasa and I figured out that he was a tremendously ambitious person. Now, what does he want? Does he want to be president? A man who even has trouble writing his own name? Those gentlemen must know that Angola is already a free country. It does not have to be liberated twice.

The trouble is that Portugal, till the end of time, will always be the former home country of Angola. From that point on, everything that is done from Portugal in relation to Angola produces an important echo.

I know--since I am in the country--that the leaders of the MPLA-labor party do not interfere in the situation in Portugal. But the same thing is not happening in Portugal with relation to Angola. I therefore repeat that it is the duty of the Portuguese leaders to make an effort to safeguard the bonds of cooperation which must exist. I am convinced that Angola will never accept cooperation forced upon it; instead, it will accept cooperation based on a state of free conscience and on the basis of mutually corresponding interests.

UNITA Is the Creation of Colonialism

Question: Was there some attempt to try once again to get the FNLA together with UNITA?

Answer: There was. There were several attempts along these lines starting in 1980 by the Americans, by certain African countries, which I hope you will forgive me for not mentioning here, as well as the Portuguese circles who had settled in South Africa and of course South Africa itself that wanted to force the FNLA between the devil and the deep blue sea. But that plan was rejected by some of the FNLA leaders and by all of the military members of the COMIRA. We might say that this even helped get them closer to the MPLA.

The fact that is that UNITA was never even a nationalist movement. It is a creation of colonialism. Savimbi was in the FNLA and got out because he was very ambitious and he wanted to be president of something. So he created UNITA, not to fight against Portuguese colonialism. On the contrary he was with the colonists and today he is a simple tool of South African policy.

Question: In the meantime, there were individuals who belonged to the FNLA and who are fighting side by side with the South Africans.

Answer: There are members who came from the FNLA in the so-called Buffalo Battalion. I had contact with some of them and many expressed the desire to return to the country. But the situation of the moment did not permit these contacts to go forward. If it were up to them, I believe they would already be back in Angola. But the South Africans do not want them to leave, they try to continue to use them as a spearhead against Angola.

Question: What do you have to say to your former comrades who settled in Portugal?

Answer: That those who dream of a neocolonist regime are simply wasting their time. That has no future in Angola. The only way to be honorable is to return to help rebuild the country without any second thoughts. I believe that in the history of Africa there is no other case where a party in power tried to get former enemies to join its own armed forces, as was done in Angola. As for those who do not want to return, let them leave the Angolan people in peace. Let them no longer think of an imaginary FNLA which no longer exists.

We had two duties: To liberate the country and to rebuild it. The country is free. Now the important thing is to rebuild it and the war is the factor that siphons most energy and resources away from reconstruction. Do we have problems in Angola? Yes, sir. But they are our problems and we are the ones who have to tackle them.

The Angolan Family

"We create COMIRA, the Military Committee of the Angolan Resistance as the military branch of the FNLA to distinguish ourselves from the FNLA-Holden Roberto," said former Commander Tonta, adding that "The desire for reconciliation existed among the military personnel but was opposed by certain political leaders of the FNLA in keeping with the interests of foreign powers."

Misunderstandings within the FNLA became worse in the wake of the military defeat suffered in 1975-1976 when, in the final analysis, the military leaders realized that somebody in the political leadership of the FNLA was diverting for his use a large part of the equipment and all of the funds. At the same time, the conflict between the military leaders and the Portuguese, British, and American mercenaries only made the internal crisis of the FNLA worse.

"In view of this situation we decided to remove the entire leadership of the FNLA and to create COMIRA," said Afonso Tonta.

Of the triumvirate left by Holden Roberto in Zaire to run the FNLA, when he withdrew to the United States--Hendrick Val Neto, Ngola Cabango, and Paulo Tuba--only the latter supported the positions of the military leaders in terms of "integrating the Angolan family," the former chief of staff of COMIRA added. In the meantime, Tuba himself accepted asylum in the United States when Mobutu announced the expulsion of the FNLA from Zaire. Alfonso Tonta then said that these military leaders "decided to stand firm in order to work out a solution." When contacts materialized with the MPLA-Labor Party and with representatives of the new Angolan government, the COMIRA military leaders took the opportunity.

FNLA Exists only in Papers

Alfonso Tonta, the former chief of staff of COMIRA had this to say during a ceremony recently held in Kuilo-Kuango, where he took the oath before the state security

of the RPA [Angolan People's Republic]: "I am ready to defend the fatherland at any moment, to comply with the Constitution and the laws of People's Republic of Angola, and to defend the gains of the Angolan revolution."

In the interview he gave O DIARIO, in his home in the city of Huige, Alfonso Tonta said that he feels "perfectly integrated."

He took the oath on the flag as a soldier of the FAPLA and has already participated in delicate political and military missions specifically in the southern part of Angola. As officer of the Angolan Army, Alfonso Tonta also talked about the enemy who must be fought today.

"UNITA no longer exists. It was a creation of colonialism to prevent the independence of Angola and it is today being exploited and manipulated by the South Africans. Savimbi only tells lies to justify the funds he gets from South Africa. Since he can only tell lies, this means that his end is near. He says that UNITA wants to liberate. But liberate whom--if UNITA kills old people and children and destroys the economy? Liberate from whom if UNITA does what the South Africans order it to do to prevent peace in Angola and the evolution of the Angolan people?"

As for the ex-FNLA and COMIRA, Afonso Tonta is quite peremptory: "They no longer exist."

In Portugal, however, under the cover the impunity which the Portuguese government has granted it, the FNLA is still visible or somebody who speaks out in the name of the FNLA. The former chief of staff of COMIRA knows them only too well: "They are the opportunists who escaped in 1976, after the defeat, such as Jose Reballo, who gives interviews and issues announcements to survive. They keep on dreaming. The FNLA of those who speak out in Portugal, in Paris, and in the United States exists only in the papers."

Historical Reintegration

It is not common for a war to end with the victor opening his arms to the vanquished and to receive him and give him a place in society. This is what is happening in the northern part of Angola as a result of the reintegration policy.

This village remained unconquered during all wars. Camouflaged in the dense forest of a mountain area in the northeastern part of the province of Uige, it was the location of the central FNLA base since the 1960's. Today, a senior officer of the FAPLA general staff and the former chief of staff of the ex-FNLA/COMIRA meet in Kuilo-Kuango, shake hands and say: "We are together."

On 5 May, Col Dino Matross, the state security minister of the RPA, graduated 17 officers and 29 sergeants of the FAPLA and five community commissioners of the MPLA-Labor Party all of whom had come from the former FNLA. The ceremony marked the high point in the first phase of the reintegration policy

implemented by the MPLA-Labor Party in keeping with the policy of clemency ordered in 1978 by President Agostinho Neto. The reintegration process takes 10 months but all those who attended the ceremony in Kuilo-Kuango were aware that this event closed a much longer phase in the Angolan revolutionary process and was a unique historical moment.

"We are all Angolans and it was not good for us to continue the war, in other words, to continue to kill each other, especially now that there are no more colonizers and colonized and that the RPA is threatened by enemies manipulated from the outside," said the former chief of staff of the ex-FNLA/COMIRA, the former Commander [Major] Alfonso Castro Tonta, who had already taken the oath as an officer of the FAPLA and who, together with former commanders Salva and Timoteo, will be taking a senior officer course in a country that is friendly to the RPA.

"We are Angolans and as Angolans we must work together for national unity and the country's reconstruction," said former Commander Zage Calenda Borges, of the former FNLA, who recently reported to the Angolan authorities with his aide, the former Commander Mendes Santana, and another 25 military personnel plus 290 civilians who had lived with them as refugees in the forest of Pumba Sai, in the township of Dange.

In 10 Months

Initial contacts were established in the northern part of Angola in July 1984 between leaders of the MPLA-Labor Party and elements of the ex-FNLA/COMIRA with a view to their reintegration. After 10 months of intensive and persistent political work, about 20,000 civilians who live in the forests and 1,500 military personnel of the ex-FNLA/COMIRA, some of whom obtained advanced training in China, India, and Tunisia, have been integrated into Angolan society. Only a few individuals traditionally tied to the FNLA and to Holden Roberto are left in the forest but they do not want to engage in any military activities; they confine themselves to hoping for a "Mr Sebastian" dressed in Khaki and wearing dark glasses.

The first returnees took the oath as members of the FAPLA in November 1984; some of them have already participated in operations against UNITA. Now they have formed the 1st Tactical Battalion of the Northern Military Region, commanded by 1st Lt Pedro Messias, who is likewise a returnee.

But the reintegration policy is not confined to military objectives. In the areas covered, over these past 10 months, 25 schools have been opened and will be attended by 6,470 pupils, along with 17 health stations with services staffed by male nurses; access roads are being built and support is given to construction work, the sale of farm products has been started and stores have been opened; political and ideological training and refresher courses are about to be given; the five community commissioners who were sworn in at Kuilo-Kuango have already graduated from this course. During the ceremony they swore "to respect and to see to compliance with the constitutional law of the People's Republic of Angola to defend the independence, sovereignty, unity, and integrity of the fatherland."

The reintegration process now going on in Uige is being watched with great interest and expectations throughout the territory of Angola. More than all of the considerations of a social nature which it arouses, the process reveals the great leadership capacity and the deep hold of the MPLA-Labor Party. Integration is moving forward successfully because the returnees find an organized, mobilized society led by a strong revolutionary party that is united on its principles and that is firm in the execution of its doctrine.

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CSO: 3442/363

ANGOLA

AGRIBUSINESS COMPLEX MANAGER ON SUGAR HARVEST PROBLEMS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 23 Jun 85 p 3

[Article by Osvaldo Goncalves: "There are People Who Do Not Know What a Sugar Harvest is Like"]

[Text] This year's sugar harvest at the "1 May" agribusiness complex in the province of Benguela, is facing various difficulties springing from many problems which that production unit is experiencing, as Carlos Alberto da Silva, the general manager, told JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Catumbela.

Discussing the situation in detail, the general manager of what used to be Cassequel told our team of reporters, concerning the lack of fertilizer, that "many people do not know that preparation for a sugar harvest has to be started the year before and that was the main problem."

Another problem that came up this year was the rise of the Catumbela River water which caused flooding in the plantation. According to Carlos Alberto da Silva, the damage caused by the heavy rainfall has been estimated at about 12,500,000 Kwanzas.

The energy shortage, as was reported earlier, likewise during this year's production at this particular production unit, made repair work that became necessary in the factory even more difficult; this further delayed the start of the harvest because the processing machines were not working.

Another problem besetting that production unit--which the manager referred to as a major problem--is the delay in the payment of worker wages.

According to Carlos Alberto da Silva, the money to pay the workers of that production unit comes from the general government budget since the production of sugar and alcohol "causes enough of a loss" and since the government approved a resolution giving priority to this sector in view of its importance. But some delays have arisen and right now a survey is being conducted in the BNA [National Bank of Angola] on the records for the months of February and March which, as the manager said, will "will solve some of the problems."

The last question asked--which is a subject all by itself--had to do with the theft of sugarcane at the plantation; this has inflicted severe damage on the sugar harvest. By way of example, the general manager of this complex said that last year the theft of sugarcane totalled about 83,000 tons of stalks.

Contacts with agencies concerned with this matter have been maintained in an effort to get the violators to pay for the crimes they committed. Likewise, the workers at the production unit are doing a tremendous job watching the area under the organization of the self-defense committee which patrols the plantation and which has already nabbed some fellow citizens in this way.

Production Unit Organization

On the road leading from the city of Lobito the community of Catumbela, the visitor's eyes can get lost in a vast ocean of stalks and green leaves which grow like the papyrus on the Nile. All of this, covering an area of about 4,850 hectares of land, belongs to the "1 May" agribusiness complex, a production unit under the Central Sugar Enterprise.

This production unit was nationalized in 1976 and put under the OSUKA (Central Sugar Enterprise) in 1979; but before that date it belonged to the National Sugar Enterprise. It employs 3,523 workers (a number that can increase during the harvest to 3,600) of whom only 50 are women; this difference is primarily due to the characteristics of the work done there.

The output capacity has been estimated at 70 tons per hectare, in other words, about 25,000 tons of product which is processed into sugar and alcohol and which is shipped to OSUKA, the controlling enterprise, which distributes it, covering the entire central and southern areas, through the industry enterprises of the Ministry of Defense and through dealers.

The production unit's production areas are subdivided into three branches: Administrative, agricultural, and processing. The administration branch is made up of the general management support sectors, such as human resources, finances, and others; the agricultural branch has to do with the cane planting and cutting work; the manufacturing branch covers the product processing sectors and the repair workshops.

According to the production unit's general manager, the persons who work there are enough in number to keep up the production effort; this is helped along by the mass and social organizations. In addition to that, the complex has the support of foreign workers, specifically Portuguese Cape Verdeans and Cuban internationalists.

Right now, the processing division of this complex is undergoing general repairs; this always happens after the harvest and is intended for equipment maintenance; this takes about 5 months and it is scheduled to end in July.

Social Conditions

As for the social conditions of the workers, this production unit has an organized cooperative in which all workers are partners. It also has a dining room with a capacity of 7,000 meals per day and a medical facility with two nurses.

In an effort to solve the housing problems of the workers, the complex has various worker settlement and developments with the plantations in the background; most of the production unit's workers live there.

Working mothers get the benefit provided for by law; this includes leave for 1 month before and 2 months after birth. But there is no nursery; according to Carlos Alberto da Silva such a facility would not be justified because of the small number of women working at the enterprise; on the other hand, mothers with children are entitled to 1 hour's rest per day to care for the child.

The new wage scale is already fully in effect and the workers are insured by ENSA (National Insurance Company).

The literacy training effort is also being carried out at the production unit and, according to the general manager, it has reached excellent levels; this caused the outfit to be considered an outstanding enterprise on the municipal and provincial levels. This year, 343 workers are attending the literacy training classes during four adult education semesters.

According to the general manager, illiteracy has not yet been completely eradicated because of the way the farm workers keep moving around; most of them are cane cutters and when the harvest is over, they go back to their own home villages and towns; many times they do not even return; this means that the management has to accept new workers without almost any skills, thus starting the training cycle all over again.

Political and Social Organization of Workers

The workers at the "1 May" agribusiness complex are organized in a party committee at the workplace, consisting of three cells. There are also two nuclei of the JMPLA [Youth Movement of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] of the Party and steps are being taken to organize the women in the OMA [Angolan Women's Organization]. The production unit also has a labor union commission made up of 11 full-time members and four alternates.

Worker participation in activities marking 1 May this year included about 1,500 officials and the general manager thought that this was excellent.

This Year's Harvest Prospects No Encouraging

"The prospects for this year are not any better than what they were last year," our team of reporters was told by Carlos Alberto da Silva, the general manager

of the "1 May" sugar refinery, who added: "The outlook is much worse because of the difficulties I mentioned earlier."

According to this official, the lack of fertilizer, the flooding of the Catumbela River, and the excessive theft of cane greatly reduced the output. In this way, the complex expects to drop from the figure 70 tons per hectare to only 45 tons per hectare; this is a considerable productivity drop as compared to the 1977-1978 index when the figure was about 22,000 tons of cane; it is quite difficult to reach the same figures last year which had been calculated at only 17,000 tons.

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CSO: 3342/365

ANGOLA

BRIEFS

UNTA MEETING IN CABINDA--The fifth meeting of the provincial council of the National Union of Angolan Workers ended on Thursday in Cabinda after an analysis of the reports from the secretariat and the provincial unions. The proposals for the reshaping of the provincial unions deserves particular attention on the part of the first secretaries of the provincial units, the city representations of UNTA [National Union of Angolan Workers], and the delegates from the various activity branches who participate in the meeting. The Angolan labor union controls 14,507 workers in Cabinda with 1,258 workers, including 11 women, in the petroleum extraction branch. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 23 Jun 85 p 12] 5058

TRANSPORT OF MERCHANDISE--About 2,200 tons of miscellaneous goods, including food and industrial articles, were shipped from the warehouses of EDIMBA [expansion unknown] in the township of Lobito to the city of Sumbe for a period of 10 days as part of an operation including more than 70 government and private vehicles. This initiation was taken by provincial commissioner Ramos da Cruz and was due to the shortage the province is experiencing in daily necessities that were being held back in the commercial port of Lobito since all food products and industrial articles consumed by the people of Southern Kwanza are distributed from that port. Local authorities were persuaded to use land transport because of the start of repair work (for an unspecified period of time) on the pier-bridge of the port of Porto-Amboim where the goods are unloaded for subsequent distribution to the townships in the province [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 23 Jun 85 p 12] 5058

PERMANENT BRIGADES FOR REGISTRATION, IDENTIFICATION--The Special Party Congress has ordered the registration and identification of the population to be stepped up; this effort has been given much attention by the Ministry of Justice. In spite of the efforts that have been made so far, it has not yet been possible to achieve the increased desired for this activity due to the lack of some materials, especially photographic equipment and transportation equipment. Some work is being done however since the program can fall back on official support in particular regarding the shortages mentioned above. Right now, a mobile brigade is operating in the Province of Bengo, registering and identifying the workers of ACUNOR-UEE [expansion unknown] as a result of the combined efforts of the provincial police commission's office and the enterprise management. On the other hand,

officials of the National Directorate of Registers, Notariat, and Identification are going to travel throughout the Province of Uige where it will be necessary to organize a brigade which will be able not only to register and identify a large portion of workers who do not have any papers but which will also be able to take care of those people who have returned so far and who cannot show any papers proving their identity and citizenship. Last year, the identification services issued 344,782 identity cards. During the first quarter of this year, 78,519 identity cards have already been issued. [Text][Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 23 Jun 85 p 2] 5058

CSO: 3442/365

MOZAMBIQUE

NEW IMPETUS TO CLAIM SOVIET SCHOLARSHIPS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 11 Jul 85 p 1

[Text] A new impetus for the training of specialized cadres on the higher and intermediate levels may be noted starting this year, with the total utilization of 163 study grants provided to our country annually by the Soviet Union. This fact results from the effort undertaken by the Mozambican Government in the field of education, which has been reflected in the rising number of graduates and the improvement of organizational conditions, both on the Soviet side and that of Mozambique. To formalize the enrollment of the grant holders in USSR universities, a delegation from the USSR's Ministry of Higher and Intermediate Specialized Education visited the RPM from 28 June to 5 July, for meetings with the Ministry of Education.

This information was supplied to our newspaper by Vitaliy Karelin, full professor and director of the Preparatory School at Lomonossov University in Moscow, and confirmed by a source from the foreign relations department of our country's Ministry of Education.

Vitaliy Karelin visited Mozambique to formalize the enrollment of Mozambicans in the Soviet institutions of higher and intermediate specialized education, along with the authorities associated with education.

The courses for foreign students last 6 and 4 years, for higher and intermediate education, respectively.

Thus far, 227 Mozambicans have completed higher and intermediate courses in various fields in the Soviet Union, depending on the country's requirements; and another 337 are continuing their studies.

The representative from the Soviet Ministry of Higher and Intermediate Education said that, to date, of the 163 grants provided annually, Mozambique has only used between 100 and 120.

Distribution of Grants

According to our source, of the 163 grants, 115 have been provided on the basis of interstate agreements between the USSR and the People's Republic of Mozambique,

and distributed as follows: 105 for the higher course, and three for the finishing course for graduates of Soviet higher educational establishments; the same number for the post-graduate course; two for the scientific-pedagogical internship; and two for courses to train basketball coaches.

Of the 115 aforementioned grants, 30 are provided by the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA); 20 by the Ministry of Fisheries to train specialists in that field; and five for training cadres to work on joint Soviet-Mozambican cooperation projects.

A total of 48 grants are provided by the USSR's democratic mass organizations, with 20 given by the Union of Associations for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Asian and African Countries (OSSPAA); five by the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions (CCSS); and 10 by the Central Council of the Union of Consumer Cooperatives (CCUCC).

UEM Enrolls 800 Students

The optimism of the Soviet representative concerning the total use of the grants provided to the People's Republic of Mozambique results partly from the Mozambican Government's effort to train specialized labor and, on the other hand, the increase in the number of those enrolled in higher education.

In that professor's opinion, most of the students whose schooling began in 1975 will complete secondary school next year. This will allow for an increase in university students and, consequently, in students given grants to continue studying abroad.

By way of example, Eduardo Mondlane University, according to a source from that educational establishment, for the first time this year, enrolled nearly 600 students in the various schools, as opposed to 400 in previous years.

According to the subject of our interview, there has also been an improvement in the number of Mozambican instructors in the schools at Eduardo Mondlane University. Whereas in 1975, it had only four native instructors, at present the same educational institution has 120.

In the opinion of our subject, the tendency toward using the grants is improving, in view of the fact that, whereas in 1984 only 40 students were benefited, this year 120 have already enrolled.

2909

CSO: 3442/355

MOZAMBIQUE

REPRESENTATIVE OF POLISH FRIENDSHIP GROUP SPEAKS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 17 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] An association for solidarity and friendship with Mozambique, named APOIAMOC, was recently created in Poland, in order to foster there the dissemination of information on our country and to coordinate the initiatives in support of the Mozambican people. The association is headed by Eugeniusz Rzewuski, former professor at Eduardo Mondlane University [UEM] (1977-83), and currently instructor in the African Language and Culture Department of Warsaw University.

The meeting to establish APOIAMOC was held in Warsaw on 28 November 1984, as we were told by Jolanta Koziorowska, secretary of the solidarity association. Taking part in that meeting were 40 individuals with direct or indirect knowledge concerning Mozambique, namely, former cooperants, diplomats, journalists, students of Africa, industrial technicians, researchers and scientists.

"All those of us who worked in and liked Mozambique always intended to create an association, because we didn't want to lose that contact," we were told by Jolanta, herself a former cooperant, having worked for 4 years (1978-82) in the National Museums and Antiquities Service. She is currently working as a museums study technician at the National Museum of Ethnography in Poland.

Jolanta Koziorowska has been in Mozambique for a few weeks at the invitation of the UEM to develop an ethnographic project, using the occasion to report on the creation of the APOIAMOC. Hence, she distributed circular letters to various entities and institutions concerning the association's activities, and held dialogue with officials from the AMASP [Mozambican Association for Friendship and Solidarity With Poland].

She told our reporter: "The results of these contacts were very positive, and AMASP tendered an invitation to APOIAMOC to send a delegation to visit Mozambique." She also disclosed to us that her association offered four study grants for Mozambican students in higher education. APOIAMOC is collecting educational materials and clothing in Poland to be sent as an offer of solidarity toward the Mozambican people, as well.

The subject of our interview also confirmed to us that there is in Poland an interest in Africa, and Mozambique in particular. Hence, last year, Jolanta Koziorska sponsored lectures and exhibits on our culture, conducted radio programs and wrote articles about Mozambique in the newspapers. At present, she and Eugeniusz Rzewuski are preparing a book on our country.

Jolanta explained: "It will be a book in two parts: one on the culture, art and traditional music of Mozambique, to be provided by me; and the other on education and the languages in this country, to be written by Rzewuski."

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MOZAMBIQUE

CABO DELGADO, INHAMBANE CITIZENS DECORATED

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 16 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] Last Sunday, the leader of Cabo Delgado Province, Army Gen Alberto Chipande, expressed the view that there is no price that can repay the sacrifice and dedication shown by the citizens whom the People's Assembly honored for their merits in the armed struggle for national liberation, in combating the armed bandits and in raising production. The Army general spoke at the ceremony to confer the Orders of Eduardo Mondlane and Socialist Labor, and the Nachingwea, Bagamoyo and Valor and Patriotism Medals on 24 citizens residing in Cabo Delgado. Meanwhile, in Inhambane, four citizens received various medals for distinguishing themselves on various combat fronts, in two different ceremonies.

The ceremony to confer decorations on the 24 citizens residing in Cabo Delgado Province, headed by Army Gen Alberto Chipande, was attended by party and state cadres, cadres from the democratic mass organizations and a considerable number of residents of the city of Pemba.

Included among the citizens decorated were party and state leaders, members of the defense and security forces, farmers, teachers and other workers who distinguished themselves in various acts of love for the fatherland.

The Cabo Delgado provincial leader stated that the conferral of awards represented recognition of the confidence placed in them by the population.

General Chipande said: "There is no monetary price that can repay your sacrifice and dedication. You must always continue to display this very important dedication and spirit of sacrifice."

It should be stressed that, at the meeting of agricultural workers in Cabo Delgado Province, over 78,000 meticals were donated to reinforce the country's defense capacity.

Meanwhile, also on Sunday, the party committee and executive council of the city of Pemba tendered a reception for the provincial leader on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of national independence.

On this occasion, Army Gen Alberto Chipande was given a sum exceeding 67,000 meticals to be used to reinforce our country's defense capacity.

Inhambane Decorates Four Citizens

In Inhambane, at a ceremony held at the National Railroad School and headed by the provincial director of transport and communications, two citizens were decorated a few days ago with the Valor and Patriotism Medal, first class. They are Carlos Manhica, a driver, and Daniel Isaias Maculuva, a teacher.

The former, a worker in the Department to Prevent and Combat Natural Disasters in Inhambane, was awarded the Valor and Patriotism Medal, first class, for the courage displayed in the exercise of his duties.

Carlos Manhica, a driver by occupation, was twice the victim of attacks by the armed bandits, as he was driving a vehicle from that department. Despite having suffered serious wounds, he managed to withstand them during the journey, in this way preserving the goods that he was carrying and the vehicle that he was driving.

Daniel Isaias Maculuva, an elementary schoolteacher from Inhambane Province, for his part, was also awarded the Valor and Patriotism Medal, second class. This citizen suffered atrocities on the part of the armed bandits on several occasions, but did not cease his teaching activity.

According to a report provided on this occasion by the OJM [Mozambique Youth Organization] provincial secretary, Daniel Isaias Maculuva was named by the provincial committee preparing for the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students to be among the members who will join the Inhambane Province delegation to this event in Moscow.

Recently, Governor Jose Pascoal Zandamela awarded medals of honor to Sebastiao Dengo, Tafere Magala Tire, Basilio Jeque Manhica and Veronica da Conceicao Machava, who distinguished themselves on various combat fronts.

Sebastiao Dengo, provincial director of agriculture, received the Veteran of the Armed Struggle for National Liberation Medal for being an outstanding militant with clandestine status, forming cells of the Mozambican Liberation Front during the 1960's.

Tafere Magala Tire, an agricultural technician, was also awarded the Veteran of the Armed Struggle for National Liberation Medal, for his acknowledged merits on the battle front against colonialism and the development and consolidation of the revolutionary conquests.

Basilio Jeque Manhica, a farmer from the Zavala district, received the Medal of Socialist Labor, third class, for his involvement in combating famine. With yokes of oxen and hoes, Basilio Jeque tilled an area of 120 hectares on which he planted several crops, the marketed production output of which was worth 7,000 contos.

Veronica da Conceicao Machava, a nurse-midwife, was awarded the Valor and Patriotism Medal, second class, for her courage in performing her duties.

During an attack made by the armed bandits on the Cambine maternity facility in Morreumbene, where she was working, Veronica Machava was found assisting a delivery. She did not allow herself to be intimidated, and assisted the woman giving birth until the child was born, despite the insulting remarks made by the bandits. She was seized and beaten, and left limp on the ground. After recovering, she returned to her work station, to continue her professional activities.

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CS0: 3442/355

MOZAMBIQUE

GUEBUZA PRAISES DEFENSE, INCREASED PRODUCTION IN NAMPULA

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 16 Jul 85 p 1

[Text] The minister of the presidency, Armando Guebuza, who was in the city of Nampula from 9 to 12 July, congratulated the party and state structures, those of the defense and security forces and the province's population as a whole, on the decisive action that they have taken to neutralize the armed bandits in this part of the country.

Armando Guebuza noted that the armed bandits have used Nampula Province as a starting point from which they are attempting to jeopardize the progress of the Mozambican revolution and the country's economic development. He stressed that the lofty spirit of patriotism shown by the local population succeeded in changing significantly the state of terror which was being experienced at the end of last year and the beginning of this year.

The minister of the presidency made these comments while speaking at a meeting held by the provincial government for the purpose of achieving an assessment of observations made during the course of the visit that he paid to various sectors of light industry, and others, in the provincial capital of Nampula.

Armando Guebuza seemed particularly impressed by the work being done in connection with self-sufficiency and, primarily in the foundry section of the Agostinho dos Santos Enterprise where, after a stoppage of 8 years, various items are being manufactured, ranging from water tanks to pots and pans, plates, knives, forks and spoons, among other implements quite useful to the population.

Minister Armando Guebuza stressed: "This shows a proper attitude, applying the principle of relying on our own forces to meet our needs"; and then praised the exemplary cooperation in the sector between the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Governor Feliciano Gundana, in turn, speaking on this occasion, gave a brief explanation of the present situation in Nampula Province. He underscored the importance of the province in the production of consumer goods, not only for its population but also for populations of other neighboring provinces. That official also said that certain negative factors have limited Nampula Province's

real capacity for response in connection with the present requirements of this section of the country.

Feliciano Gundana cited as negative factors the lack of parts and spare components, lubricating oil and fuel oil for industry and agriculture, chemical products, caustic soda and other products to give an incentive for family production. The governor of Nampula remarked: "Despite these problems, the population has responded positively to the summons for combating famine and armed banditry."

The leader of Nampula Province emphasized that, in the 1983-84 marketing campaign, the goals were met 100 percent in general, and in some instances indexes were attained that had never before been recorded.

At the conclusion of his remarks, Governor Feliciano Gundana expressed optimism regarding the results of the current agricultural marketing campaign, noting that better results could be achieved if certain problems the solution to which exceeds the local capacities were solved with the backing of the central structures.

In the city of Nampula, the minister of the presidency, Armando Guebuza, visited some industrial enterprises which are benefiting from the cooperation between our country and the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, such as the Agostinho dos Santos and Texmoque Enterprises, among others.

2909

CSO: 3442/357

MOZAMBIQUE

MARRACUENE DISTRICT RECOVERS RAPIDLY FROM FLOODS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 17 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] Five months after the rains which flooded and devastated extensive areas of agricultural and livestock development, causing great material and human damage, Marracuene district, in Maputo Province, has achieved a considerable economic recovery, particularly in the 1984-85 agricultural campaign; currently serving as one of the leading suppliers of green vegetables to the city of Maputo. Located in an area under the armed bandits' influence, Marracuene is bent on transforming its economy into a war economy; and for this purpose has decided that nearly 90 percent of the green vegetables produced there will be sent to the city of Maputo. Administrator Lourenco Licuco remarked: "This is a way for us to cooperate in eliminating armed banditry."

According to statements made to our newspaper by the party's first secretary and administrator of Marracuene, Lourenco Licuco, during the last rainfall in February of this year, Marracuene district lost over 2,000 hectares of various crops out of the 8,000 that had been prepared in the state, private, cooperative and family sectors at the start of the 1984-85 campaign.

The Marracuene administrator said: "Our district has nearly 4,500 inhabitants and nearly a quarter of this population lives and farms along the Nkomati River, which caused this population to be hurt during the rainfall because it was deprived of its possessions and its farming property was destroyed."

In fact, Marracuene district, one of the most fertile and economically strategic in Maputo Province, benefits from the Nkomati water to irrigate its farms, over an area estimated at nearly 50 kilometers. Moreover, the farmers use the lowlands along that river to grow drought-resistant crops, such as cassava and sweet potatoes.

Lourenco Licuco explains: "Right after the rain, we devised an emergency program of action, attempting to extricate the district from the precarious situation that it was in"; adding that the program devised attached priority to the growing of drought-resistant crops, utilizing the shores of the Nkomati River.

According to that official, the devised program was gradually accompanied by political action to mobilize the farmers.

The party's first secretary in Marracuene also explained that, in addition to having recovered a considerable part of the crops struck by the rain, the district's population received backing in the form of seed from the Maputo Provincial Directorate of Agriculture.

He noted: "Although there was a problem of a lack of oil and lubricants, I can claim that, in this district, no one will die of famine, because the population is working to avoid this."

At the present time, Marracuene district, whose headquarters is nearly 30 kilometers from Maputo, has 10 private agricultural enterprises, one state enterprise, five agricultural cooperatives and a considerable number of farmers associations which are engaged in activities to provide assistance, in search of solutions for the procurement of seed and other production factors.

'We Are Implementing the War Economy'

Marracuene district is not far removed from the reality being experienced at present by the entire country, particularly with regard to the transformation of its economy into a war economy, as a means of participating actively in the elimination of banditry. In this connection, the administrator of that district commented:

"From a military standpoint, this district is playing a major role. Without any desire to give more details, I should only say that this district's population is working for the war. As an example of this, we decided to send nearly 90 percent of the green vegetables produced to the city of Maputo, despite the difficulties being faced; because this is also a way of contributing to the elimination of the armed bandits who are vainly attempting to block passage to the country's capital city."

Combating the Armed Bandits

Just as has been occurring nearly all over the country, the population of Marracuene has forcefully combated the armed bandits, through reports to the district's defense and security forces, in addition to participating in politico-military training courses.

In fact, at the present time, training courses for the farmers' self-defense are under way in nearly all parts of that district.

On the other hand, according to the subject of our interview, three armed bandit camps were recently destroyed. The result of this action has not been disclosed; it is only known that a considerable number of criminals were killed and various ordnance seized.

However, Lourenco Licuco disclosed that during the first half of this year, 25 armed bandits were killed in that district, in several operations carried out by the Mozambique Armed Forces (FPLM) stationed in that district.

That official observed: "The success of these operations was due to the cooperation from the district's population, reporting and locating the enemy's movements and hiding places. He added: "We cannot disregard the role played by the militia members who, with slight facilities, have proven their hatred for the enemy by combating the latter forcefully."

2909

CSO: 3442/355

MOZAMBIQUE

NEW INDIAN EQUIPMENT FOR FIBER PROJECT

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 16 Jul 85 p 16

[Text] A portion of the cotton fiber processing equipment, made in and purchased from India with an investment of \$4,000 (about 170 national contos) by officials from an organization called "One Percent for Development," of the FAO, with headquarters in Rome, is being used in the clothing and fiber manufacturing program of the CDR (Rural Development Center) in Sofala.

Two machines that make different types of cotton thread of up to 200 meters, each (called Ambar-Charka) and another two machines for the production of rolled-up ribbons (Belni machines) are currently being used in the work of this industry.

Two machines for "combing cotton" and another 20 units, called Kisan-Charka, also used in this effort, are expected to arrive shortly to complete the contribution from the FAO members.

Gandhigram Trust is the factory where these machines were made. According to the consultant from that Indian enterprise, who went to Beira, Mozambique, to provide technical support, this type of machine is to be used especially in the southern part of India where 230 villages are running a small-scale textile industry operation.

Consultant S. K. Subbian said that the availability, in Mozambique, of cotton, the primary raw material for these machines, makes it possible efficiently to operate the equipment which has a simple structure and is basically made of wood.

"I would say that the cotton here is average. In India we have different types, but this cotton here is also very good to keep the machines running and, although I have not been here for a long time, working with Mozambican personnel, I think that there will not be any technical complications," said S. K. Subbian.

As for the use of processed cotton, our source said: "The cotton thread produced here can be used to make simple fabrics, such as the shirt and slacks outfit I am wearing now, of course, after weaving. These are machines that can be run by means of pedals and handles or also by means of electric power."

Subbian told our reporter that he had been in this line of work (small-scale Indian industry) for the past 30 years. He came to Mozambique to provide technical support for the operation of these machines.

5058

CSO: 3442/359

MOZAMBIQUE

CONSTRUCTION, WATER WORKS MINISTRY TRAINS INSTRUCTORS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 24 Jul 85 p 2

[Article by Bento Niquisse]

[Text] To provide job retraining for workers and supervisory personnel in the construction industry, the ministry of Construction and Water Works will start a training course for instructors this year to be employed in training adults as part of a program financed by UNDP at a cost of \$1 million. To give these course, the MCA [Ministry of Construction and Water Works] has already been assigned six technicians from that UN agency plus one technician from the ILO. In the meantime, other training courses are being given in some of the countries provinces for supervisory personnel coming from the provincial directorates, enterprises, and other sectors in that ministry.

Alfredo Mateus, national director of human resources at the MCA, explained that the purpose of the program is to give the training centers of that ministry a domestic teaching body with the ability to impart sufficient technical knowledge to its workers to do their job.

According to him, this instructor training program is being financed by the UNDP through an amount of \$1 million.

"We have been giving training courses for workers and other supervisory personnel of the ministry since 1977; in 1980, the program moved into a phase which, in order to be continued, required the kind of financing that has been given to us by the UNDP," Alfredo Mateus said.

He added that, in addition to money, the UNDP made six specialists available to that ministry in the field of construction; they will train the instructors for these various courses. In this connection, the ILO sent one of its worker training specialists.

Present Course

Talking specifically about the second course, which is scheduled to start on 20 August, lasting 6 months, Alfred Mateus told our reporter that course

preparation work is currently in progress, consisting essentially of a screening of interested individuals.

"The basic requirement for applicants is an 8th class diploma with reading and writing skills and 5 years of job experience. They must also take a test to determine whether or not they can be admitted to this course," said Alfredo Mateus.

Applicants must be individuals or employees of the enterprises or other government agencies and private outfits and must meet requirements in the following special fields: Carpenters, stone masons, pipe fitters, electricians, civil engineering construction painters, tractor drivers, milling machine operators, grading and paving technicians, diesel mechanics, and harvester operators.

In the meantime, 18 instructors were trained during the first course of this kind given last year; at this time, they are preparing manuals and training programs and these will later on be distributed through various training centers operated by this ministry to train and retrain the respective workers and supervisory personnel of the ministry.

In the meantime we have been able to learn that some of the trainees are returned to their places of origin to provide equitable and standardized operation and to speed up the training programs in the various sectors or enterprises of that ministry.

Other Courses

Alfredo Mateus also talking about the supervisory personnel training process in his ministry at various levels. He announced that this agency at this time has four training centers, two of which are located in Maputo, one in Inhambane, and another one in Manica, while the fourth one [as published], for the water department is also located in Maputo. The first two, located in the country's capital, concentrate on training skilled workers for the constructor sector.

Discussing the advantages of these courses in terms of the nation's development, our source emphasized that they are particularly important because the trainees are taught at the grass-roots level and in contact with real life in the country; they therefore do not need any time to adjust to the working conditions and difficulties which, in his opinion, they are already only too familiar with.

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MOZAMBIQUE

APICULTURE GETS UNDER WAY WITH FOREIGN HELP

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 12 Jul 85 p 8

[Text] The Apiculture Program, associated with the development of honey, has since its founding in April 1983 trained over 200 bee-keepers on various levels throughout the country, in an activity linked with the sector's rehabilitation and publicizing. Concurrently, the Swedish Agency for International Development (SIDA) is interested in giving the apiculture sector financial aid, and for this purpose has requested of the program a list of its material requirements. Meanwhile, the mobilizing commission for creation of the Association of Bee-Keepers of Mozambique is engaged in preparing the respective by-laws, and it is expected that this association will be made official shortly.

The head of the Apiculture Program, Jose Alcobia, discussed the main activities carried out by the sector during the 2 years of its existence, stressing that it was one of the sectors virtually neglected during colonial rule.

Jose Alcobia commented: "Apiculture in Mozambique is one of the sectors which concretely experienced the benefits of independence. It had been practiced only on a primitive, family basis."

Discussing the activities carried out by the sector since the proclamation of independence, Jose Alcobia told us that, during the past 2 years, the Apiculture Program engaged in various types of action, noteworthy among which are min-courses for training and intensive courses in nearly all the country's provinces; in which over 200 bee-keepers were trained, including professionals and those engaged in bee-keeping as a supplementary activity.

According to Jose Alcobia, at the present time an intensive course is under way at the Marracuene Apiary Training Center, with the participation of 10 bee-keepers from enterprises and social sectors. To take part in this course, the candidates paid the sum of 500 meticals at the time of enrollment. This money was used to defray the expenses of the course.

Foreign Aid and Financing

Moreover, Jose Alcobia said that the Apiculture Program has been receiving direct backing from some United Nations organizations, such as the FAO and

and the MONAP Program, in the form of equipment necessary for apicultural development in the country.

Also in connection with the dissemination of this program's activities, our source claimed that the extension of the duration of the forthcoming courses is being studied, in addition, with backing from the FAP and MONAP.

Discussing the foreign financing, the head of the apiculture program in the country said that, in the middle of this year, the SIDA representative in Mozambique visited the sector's facilities, expressing an interest in granting aid for this activity.

Jose Alcobia added: "For this purpose, the Swedish organization asked us for a list of our requirements, particularly in the area of training cadres and in publicizing our activities."

He announced that the aforementioned aid would consist essentially of equipment for rehabilitating the Agrarian Training Center and that the provision thereof has been set for 1986.

Creation of the Association

Jose Alcobia also remarked that, similar to what has occurred in other sectors which had been subjected to oblivion, since independence apiculture in Mozambique has undergone a certain amount of growth, which prompted the need for creating a structure to organize the workers associated with it.

Our interviewee explained: "Hence, the process of creating the Association of Bee-keepers of Mozambique is well underway; its main function will consist of providing certain facilities, both to solve its material problems and for cooperation with other foreign associations or agencies. It will also serve to protect the interests of its members."

Jose Alcobia concluded the interview by remarking that, for the creation of the association, an executive secretariat has already been elected and is currently preparing the proposed by-laws of the respective association, which is expected to be made official in the near future.

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MOZAMBIQUE

AGRO-ALFA ENTERPRISE STUDIES POSSIBILITY OF EXTENDING NETWORK

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 12 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] Agro-Alfa, an enterprise producing farming implements, located in the city of Maputo, is considering expanding the network for distribution of animal-hauled plows to the northern provinces. The distribution of this equipment is currently concentrated in the southern region, where the tradition of raising cattle, and hence the use of animal hauling, is more entrenched.

A source from Agro-Alfa informed NOTICIAS that, in order to expand the distribution of plows to other sections of the country, Agro-Alfa sent the first shipment of 200 plows of that type to Nampula, and plans to send another 400 shortly, through a distributing agent present in that part of the country.

In order to increase the use of that type of implement in Zambezia Province, this production unit will send that province 100 plows, the same source noted.

Manica Province will, in turn, benefit from a consignment of 400 animal-hauled plows, with their distribution assigned to the local AGRICOM [Agricultural Products Marketing Company].

According to the subject of our interview, the fact that some sections of the country, especially the northern provinces, do not have a tradition of raising cattle and hence do not use animal-hauled plows was the main reason prompting the enterprise's management to pay more attention to the southern part of the country.

The same source noted that one of the reasons for the lack of cattle raising in certain parts of the northern provinces is the fact that they are affected by the tse-tse fly.

Guaranteed Plow Production

According to the source from Agro-Alfa, this enterprise has raw material for producing plows up until June of next year. After this period, Agro-Alfa will have at its disposal over 50,000 contos for the purchase of more material.

He said: "At the present time, the monthly production of animal-hauled plows is 1,000 units, a number considered to be higher than in previous years."

As for other types of farming equipment, the source from Agro-Alfa said that, based on an agreement signed with the Swedish company Overum, there is a plan to produce over 200,000 hoes to be distributed throughout the country. The plan, which has the assistance of the Swedish Agency for International Development (SIDA), also includes the production of axes, hammers, knives and other implements.

It is the enterprise's desire, in the near future, to produce pliers, scissors of various types and screwdrivers. However, the manufacture of these tools will depend on the development and technical capacity. "For training purposes, nine Mozambicans will go to Sweden this year, where they will attend courses in special fields, lasting from 6 months to a year."

The production of mills at the same enterprise fluctuates between 50 and 60 units per month. Niassa Province ranked first in the distribution of the mills, with the exception of the city of Maputo, which was benefited, having already received 57 units ordered by the local government.

In Maputo, the mills are primarily allocated to peasant associations and communal villages, and one was turned over to Urban District No 7 last week.

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MOZAMBIQUE

EMOPESCA URGED TO BE FAIR TO WORKERS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 16 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] The secretary for organization of the Mozambican Workers Organization [OTM] in the city of Beira, Augusto Militao, entrusted the newly created Union Committee at the Mozambican Fish Enterprise (EMOPESCA) with the task of halting the wave of arbitrary suspensions and dismissals made by certain department heads affecting workers in that enterprise. He also reminded other workers to abide by the service schedules and to have greater discipline on the job.

Augusto Militao made this recommendation a few days ago, when he officially established the EMOPESCA Union Committee at a ceremony attended by scores of workers and officials from the party and democratic mass organizations of the enterprise itself.

The responsibility assigned to the EMOPESCA Union Committee is aimed at combating the irregularities committed at that state enterprise, following reports made by the local party cell secretary regarding the leading problems confronting that production unit.

The lack of parts for renovating vessels and constant delays and defaults in service were cited as main problems, despite the efforts expended by the EMPOESCA workers to surmount some of these shortcomings, as a source from the enterprise told us.

However, the OTM secretary for the city of Beira, Augsto Militao, severely criticized the enterprise's responsible authorities because (as he said), "There have been occasions on which they have taken on workers based on regionalism."

There have been reports claiming that the process of signing several documents in the enterprise's human resources department has been quite slow. An example to illustrate this fact was given by secretary Augusto Militao when, in his remarks, he stated that papers dealing with various matters remained in that department nearly 2 weeks, unjustifiably, without having been signed.

That official described such attitudes as improper, and called for their elimination, because the consequences of such procedures have repercussions on the enterprise's normal activities and hence on production.

According to Augusto Militao, it is expected that, with the creation of the Union Committee at EMOPECA, all these anomalies will be overcome in the near future. The same opinion was expressed by a worker who declared during the meeting: "We have confronted several problems due to the lack of this structure in our enterprise. However we hope that the Union Committee that has just been established will be able to help us, in fact, to resolve all the concerns."

Augusto Militao remarked, in this connection, that the Union Committee would not replace the enterprise's administrative organ, and explained that it was a structure for the workers to solve their problems and those involving production.

The new structure is operating with 44 members, headed by Alberto Bata and Jorge Milagre Manhica, secretaries of the Union Committee and the Control and Discipline Committee, respectively.

Augusto Militao told our reporter that the creation of the Union Committee had been preceded by an effort to conscientize the workers in all sectors of EMOPECA's activity, with the exception of the seamen who were not included in the process, owing to their specific activities.

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MOZAMBIQUE

OJM FINISHES MATUNDO CONSTRUCTION PROJECT

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 15 Jul 85 p 1

[Text] The Mozambique Youth Organization [OJM] symbolically turned over the Matundo housing project in Tete Province to the Ministry of Mineral Resources. The construction work had to be stopped for lack of materials. The presentation ceremony took place at the CARBOMOC [Mozambique National Coal Company] Cultural Center in Moatize last Friday. For this event, the OJM secretary general, Zacarias Kupela, and the national director of geology and mines, Francisco Soares, representing the Ministry of Mineral Resources, went to that part of the country.

The ceremony was attended by members of the provincial government and the Moatize district government, CARBOMOC workers, OJM members and brigade members from the German Free Youth (FDJ) association.

In the speech delivered after the signing of the terms of delivery, the secretary general of the Mozambique Youth Organization remarked that the construction of those houses by the OJM volunteer work brigade members, in cooperation with the FDJ brigade members, was a major task in the country's reconstruction and the enhancement of the conquests of national independence, thereby contributing to the improvement of the workers' housing conditions.

Zacarias Kupela commented: "The country needs everyone's participation, especially that of us, the youth, who still have energy for national reconstruction. It was on the basis of this principle that we, the youth, have used that energy, performing a concrete job for the benefit of our society."

That member of the FRELIMO Party's Central Committee called upon the youth to become involved in the fatherland's defense, by joining the ranks of the Armed Forces of Mozambique, without waiting for compulsory military service, "because the fatherland is calling for us."

Near the end of his address, Zacarias Kupela expressed thanks for the work done by the FDJ brigade members who, alongside the OJM, proved their people's solidarity with our country.

The representative of the minister of mineral resources, in turn, stressed the role of the Mozambican Youth Organization in the construction of that project

for the country's benefit, noting that, although it has not been completed, for lack of construction materials, it represents the immense effort on the part of our youth in the struggle to improve housing conditions in Mozambique.

Francisco Soares said: "This is a historic event for the Mozambican Youth Organization in this province."

Ready to Reconstruct the Country

The message from the brigade members, submitted on this occasion, underscores the youth's readiness for the tasks of national reconstruction and defense of the fatherland, threatened by imperialism.

The message also emphasized the backing from the central agencies of the party and government of Tete Province for the accomplishment of the work on the Matundo housing project.

The document cited, in addition, the difficulties encountered in the course of the work, which, however, were surmounted with the passage of time.

Goals of the Project

The Matundo housing project in Tete calls for the construction of 200 dwellings for the miners at the CARBOMOC enterprise, with financing from the Ministry of Mineral Resources. However, the goal of the project was not attained, owing to the lack of construction materials on the domestic market.

The project work was assigned to the Mozambique Youth Organization and the German Free Youth association, based on agreements signed for this purpose; and the work started in 1981, upon the arrival of the volunteer work brigade members from the OJM and FDJ in that province.

Because of the aforementioned difficulties, only 21 dwellings have been built, including some which are semi-finished.

According to reports supplied by the participating entities, the completion of the semi-finished houses has currently been assigned to the Tete Integral Construction enterprise.

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MOZAMBIQUE

CHOKWE GREEN ZONES DEVOTED TO RICE, CORN

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 11 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] Divided between two main crops, the green zones in the city of Chokwe now have nearly 7,500 hectares, as our reporter was informed by the chief of the green zones sector in that area of Gaza Province. Most of this expanse is devoted to rice and corn crops, occupying 1,906 and 3,106 hectares, respectively, in the zone of influence of the Chokwe agrarian enterprises.

The distribution of this area began during the 1982-93 agricultural campaign, a time when it was decided that all the under-utilized land, particularly that covered by irrigation, should be turned over to the population for proper use, with the intention of minimizing the effects of the famine with which the district has been beset.

An intense effort was immediately carried out to mobilize the population to realize the need for each family to own a small farm for self-consumption; an activity which, according to the chief of the green zones sector in Chokwe, met with success, because the entire population responded positively to this appeal.

The use of yokes of oxen for the farm work was one of the points stressed at all the meetings held by the green zone sector's brigades with the local populations.

"We explained to the populations that they must rely on their own forces to work on the land, and that they should not rely on tractors; because, in addition to the fact that the district has but few, the country is beset by a fuel shortage," he remarked; adding that the population agreed readily to working under these conditions, because the use of animal hauling was already a habit in that part of Gaza Province.

In cooperation with the party, the Chokwe green zones office then started the work of distributing land to the city's population. Some of it belonged to the Josina Machel Agricultural Cooperative, and another part to the former CAIL; that is, the area included between the city of Chokwe and the locality of Chalucwane.

To ensure this work, zonal chiefs were assigned, responsible for the activity in every zone, who, together with the green zones office, must respond to the needs of the family farmers in the city of Chokwe in terms of seed and other farm production factors.

Also created in this area were two agricultural pre-cooperatives, namely, the Fourth Congress and 21 May Cooperatives, which have received aid in the form of machinery through the MECANAGO enterprise and the Agrarian Station, as well as from some private entities in that region.

Land Distribution Still Under Way

Whenever possible these enterprises supported the work of the family farms, despite having encountered some difficulties due to the lack of fuel. At the present time, the hoe and plow are the only implements in evidence on the family sector farms in the city of Chokwe. Moreover, as the chief of the green zones sector remarked, it is possible to work with the hoe because the area for each family is not large, ranging from a quarter of a hectare to 2 hectares, at most.

Although the district has distributed a considerable number of yokes of oxen, the number was not enough to fully meet the needs of the entire family sector. Hence, the need for mutual assistance among the peasants in each zone, at the plowing time, has been cited.

The chief of this sector on the Chokwe district level noted: "We in the green zones sector are aiding the city's peasants in terms of production factors, such as seed, pesticides and other equipment to guarantee the campaign, and they must guarantee the farm work."

"Meanwhile the work to distribute land among the family sector's peasants is still under way in that district of the province, with greater stress now on the localities which have low-lying areas.

"In this connection the family sector is being reorganized in certain localities, from the standpoint of crops; in other words, in a given locality we study which area is suitable for growing cotton, beans, wheat, etc. Based on the data procured during the work, it is known the amounts of seed that are necessary per crop in each locality, during a particular agricultural campaign.

"Hence, the attention of the green zones sector is now directed essentially to the localities with low-lying areas, where control is being carried out to see to it that each resident owns a plot of land."

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MOZAMBIQUE

MAPUTO AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES INCREASE PRODUCTION

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 23 Jul 85 p 2

[Article by Antonio Souto]

[Text] In 1984, the agricultural cooperatives of Maputo increased their total gross output compared to 1983 by about 60 percent. This increase can be broken down into a rise in farm output from 706 tons to 1,117 tons and an increase in meat production from 125 tons to 209 tons. Analyzing these and other data, an economist familiar with the country's development problems told our reporter that "The agricultural cooperatives of Maputo, directed by the General Union, reveal uneven growth indexes in the context of the national economy, in other words, absolutely abnormal growth indexes which call for reflection." In this connection he thought that it was a good idea that "various government agencies should study the annual report prepared by the General Union."

This growth however does not point to an exceptional situation when compared to what happened between 1983 and 1984. On the contrary, the growth rate last year indicated a dip in growth indexes in relative terms.

According to data contained in the annual report from the General Union, the growth rate has been quite considerable ever since 1981 as a result of the organization of the support sector for the cooperatives of the office of green zones and, later on, the establishment of the General Union of Agricultural Cooperatives of Maputo, which carried out a cooperativization effort with a minimum of management facilities.

In 1981, the total gross output was only 156 tons, including only 8 tons of meat. The next year, meat production went up to 62 tons and farm output rose to 350 tons, giving us an overgrowth rate of about 136 percent. A comparison between 1983 and 1982 shows an increase both in farm output and in livestock production amounting to something like 101 percent, since the former went up 706 tons and the latter increased 125 tons.

An official of the General Union of Cooperatives told our reporter that it is hoped that the farm output this year will be 1,700 tons while 400 tons of miscellaneous meat products are expected. "We will continue to grow in this way and to assume an ever more important role in supplying the country's capital and above all in changing the living conditions of our peasants."

One very important indicator in getting an idea of the role played by the rural cooperativization movement in Maputo is the contribution which it has made to the supply of the capital.

In 1984, the movement supplied about 406 tons of vegetables and fruits for the city's commercial establishments, as well as more than 100 tons of meat, mostly pork. This contribution was channeled mainly to the social centers of the enterprises and services.

This contribution to the capital's supply also has another important aspect which resides in the local consumption by the cooperative farmers themselves. Out of their farm output, the peasants consumed more than 700 tons, plus 110 tons of meat.

Since there will be about 8,300 cooperative farmers in 1984, corresponding to an identical number of families, one may conclude that these peasants will guarantee--for themselves and their families or, in other words, a population of approximately 45,000 persons--an annual consumption of about 85 kilograms of farm products per family, as well as more than 13 kilograms of meat for each peasant family. In addition we must keep in mind the scores of thousands of persons who, in 1984, in the country's capital, were getting vegetables and meat at cost from this peasant movement, thus consuming products which they shipped for commercial sale.

The movement's economic dynamism has also found an important social expression in the fact that it is working against the general trend which is emerging in the country toward a decline in the number of cooperatives and cooperative farmers.

The data contained in the annual report from the General Union show that there were 24 cooperatives in 1981 with 1,150 cooperative farmers; in 1982, the cooperatives increased to 33 and the number of peasants went up to more than 2,100; in 1983, there were 81 cooperatives and 4,700 cooperative farmers; last year, there were 151 cooperatives with about 8,300 peasants.

The example which these peasants have set with respect to the others as regards the specific improvement of their living conditions is a powerful and constant means of mobilization. This is why the trend in social growth continues. This year, in 1985, we already have 181 cooperatives with about 10,300 peasants working toward a more decent life.

Asked to comment on the reasons for this social-economic success, an official from the General Union said that "There are many reasons and they certainly deserve greater attention from some of the party and government officials;

but the main aspect is that the cooperatives in Maputo are directed by the peasants themselves and not by officials; that creates many problems and conflicts because of the interests of the opportunists but, to the extent that we manage to defend ourselves against these difficulties which they made for us, we managed to grow."

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MOZAMBIQUE

FISH FROM CHICOA PRODUCTION COMPLEX TO FEED TETE

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 11 Jul 85 p 8

[Text] To meet the fish consumption requirements and to contribute to the development of fishing in Tete Province, 69 workers are working hard at the Chicoa Fishing Complex in the district of Cahora Bassa. It is from Chicoa that much of the fish which feeds the city of Tete and the other zones of the province comes. The complex's activity started 2 years ago, recently gaining greater dynamics as a result of the endeavor and knowledge of the young people heading it. When approached by NOTICIAS, one of the managing youths remarked: "At present, it is difficult for us to achieve a good output, because only two of our fleet of five boats are in operating condition."

"If this problem did not exist, we could fully meet the province's consumption requirements." This is how we were introduced to the activity of the complex by Kelfati Mahachi, aged 24, who, with his colleague, Jose Sazanga, also 24, live and work there.

Satisfied

We knew that these youths had left the city of Tete to engage in fishing in the locality of Chicoa, in the Cahora Bassa district. Hence, we wanted to find out how they felt in that location, over 200 kilometers from the city of Tete. They told us: "Everything is going well. Here, we have food. Besides, in the city the situation is somewhat difficult. It is always better to be here."

Although the results accrued throughout the 2 years of activity are encouraging, the other member of the management, Antonio Dazanga, remarked with great conviction, "We could accomplish even more, because this lake is very rich in fish." This statement was confirmed by our reporter, when he visited the site where the drying of the fish is carried out; because they still lack the necessary refrigeration system to preserve the fish.

"What type of fish is produced here, and which exists in the largest quantity" we inquired.

Kelfati Mahachi remarked: "I can assure you that the fish from here is even of export quality. You see, nearby, in Zimbabwe, people like our fish very much"; adding: "The fish in the largest supply, and considered to be the best quality is 'penda'."

Nothing Is Wasted

Whereas, in the capital city of Tete it is not easy to buy a bottle of edible oil, it would be much less likely to expect this product to be in Chicoo. But those young people, putting their imagination to work, discovered that, from a certain type of fish, known locally as "xenga," the fat can be extracted and converted into oil, thus replacing industrial oil.

We were told: "The experiment caught on and many peasants here can now fry their fish using the fat from the 'xenga.'" And we added that it was another problem solved for people who, to tell the truth, have not known for years what edible oil is. And even more may be said: The principle that nothing in nature is wasted, and everything is transformed, has been applied there, even in everyday life.

Because the lack of a cold storage facility for preserving fish, in fact, represents a dilemma for the fishermen. They told us that there are prospects of procuring such a system very soon; because they are now striving for this. However, until this occurs, the alternative is the process of drying fish, with the use of salt, a product which is also very scarce in Tete Province.

It is added that, since its existence began, the complex has had good funding, and has already sent part of it to the respective management unit in Maputo.

The Fishermen Does Not Live on Fish Alone

At present, the Chicoo Fishing Complex employs a moderate number of fishermen capable of leading their community life there. As we noted on the site, the steps taken in this direction have been good. They have now progressed from intentions to deeds. Two prefabricated houses have already been built in the area where it is intended to found the future fishermen's district in Chicoo.

According to information gathered from the members of the management, more houses will be built in the district, using local materials, namely, tiles, limestone, straw and other items.

As if to say that the fisherman does not live on fish alone, Antonio Dazanga told our reporter that one of the future projects to start soon is the increase in raising small-sized animals, which, we think, will help to diversify the diet of the fishermen, not to mention the fact that at least the fish supply has by now been resolved.

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MOZAMBIQUE

TETE GOVERNOR PRAISES FISHERMEN FOR PRODUCTION EFFORT

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 16 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] A few days ago, Eduardo Arao, first secretary of the Provincial Committee and governor of Tete, called upon the workers at the Nova Chicua Fishing Complex in the district of Cahora Bassa to realize the need for preparing themselves for their self-defense both politically and militarily.

The top-ranking party and state leader in Tete Province praised the positive work being done in fishing production, stressing that this progress must be permanent and increasing.

The party's provincial first secretary also said that a party cell should be formed in that production front, and courses in literacy and adult education must be introduced.

During the extensive visit that the Tete governor paid to the Chicua Fishing Complex, he was informed about several construction jobs and projects under way in that region, and was given a general account of the fishing potential of that area, and the respective production facilities used by the fishermen.

Eduardo Arao was similarly informed that, during the first half of this year, the fishing complex produced over 70 percent of the planned volume, thanks to the aid received in the form of products of prime necessity, primarily salt, flour and some amounts of clothing.

Moreover, Eduardo Arao, accompanied by the provincial directors of transport and communications, industry and power, and agriculture, and the substitute for the resigned administrator of Cahora Bassa, visited the Fishing School Center located 2 kilometers from the Fishing Complex.

On this site, the governor of Tete praised the initiatives of the workers who, relying on the local resources, are building housing and water tanks for consumption, cutting wood and making other useful items for their work.

Eduardo Arao advised the workers at the Fishing School Center to enhance the quality of their production and, in cooperation with the PESCOM enterprise, to make a survey of the incentive products to ensure an increase in fishing activity in the Nova Chicua area.

During the course of the visit the governor of Tete Province inaugurated two pre-fabricated houses located at the Nova Chicua Fishing Complex in Cahora Bassa.

MOZAMBIQUE

MANAGERIAL TRAINING COURSE COMPLETED BY WORKERS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 16 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] Last weekend, workers from various agencies, totaling 19, completed a training course in managerial planning sponsored by the National Planning Commission. The closing ceremony was directed by the acting planning minister, Rui Baltazar.

Sources from the National Planning Commission told our reporter that the course, given by advisers selected from various sectors of activity and cooperants serving the National Planning Commission, lasted 4 months, during which the course attendees received technical and practical instruction, in addition to making study visits to certain enterprises.

As we could observe, most of the participants are engaged in planning and management activities in their sectors.

In the opinion of some participants, the course contributed not only to their training but also, and primarily, to the enhancement of their academic standing.

One of the course members remarked in this connection, "Although the duration period was short (4 months), the instruction given here will enable us to work in accordance with what is intended."

Training of Cadres Is Critical

The acting minister of planning, Rui Baltazar, who officiated at the course closing ceremony, in his informal remarks, cited the training as critical to the present phase of the battle against underdevelopment.

He stressed the importance of this activity, recalling that it is associated with the combination of many others aimed at solving the problems with which the country is struggling, particularly in the area of cadres.

After noting that the training of cadres in the various sectors of activity is a requirement imposed by the need to improve the quality of work, Rui Baltazar called attention to the responsibility of the enterprises.

That official added: "The enterprises must give a response to the initiatives of the National Planning Commission, by undertaking a judicious selection of the workers to be sent to the courses of this type."

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MOZAMBIQUE

FIRST POLITICAL-MILITARY TRAINING COURSE IN LICHINGA

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 17 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] The first course in political-combat training for militiamen from the First Urban Locality and the Barragem District of Lichinga concluded recently in the provincial capital of Niassa.

The closing ceremony was directed by the first secretary and administrator of the First Urban Locality of Lichinga, who was accompanied by the provincial political commissar of the People's Militias in Niassa, as well as cadres from the party and state on the local level.

On this occasion, the militiamen submitted a message in which they reaffirmed their combat readiness in the defense of the fatherland and the revolution.

The first secretary and administrator of the First Urban Locality of Lichinga, in turn, called for a reinforcement of discipline among the militiamen and complete fulfillment of the tasks assigned to them.

Meanwhile, seminars for improved teaching skills concluded in all the teacher training zones of influence in the city and district of Lichinga, Niassa, on 12 July.

At these seminars, held essentially for primary schoolteachers, an evaluation was also made of the rate of fulfillment of the programs established for the first school semester, mainly concerned with the third grade manuals.

At the same meetings, which were backed by district and city bridages, especially trained for this purpose, a quantitative and qualitative assessment was also made of the process of instruction and learning during the first semester, on the level of Lichinga district and city.

The holding of these combined meetings and seminars is associated with the fulfillment of the general compulsory tasks and instructions from the Ministry of Education for the current academic year.

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MOZAMBIQUE

ELEVEN CO-OPS BENEFIT FROM TRAINING CENTER IN CABO DELGADO

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 20 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Antonio Siteo]

[Text] The CRED (Regional Experimentation and Cooperative and Family Development Center) is stepping up its material and technical support for the peasants in the area through technical-agricultural training courses involving hundreds of cooperative farmers and peasant families. Based on the communal village of Mapululo, District of Montepuez, in Cabo Delgado, the project is being operated not only in Mapululo but also in the towns of Meza and Mecuti, rendering assistance to 11 agricultural cooperatives and six communal villages, with a total of more than 10,000 persons.

Located about 18 kilometers from the city of Montepuez, in the direction toward Chipembe, the Mapululo CRED, as it commonly known, starting operating in November 1982 and had a center where peasants, cooperative farmers, and family members were able to learn and perfect the most varied agricultural techniques ranging from the increase in crops, production and storage of seeds, handling a team of oxen, as well as other draft animals, along with new animal handling techniques.

According to Patricio Polupo, the CRED director, the project "invites" the peasants to attend and participate directly in the experiments whose ultimate purpose basically is to guarantee greater profitability in the various crops.

"For example, there is a kind of peanut seed that comes from Nampula whose cultivation was initially challenged and even rejected by most of the local peasants. But, after some careful experiments, with the direct participation of those farmers, they were able to get an exceptional yield of 4 tons per hectare; this made the peasants really enthusiastic. It might be mentioned in passing that this seed variety was widely cultivated by most of the peasants in the two sectors, the CRED director emphasized.

Concentrated Training Efforts

To enable the CRED technicians to keep helping the farmers in their production effort, the technicians are given minimum training since they have already taken various other courses. In those courses, the future technicians learn the basics of agriculture and animal husbandry; for this purposes, there is a center which has a minimum of support facilities; the most important part is the experimental field where tests are conducted in growing plants and raising small animals, such as chickens, ducks, and rabbits, where the peasants can familiarize themselves with the ways of handling these animals; some of these are not exactly traditional in that area.

"We plan to introduce hog raising shortly," said Patricio Polupo, adding that rudimentary techniques are being used in raising these animals for the purpose of imbuing the peasants with a creative spirit, in other words, to get the local resources needed for the feeding and care of the animals.

Use Local Resources

The utilization of local resources in carrying out certain projects is an important chapter that consists of training technicians along with special training courses for peasants, given periodically at the CRED.

Excellent results have already been obtained in practice, including especially the installation of an artisan-scale peanut oil refinery with a capacity of extracting 7 liters of oil from 20 kilograms of peanuts. The use of lagoons or natural pools for the construction of small dams to be used in irrigation is another example worth mentioning.

"We must also report the existing of a likewise artisan-scale factory that turns out ceramics and construction items, especially panels, tiles, bricks, and other items to provide an incentive for the peasants in building their own homes."

Support for Cooperative Sector

The project provides the most aid however in the cooperative sector although the family sector also gets technical and material assistance.

According to Patricio Polupo, the project currently supports 11 agricultural cooperatives located in Meza, Mecuit, and Mapululo. This assistance extends from continuing technical support for cooperative farmers all the way to internal organization, logistic support and management.

"In the area of logistic support, for example, we are helping those farm production units in procuring hoes, seeds, fuel, fertilizer, and other production factors and in the shipment of products through contacts with other agencies, such as the Provincial Agricultural Directorate and the 400,000-hectare project," our source added.

5058

CSO: 3442/359

MOZAMBIQUE

ZEMBE-CENTRO LOCALITY CHANGES DISTRICTS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 20 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] The town of Zembe-Centro, which previously belonged to the District of Chimolo, Province of Manica, several days ago was transferred to the District of Sussundenga. This was done by the provincial government because several difficulties were discovered in supplying daily necessities.

This correction in the administrative division springs from the recommendations made by the provincial government and adopted during one of its recent working sessions.

MG Tobias Dai, the Manica province military commander, who presided over the transfer ceremonies for the town of Zembe-Centro from the District of Chimolo to the District of Sussundenga, explained that this will permit the town to be properly supplied and supported politically.

Tobias Dai noted that, before it was decided to transfer Zembe-Centro to the District of Sussundenga, the local population had serious difficulties in procuring food products, above all, since the district government did not always find it easy to exercise effective control over the political activities in the area, nor were they able to render proper assistance to the local inhabitants on various levels.

Geographically, the town of Zembe-Centro is closer to the District of Sussundenga than to its old administrative region (Chimoio). According to Tobias Dai, this among other things was the main cause that forced the government of the Province of Manica to take this step in an effort to improve the social situation of the town inhabitants.

In addition to the Manica provincial military commander, the ceremony was attended by the first secretaries of the FRELIMO Party and the district administrators of Chimolo and Sussundenga, Miguel Rabo and Alberto Sarande, respectively, as well as party and government cadres from that province.

On that occasion, the population of the town of Zembe-Centro gave the second secretary of the FRELIMO Party in Manica an amount of 6,000 meticals to be used to support the country's defensive capacity.

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

UEM DIRECTOR RECEIVES SOVIET MEDAL--A few days ago, in the nation's capital, the rector of Eduardo Mondlane University [UEM], Fernando Ganhao, received the medal commemorating the 225th anniversary of the founding of Lomonossov State University, in Moscow. Dr Vitaliy Karelin, director of the Preparatory School of Lomonossov State University, undertook the presentation of the medal at the request of the rector of that Moscow university. Founded in 1975, Lomonossov State University is the leading higher educational institution in the USSR devoted to both natural and human sciences. It consists of 17 schools. Mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and geology, included in natural sciences, and philosophy, philology, law, psychology, economics, soils, history and journalism, included in the human sciences, are considered fundamental sciences in the USSR. The main difference between this university and the others in the world is the fact that medicine is not included in its schools. At present, it is attended by over 30,000 students. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 11 Jul 85 p 1] 2909

NIASSA DISTRICTS STUDY COOPERATION--District delegations from Mecula and Marrupa, headed by the respective administrators, met recently in Mecula, at a regional gathering devoted to an analysis of the politico-military and socioeconomic situation in that region of Niassa Province. The meeting took note of the effort of the populations in those two districts to fulfill the decisions of the FRELIMO Party's Fourth Congress, particularly with regard to the fatherland's defense and the battle against famine. Hence, the meeting congratulated the Mecula and Marrupa populaces, primarily the young people from both districts, on their active participation in the politico-combat training courses, which are making it possible to efficiently train groups of People's Militias and local forces to ensure the defense and security of the communal villages and other centers of economic and social concern in the two districts. The populations were also congratulated on the fact that, during this current agricultural campaign, they raised production in the rural area; which, based on the conclusions from the meeting, will afford higher indexes of fulfillment of the goals for the present marketing campaign in both districts. The Marrupa and Mecula district delegations also decided at this meeting to establish mechanisms that would create facilities for the exchange of farm products between the two district's populations. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 17 Jul 85 p 5] 2909

BRITISH TECHNICIANS IN NIASSA--A technical team from Great Britain, arriving from the Republic of Malawi, recently worked in Metangula, headquarters of the district of Lago, in Niassa, in connection with the implementation of the SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] programs. Our correspondent in Lichinga said that this team, consisting of two consultants, went to Metangula to start planning the execution of a project to be carried out in the district of Lago, aimed at raising fish production. The source added that this project, the accomplishment of which will involve Mozambican, Tanzanian and Malawian authorities, will be executed on the waters of the "upper lake," with a view toward making total use of the potential resources of Lake Niassa which have not been properly utilized up until now. The execution of this project by the Mozambican side is assigned to the Metangula Fishing Complex. Meanwhile, a few minutes before returning to Malawi, the British team which remained in Metangula 2 days in order to discuss matters relating to this project, was received by the acting head of the Lago District Government, Marcos Buanamussa. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 17 Jul 85 p 1] 2909

AGRICOM TRAINS WORKERS--The provincial director of home trade in Niassa called upon the participants in the training course for warehouse comptrollers, marketing agents and treasurers to better organize the accounting sector of the province's agricultural enterprises, in order to afford stringent control of production. Jose Maiane Matavele spoke at the conclusion of that course, which involved 26 members selected from Niassa agricultural enterprises; adding that, even though the warehouse comptroller is an individual associated with accounting, he must nevertheless be involved in motivating the population to take part in the marketing campaign. The course lasted 21 days, and in it subjects relating to accounting, planning, marketing and the preservation of farm products were taught. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 11 Jul 85 p 2] 2909

POLITICAL COMMISSARS IN TRAINING--Yesterday morning, in Maputo, the first course for political training of the military companies' political commissars began. This course was sponsored by the political commissariat of the Maputo Provincial Military Command. The opening session was chaired by the provincial political commissar, Lt Amancio Cumaio. Nearly 40 individuals from various sub-units of the military companies of Maputo Province are taking part in this course. During its 20 days of duration, the participants will receive instruction relating to the subjects of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, psychology, pedagogy, history of Mozambique and history of FRELIMO, political economics and politico-educational work. As our reporter learned, the courses associated with subjects will be given by a total of six advisers. In his remarks, Lt Amancio Cumaio explained that the moral issue and the political consciousness of the population and the troops are a critical factor decisive to the final victory over the armed bandits. He commented: "For this reason, there is an urgent need to provide training for political cadres capable of engaging in widespread political mobilization among the population and combatants, as a means of intensifying the unity between the Army and the people." [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 13 Jul 85 p 8] 2909

MOGOVOLAS CASHEW FIGURES--Nearly 2,500 tons of cashew nuts from the 1984-85 agricultural marketing campaign were removed from the district of Mogovolas to the shelling factories in Angoche, according to an announcement made a few days ago by AGRICOM's [Agricultural Products Marketing Company] district agent in that zone of Nampula Province. The same source added that nearly 1,500 tons of the same product which, owing to the lack of transportation, are being held in the locality of Iuluti, in the district of Mogovales, still remain to be removed. Moreover, it was learned that, during the 1984-85 agricultural marketing campaign, the AGRICOM district agency in Mogovolas purchased slightly over 45 tons of peanuts, 12 of which were removed to the Angoche warehouses, from which they will be shipped by sea to the nation's capital. At the present time, the workers in that AGRICOM agency are organized into brigades to publicize the new prices of the farm products and to assign marketing targets to everyone participating in the process which began on 9 July. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 16 Jul 85 p 3] 2909

MECHANIC, ELECTRICIAN TRAINING SUCCESSFUL--The Pendray & Sousa occupational training school in the nation's capital trained 162 mechanics and electricians during the 3-year period 1982-84, according to a disclosure made a few days ago to our reporter by the assistant director of the Maputo enterprise, Venancio Masivele. With the capacity to train 60 technicians per year, the school opened in 1982 with two courses, one in mechanics and another in electricity. The courses are given by Mozambican specialists trained in the German Democratic Republic. As the assistant director of the Pendray & Sousa school remarked, in addition to the school located in the nation's capital, there are two others with the same capacity in Nampula and Sofala Provinces. After the proclamation of national independence, policies for cooperation were initiated with several socialist countries. It was in this context that nearly 150 Mozambican workers from enterprises such as Pendray & Sousa and others, were given special instruction in the German Democratic Republic. The GDR's IFA enterprise has been backing the school with donations, consisting of automobiles, equipment and other items. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 16 Jul 85 p 2] 2909

MURRUPULA DISTRICT CASHEW FIGURES--Of the 500 tons scheduled, Murrupula district in Mapulo succeeded in marketing only 260 tons of cashew nuts. Reports procured by our reporter indicate that the non-fulfillment of the goals was due to several obstacles, ranging from weather factors to uncontrolled land burning which left considerable numbers of cashew trees unproductive during the last campaign. With regard to products supporting the campaign, specifically, fabrics, ready-made clothing and others rather scarce on the district market, the source noted that the amounts received were relatively larger, and that if it had not been for the aforementioned reasons, this problem would not have been posed as a factor in the non-fulfillment of goals. Other reports provided to our reporter cite the completion of the process of repairing access roads, as a means of ensuring that the current farm product marketing campaign is progressing in the best possible manner in Murrupula. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 17 Jul 85 p 3] 2909

OTM SECRETARY TRAINING COURSE--A training course for secretaries of the Mozambican Workers Organization [OTM] engaged in organization has been under way since 8 July at this socio-occupational organization's facilities in the city of Maputo. This course was organized by the OTM Secretariat in Urban District No 1. According to information collected by our reporter from a source in OTM, the promotion of this course is aimed essentially at training the participants in trade union subjects; because, as we learned, many of the course attendees are engaging in their activities without the minimum trade union training. During the 25 days of its duration, the 45 course members will be subjected to learning subjects associated with trade union matters, such as organization, socialist emulation, political economics, Marxist-Leninist philosophy, hygiene and safety, as well as labor legislation. According to Jorge Quimice Gomes, secretary for organization in Urban District No 1, the participants in this course were selected from various productive sectors located in that zone of the city of Maputo. Jorge Quimice Gomes also added that this is the second course of its kind to take place in that urban district; because the first one was held in the middle of this year, 1985. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 16 Jul 85 p 2] 2909

SET CHOOSES YOUTH FOR GDR--A few days ago, the State Secretariat of Labor [SET] began recruiting youths to be sent to the German Democratic Republic for purposes of employment and occupational training, in the context of the agreements signed between that country and the People's Republic of Mozambique. According to a memorandum from the State Secretariat of Labor, sent to our editorial office, the following are necessary requirements for the candidates' enlistment: Age between 18 and 25 years; must be a resident of Maputo city and province; and must have minimal reading and writing ability, on the fourth grade level. Hence, all those interested have been informed that they may register in the Labor Directorate of the City of Maputo, and the provincial one, located in the nation's capital. For more detailed information, those interested should contact the Labor Directorate in the city, or the provincial directorate in Matola. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 17 Jul 85 p 2] 2909

CSO: 3442/355/356/357/358

NAMIBIA

GOVERNMENT URGED TO ACCELERATE FIGHT AGAINST SWAPO

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 10 Jul 85 p 5

[Report: "Lusaka Treaty Failed; Wipe Out SWAPO Now, says Sarel Becker"]

[Text] The highest priority of the South African Government should be that of definitively winning the war against SWAPO--especially now that the Defense Force itself says that it is in the process of gaining a victory over SWAPO.

Those are the words of the secretary of the HNP [Herstigte Nasionale Party] in the Southwest, Attorney Sarel Becker. Attorney Becker was asked for commentary on a statement by the head of the Southwest territorial force, Major-general George Meiring, that the Defense Force "is in the process of winning the war against SWAPO." General Meiring made the statement at a news conference in Windhoek which was attended by a great number of local and foreign journalists.

Attorney Becker said that the government should immediately let go of its policy according to which the war against SWAPO is being waged to gain time for political "changes." The latter include the risky experiment now taking place in the Southwest with a transition government. "The Defense Force has demonstrated clearly that it can win the war against SWAPO and its hand must be strengthened in this," according to Attorney Becker.

Attorney Becker said that time had proven that the current policy of the government is not beneficial to the Southwest. In spite of all its concessions, foreign countries have made it very clear that they will only be satisfied with a SWAPO government in Windhoek. Therefore not even the multiracial transition government is acceptable to them. Now the Defense Force must be allowed to wipe out SWAPO completely so that the problems of the Southwest can be solved in peace, Attorney Becker declares.

General Meiring's statement was followed by a statement of the Defense Force that another 16 SWAPO terrorists had been shot by the Defense Force. This brings the total number of terrorists killed last week by the Defense Force to 61.

The increased SWAPO activities confirm the suspicion that the Lusaka treaty between the government and Angola now has completely failed. According to that treaty, concluded last year in the Zambian capital, the Angolan Government would see to it that its territory is not used as a starting point for terrorism against the Southwest. In exchange for that, South Africa had to withdraw its troops from Angola.

The South African withdrawal from Angola took place after strong American pressure on the South African Government. The government was informed by the United States that withdrawal was a prerequisite for a "solution" of the Southwest problem. Although the Angolan Government attempted to restrain SWAPO, it was soon obvious that that government is unable to exercise any real control over the terrorists. The South African Government still went ahead with the withdrawal of the Defense Force, apparently under pressure from Washington.

The consequence of this was that SWAPO recently was able to establish bases just inside the Angolan territory from which attacks could be carried out against the Southwest. According to reports the Defense Force had to penetrate 15 kilometers into Angolan territory in order to carry out a retaliatory attack.

8700

CSO: 3401/270

NAMIBIA

HNP MEMBER CRITICIZED FOR ADVOCATING SEPARATE EDUCATION

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 31 Jul 85 p 5

[Article: "Plea for Separate Education 'Racist' -- Commotion over Letter"]

[Text] An open letter pleading for the retention of separate education in Southwest [i.e. Southwest Africa/Namibia] was termed "racist" by that region's "prime minister." The letter, written by an HNP [Herstigste Nasionale Party] head committee member, Mr Willem Krugel, enjoyed wide publicity in Southwest's news media last week. Although in his letter Mr Krugel explains that integrated education would be to the disadvantage of all groups, the chairman of Southwest's cabinet, Mr Dawid Bezuidenhout, deplored it. He said the letter is "racist."

Mr Krugel asks Mr Bezuidenhout in the letter to use his influence to assure that schools are not opened up. Such a step would be discriminating against white and non-white because the standard of education within the first year would have to be lowered by at least 25 percent to accommodate non-white children. White children's development would be obstructed by that. "We prefer that the children develop in a natural way without their powers of development being damaged."

Mr Krugel points out that as recently as 333 years ago blacks lived a primitive existence in Africa and were wholly illiterate. The situation began to change only with the coming of the whites, but it was not until this century that the non-whites began to show their viability for development and education for a higher standard of living. In contrast, the whites' development already began a few thousand years ago. The development of the various races thus differs, and to be fair to everyone each race must be allowed to develop separately.

"If you cannot convince your cabinet, you will discriminate against and damage the right of self-determination of the whites. That will inflame racial hatred and destroy the unity which you are trying to build," Mr Krugel wrote to Mr Bezuidenhout.

In his reaction to Mr Bezuidenhout's accusation that his letter was "racist," Mr Krugel said that he pointed out irrefutable historical facts. "Is one racist if one puts the interests of one's own group first?" Mr Krugel asked.

Mr Krugel's letter springs from the agitation now prevailing in Southwest because of Proclamation AG 8. According to that measure, education is the jurisdiction of second-level ethnic authorities. Non-white members of the National Assembly have already asked that AG 8 be deleted. Concern among whites about the future of white education has already grown to the extent that the chairman of the white executive committee and leader of the SWANP [Southwest Africa National Party], Mr Kosie Pretorius, had to issue a statement about it. Mr Pretorius said that white education is "unnegotiable." Later, however, other spokesmen for his party said that AG 8 is not a "golden calf."

It is clear from the first series of discussions in the National Assembly that AG 8 is quickly becoming a serious point of contention. During a recent discussion a representative of Swapo-D said that the second-level authorities are comparable to the colonial system and that bribery is used to "oppress" blacks. Group rights are advocated in order to continue racial discrimination and preserve white domination. "We demand an equal distribution of the country's wealth, equal pay for equal work, the right to live where we want, the right to do business where we want, universal education for our children, the right to give and the right to take. Racism is the result of white hypocrisy," said the Swapo-D member of the National Assembly.

13084

CSO: 3401/191

SOUTH AFRICA

U.S. ACCUSED OF MISINTERPRETING RSA'S POLICY

Johannesburg DIE VADERLAND in Afrikaans 2 Jul 85 p 8

[Report on interview with Professor John Barrat, director general of the Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg, by Otto Krause: "The United States Has Misinterpreted SA Policy"; date not given]

[Text] Relations between the United States and South Africa have deteriorated lately--especially on the American part.

Otto Krause interviewed Professor John Barrat, director general of the Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg, on this state of affairs.

[Question] Do you believe the deterioration in South African-American relations to be serious?

[Answer] In view of the general uncertainty in South Africa's domestic and foreign relations, the deterioration in our relations with the American government is very unfortunate.

South Africa is already under pressure by the American Congress. In other words, the policy of constructive engagement of the Reagan administration is being interfered with.

If relations with the United States deteriorate even further, the situation may become serious. For example, it may start to influence economic relations. It could also decrease the desire of the administration to veto anti-South African actions in the Security Council of the United Nations.

[Question] How did this unfortunate situation arise?

[Answer] The general campaign for divestment and sanctions against South Africa now is affecting the Congress. Moreover, the administration has interpreted the recent actions of our government in Southern Africa as contrary to the objective of stabilization of the southern African region.

One should keep in mind that the policy of constructive engagement is aimed at the region as a whole and not only South Africa.

Dr Chester Crocker and the administration have pointed out that in spite of the unrest in South Africa itself, the policy of constructive engagement still has succeeded in improving general conditions in the region.

As examples of such success, they specifically referred to the Nkomati Treaty with Mozambique and the Lusaka Treaty with Angola. In that manner they also referred to South Africa's more relaxed relations with other countries in the region.

Now the American government is bitter over what they consider a change in South Africa's policy toward its neighbors.

To me it seems, however, that the Americans have either misinterpreted South Africa's policy or they have been misled. The Americans apparently thought that our government had laid down its arms after the Nkomati Treaty. South Africa did not change its policy, however. It is always based on two premises.

One is the use of pressure, military and economic, to protect South African interests in the region, especially to ward off the ANC, and the other is the use of negotiations--and also economic incentives--to persuade neighboring governments to cooperate.

[Question] Can you give an example?

Our government, for example, stated that it had tried for many months to persuade the Botswana Government to cooperate on the ANC problem before it decided on the military action against the ANC in Gaborone.

Several statements by the South African Government over the past year included warnings in that context. But apparently the Americans misread those warnings, perhaps as a result of a certain degree of wishful thinking that all the problems of the region can be solved merely through negotiations.

This shows that South African and American interests in the southern African region do not always necessarily coincide--and this creates problems, especially with governments.

[Question] Do you think that the disillusionment over the South African policy on the part of the American administration will affect its attitude toward the anti-South African actions of the Congress?

I doubt that the administration will change its basic standpoint against sanctions and divestment.

The proposals of the Congress are primarily focussed on domestic conditions in South Africa. The administration is still opposed to interference of that nature because it would be ineffective and even counterproductive.

But it is possible that the administration might consider supporting anti-South African decisions of the Security Council of the United Nations -- although I still doubt whether at this stage the administration would go as

far as to support United Nations sanctions against South Africa. In other words, the change will primarily come down to a more critical standpoint toward South Africa in the United Nations.

The administration might possibly cooperate less with South Africa in less important matters.

I don't want to create the impression that such actions by the United Nations and in other areas are not important, for it could indeed encourage other governments to take more severe actions against South Africa.

[Question] Do you think that the Reagan Administration might go as far as to abandon constructive engagement?

[Answer] That is improbable because it would be difficult to formulate an alternative policy with any hope of promoting American interests in Southern Africa.

However, there might be adaptations in the policy and possibly even changes with respect to the personnel applying the policy. There are speculations that Dr Crocker and Ambassador Herman Nickel may pull out.

In my opinion such dismissals will create even greater problems for our relations. A good rapport already exists between those officials, the South African Government and other authorities in South Africa. New officials will have to build up such good relations from scratch.

8700

CSO: 3401/267

SOUTH AFRICA

BOTHA'S PRESIDENCY, CONSTITUTION, PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESSION

Johannesburg LEADERSHIP SOUTH AFRICA in English Vol 4, No 2, 1985 pp 30
32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 41, 42, 45, 46, 49

[Article by Deon Geldenhuys and Hennie Kotzel]

[Text]

A true test of the greatness of men of action, someone suggested, is the absence of any lukewarmness towards them: they are either despised or adored. P W Botha is certainly a man of action. And his personal style tends to produce just such extreme reactions among many people. Yet others regard him as something of a political enigma, a man of many parts who can be alternately charming or abrasive, inspire confidence or cause despair.

Although in power for over six years now (as Prime Minister, 1978-1984, and subsequently as executive State President), Botha is still an aloof leader. He has neither the easy public rapport of his predecessor, John Vorster, nor has he become a "people's politician" like Foreign Minister Pik Botha. P W Botha has, whether by design or not, remained a very private person.

In May 1985, for the purposes of this article, the authors interviewed a wide range of people who are in close contact with Botha or had worked with him over many years. Botha emerges as a complex figure, combining fine qualities of leadership with negative personality traits. It is easy to see why so many people cannot remain lukewarm towards him, while others find him confusing.

THE MAKING OF A LEADER

P W Botha's leadership style is not merely the product of his premiership or subsequent state presidency; its origins can be traced far back.

Pieter Willem Botha, born on 12 January 1916, was the favoured son of a farming couple in the Paul Roux district of the Orange Free State. Pieter Willem senior

was a fairly prosperous farmer, known for his thoroughbred horses. Although a "bittereinder" in the Anglo-Boer War, Botha senior was for his time a remarkably open-minded man of the world. Hendrina Botha, his wife, was a woman to be reckoned with. She, too, experienced the trauma of the Anglo-Boer War - in a British concentration camp. A deeply religious woman, she wanted Pieter Willem junior to take up theology. Hendrina Botha's father was a Member of Parliament in the old Free State Republic, and this might have shaped her independent political mind.

Not surprisingly, young Pieter Willem developed an early interest in politics; it soon became a passion. He accompanied his father to political meetings and even held his own, addressing motley bands of white friends and black farm hands. At school, first in Paul Roux and later Bethlehem, he made his mark as a student leader; however, as a scholar he performed rather disappointingly.

In 1934 Botha enrolled as a law student at Grey University College in Bloemfontein, intending to become an advocate. In his second year he dropped law and switched to politics and economics, subjects that had a greater appeal. It was at college that Botha first became known as "P W" - so named by his English lecturer.

The early Thirties marked a turbulent period in Afrikaner politics. Following the fusion of General J B M Hertzog's National Party and General J C Smuts's South African Party in December 1934, to form the United Party, a number of rebel Nationalists under Dr D F Malan opted for the continued separate existence of the National Party, then renamed the Purified (*Gesuiwerde*) Party.

This event split the Botha household, with Pieter Willem senior supporting fusion and his wife siding with Malan. P W, his deep respect for Hertzog notwithstanding, also joined Malan. The young student made no secret of his political loyalties, writing frequent letters to the Bloemfontein daily, *Die Volksblad*.

In these years, Botha came into contact with leading Nationalists who were to have a profound influence on his political outlook and career. Dr Nico Diederichs, a German-trained professor of Philosophy at Grey University College, is said to have first made P W aware of the dangers of communism. Botha in fact made his political debut at a National Party congress in 1937 by introducing a hard-hitting motion against communism. Dr D F Malherbe, a noted Afrikaans poet, impressed P W with his passionate Afrikaner nationalism. C R Swart, a prominent Free State figure in Malan's party, took the young Botha under his wing and gave him his first lessons in party organisation. Botha shared Swart's ardent support for a republic. As a student, Botha also had the opportunity of meeting Malan when he presented the Nationalist leader with an address on behalf of Bloemfontein students. In later years, Malan was to become Botha's mentor.

Botha's academic career ended prematurely when (without completing his studies) he took up an appointment as a National Party organiser in the Cape Province in 1936. He was offered the job by F C Erasmus, chief secretary of the party in the Cape. The new recruit soon displayed a remarkable talent for organisation, but his abrasive style, impetuosity and hot-headedness upset many Nationalists accustomed to the more relaxed atmosphere of Cape politics. Botha also made a name for himself as a political wrecker, breaking up more opposition meetings than arranging his own. In the heady war years, Botha had a brief flirtation with the radical *Ossewa-Brandwag*, resigning in 1941 in protest against the organisation's national-socialist leanings.

The Overberg town of Swellendam was part of Botha's political beat. It is here that he met his wife, Elize, daughter of the local Dutch Reformed dominee. They married in 1943, just after she had completed her BA degree at the University of Stellenbosch. Two sons and three daughters were born of the marriage; the youngest child, a son, was born in 1968.

Botha first contested an election in 1943, when he was soundly beaten for the provincial seat in

Vasco. Inspired by Malan, Botha threw himself with renewed vigour into gearing the Cape National Party for the next general election. The party's spectacular progress between the elections of 1943 and 1948 was in no small measure due to Botha's labours. He had his own reward too, winning the George parliamentary seat with a handsome majority. The 32-year-old Member of Parliament was subsequently appointed chief secretary of the Cape National Party, succeeding Erasmus who was appointed to Malan's cabinet.

As party supremo, Botha directed the Cape National Party with "military precision", further enhancing its reputation as the "most efficient and most disciplined" of the four provincial National party organisations. Other features of Botha's style were the high premium he placed on loyalty and his ruthlessness; he would reward loyalty with loyalty, but came down mercilessly on those who betrayed this loyalty and damaged the party's interests.

An insightful view of Botha as a back-bench MP is provided by an Opposition contemporary, Harry Oppenheimer. "He impressed me as a very powerful organiser but a rather destructive back-bench speaker." Despite his strong party commitment, Botha went to great lengths to represent the interests of his constituents. He held regular report-back meetings in George and was readily accessible to the voters.

After 10 years in Parliament, P W Botha was appointed Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs by Prime Minister H F Verwoerd. In 1961 Botha became Minister of Coloured Affairs, of Community Development and of Housing in Verwoerd's cabinet. In his brief tenure as deputy minister, Botha probably impressed Verwoerd with his organisational skills and capacity for hard work – attributes sorely lacking in Botha's immediate superior, the Minister of Internal Affairs.

As Minister, Botha carried a major responsibility in formulating and implementing apartheid as it affected the coloured community. Political apartheid decreed that coloureds should have their own so-called representative institutions, separate from but subordinate to the white parliament. Social apartheid was manifested above all in the Group Areas Act, which caused grave hardship among coloureds. Botha nonetheless distinguished himself as an able administrator who kept a tight rein on his departments.

TO THE FRONT: DEFENCE MINISTER

In April 1966 Verwoerd appointed Botha as Minister of Defence, a portfolio he was to hold for twelve years.

Botha was surprised about the move, telling Verwoerd that he had had virtually nothing to do with the military since being a school cadet. What aggravated matters for the new incumbent was that neither of his two Nationalist predecessors in the portfolio had been particularly successful. Botha inherited a Defence Force that was singularly ill-equipped for its task and demoralised by political purges and bureaucratic infighting.

Botha lost no time in acquainting himself with his new task. He spent days and weeks visiting military bases in all parts of the country, handled weapons and sampled the experience of taking off in a fighter plane and going down in a submarine. The Minister of Defence built up a relationship of trust with the new generation of officers. Many of them products of the Military Academy at Saldanha, they formed a kind of think-tank assisting Botha in rejuvenating the Defence Force. Within a few years the Force had been transformed into a highly efficient fighting machine. Apart from organisational restructuring, the Defence Force was greatly expanded with the introduction of national service.

The Defence Force's own management style merely strengthened Botha's proven organisational abilities. He was impressed by the military's emphasis on discipline, order, planning and team work. The Defence Force, in turn, appreciated their political master's dedication, loyalty and willingness to make quick decisions.

Probably one of Botha's greatest contributions as Minister of Defence was his role in developing South Africa's arms industry. The Armaments Corporation of South Africa (Armcor), a state corporation, is the official and sole procurement agent of armaments for the Defence Force. In the early Seventies, an estimated 70 per cent of the defence budget was spent on arms imports; a decade later it was only about 15 per cent.

Today, South Africa enjoys a high degree of self-sufficiency in armaments and Armcor has entered the export market. What no doubt provided an important impetus to the local arms industry was the UN Security Council's mandatory arms embargo against South Africa in 1977. This cut South Africa off from its last major arms supplier, France. South Africa's important French connection had in fact been cultivated by none other than Botha, who had established a close accord with several French leaders.

During Botha's tenure as Minister of Defence, South Africa became militarily involved in a number of foreign conflicts. There is some evidence of secret

South African involvement in Portugal's colonial wars in Angola and Mozambique. South African forces were openly sent into Rhodesia. South Africa covertly supported the Biafran rebels in the Nigerian civil war. And then, in 1975-76, South African forces intervened in the Angolan civil war.

The key political decisions regarding South Africa's involvement in the Angolan war were apparently taken by only Botha and Prime Minister Vorster, with Botha very much the initiator. Botha's reliance on the military instrument of foreign policy gave him the reputation of a "hawk", a hardliner who seemed to have little faith in diplomacy as a means of resolving regional conflicts and safeguarding South Africa's security.

The Angolan war must have been a traumatic experience for Botha. On the one hand, the South African public was deliberately kept in the dark about the country's involvement in the conflict. On the other hand, the public was informed of a growing list of South African casualties somewhere in the so-called operational area. The secrecy inevitably spawned rumour upon rumour, shaking white morale. Botha is known to have been deeply moved by the South African loss of life in Angola and this consideration certainly weighed heavily with him and Vorster in the eventual decision to withdraw South African forces from Angola in March 1976.

Botha's hawkishness probably brought him into repeated conflicts with his cabinet colleague, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. This would have applied particularly to South Africa's regional relations, with the foreign ministry typically emphasising diplomatic or non-violent means of resolving conflict and warning about possible international repercussions of a militant regional strategy.

The Minister of Defence also had his share of differences with Prime Minister Vorster. One of the causes was the role Vorster allowed General H J van den Bergh, head of the Bureau for State Security, to play in both domestic and foreign policy matters. Vorster's principal confidant, Van den Bergh has been depicted as "the power behind the throne". There was no love lost between the two of them. Botha also found himself at odds with cabinet colleagues about the way state funds were secretly channelled to the Department of Information for its clandestine propaganda activities.

Finally, he became increasingly frustrated about Vorster's lack of movement, towards the end of his premiership, on burning domestic issues. By then,

Botha had become deeply involved in the issue of political rights for coloureds and Indians. He chaired a cabinet committee that investigated the matter and reported in 1977. Its recommendations – at the heart of which was three parliaments for whites, coloureds and Indians – were rejected by the other two groups.

By the time Vorster resigned the premiership in September 1978, Botha was the senior cabinet minister. His portfolio was a key one. What added to Botha's influence was that he had been Cape leader of the National Party since 1966. The four provincial leaders of the National Party are traditionally members of the cabinet, where they carry considerable weight. Botha is known to have been a headstrong minister, determined and forthright in cabinet meetings. On more than one occasion, the impatient Botha, apparently not having got his way in cabinet, afterwards in exasperation told his staff that he should resign from the government.

PRIME MINISTER, 1978-1984

Vorster's resignation sparked off a fierce succession struggle. In the race were P W Botha, Dr C P Mulder, Minister of Information and Transvaal leader of the National Party, and Pik Botha, the youthful Foreign Minister who had less than two years of cabinet experience. Mulder, widely regarded as the front-runner, in the end lost to Botha. The Transvaal strongman's chances were dashed by the darkening clouds over his department. Also, nearly all the supporters of Pik Botha, who drew the least votes in the first ballot, switched their support to Botha in the second round.

The new leader faced an uphill struggle to consolidate his power in the National Party. There was a strong (and traditional) Transvaal bias against a "Cape man". Botha had moreover long been the target of a sustained campaign of slander – which largely overlaid the provincial animosities. Mulder's subsequent departure from the party, and the right-wing break-away some years later, greatly strengthened Botha's position.

Botha was elected Prime Minister just before the full extent of the Information scandal was publicly revealed. Against this background, the new head of government not surprisingly made great play of the need for "efficient, clean administration". One of Prime Minister Botha's first major achievements was a thorough-going restructuring of the decision-making machinery. The existing twenty ad hoc cabinet committees were reduced to five (subsequently four) permanent cabinet committees, one of which was an upgraded State Security Council. The Office

of the Prime Minister was expanded and a cabinet secretariat established for the first time. Next in line for an organisational overhaul was the civil service. The existing 39 government departments were reduced to 22. While Botha did not initiate the restructuring of the bureaucracy, he certainly had the political will to implement it with speed and vigour.

Four further themes stand out in Botha's premiership. One is the need for political reform, to "adapt or die". His reform strategy – initiated some years earlier by the Theron Commission which recommended a new political deal for coloureds – focused on the political accommodation of the coloured and Indian communities. The upshot was the new constitution of 1983, endorsed by two-thirds of the white voters in a referendum in November 1983.

The second theme is that of a constellation of states. Although not a new idea or term, Botha gave it a prominence and substance previously lacking. Initially, it was a grandiose design for an association of up to 10 states in Southern Africa, including South Africa and its independent homelands. There were, however, no takers among the internationally-recognised black states. Pretoria was left to scale down its constellation plans to a grouping comprising only South Africa and the former homelands. Since then the concept of a constellation has largely disappeared from the official vocabulary. Instead, reference is made to "multilateral co-operation in Southern Africa". In official circles this association, with its various formal structures, is frequently compared with a confederation of states.

Both the reform strategy and the constellation design formed part and parcel of a "total national strategy". As Minister of Defence, Botha had been an enthusiastic exponent of a total national strategy – a concept officially introduced in the 1973 Defence White Paper – but it was only after becoming Prime Minister that the idea was actually implemented. The strategy was designed to counter a "total onslaught" on South Africa. This was seen as an orchestrated international-cum-domestic assault on four power bases: political/diplomatic, social/psychological, economic and security. As Defence Minister, Botha had already made good use of the total onslaught theme; as Prime Minister he made even greater use of it. Perhaps because the twin themes of a total onslaught and a total national strategy were so assiduously propagated, they tended to suffer the

familiar fate of over-exposure, losing their appeal and ultimately their credibility. Today, the concepts are seldom if ever trotted out in public.

Finally, on the diplomatic front Prime Minister Botha could claim some major successes. Whether he initiated the diplomatic achievements is open to question, but he must have supported the initiatives and in the end crowned them with his presence. One thinks particularly of Botha's meeting with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda in 1982 and his signing the Accord of Nkomati with Mozambican President Samora Machel in 1984. Many observers were taken by surprise when Botha, given his "hawkish" reputation, emerged as a regional peacemaker.

FIRST EXECUTIVE STATE PRESIDENT

The constitution of 1983 abolished the post of Prime Minister. Instead, the positions of head of government and head of state were combined in the office of State President. The incumbent is indirectly elected by an electoral college composed of members of the three houses of Parliament.

It was a foregone conclusion that Botha would become South Africa's first executive State President. In fact, he was the only candidate for the office. President Botha was sworn in on 14 September 1984. The next day he announced his cabinet, which included – for the first time in South African history – a coloured and an Indian minister.

In January 1985 the new three-chamber Parliament met for its first full session. The House of Assembly (whites), House of Representatives (coloureds) and House of Delegates (Indians) deliberate in separate chambers, with joint sessions reserved for particular occasions such as Parliament's opening ceremony and the second reading of draft legislation. The constitution makes provision, however, for joint discussion on so-called general affairs through various standing committees that meet in camera.

The new constitutional dispensation, as it is popularly styled, was launched amid the most sustained unrest ever in urban black townships. This serves as a powerful reminder of South Africa's major unresolved issue, the political accommodation of the black community. There is no doubt that the government hopelessly misjudged the intensity of black reaction against a system that intentionally excludes blacks.

P W BOTHA'S POLITICAL STYLE

This brief overview of P W Botha's career provides some pointers to his political or leadership style.

Some of the features mentioned need further consideration, while others should be added.

Botha's passionate interest in politics can be traced back to his childhood days. He is by nature a political animal, to quote Aristotle. (On Malan's recommendation, Botha as young party organiser also studied Plato's *Republic*.) It is no coincidence that Botha has spent a lifetime in active politics, knowing no other profession. He was in fact the first professional politician to become Prime Minister of South Africa.

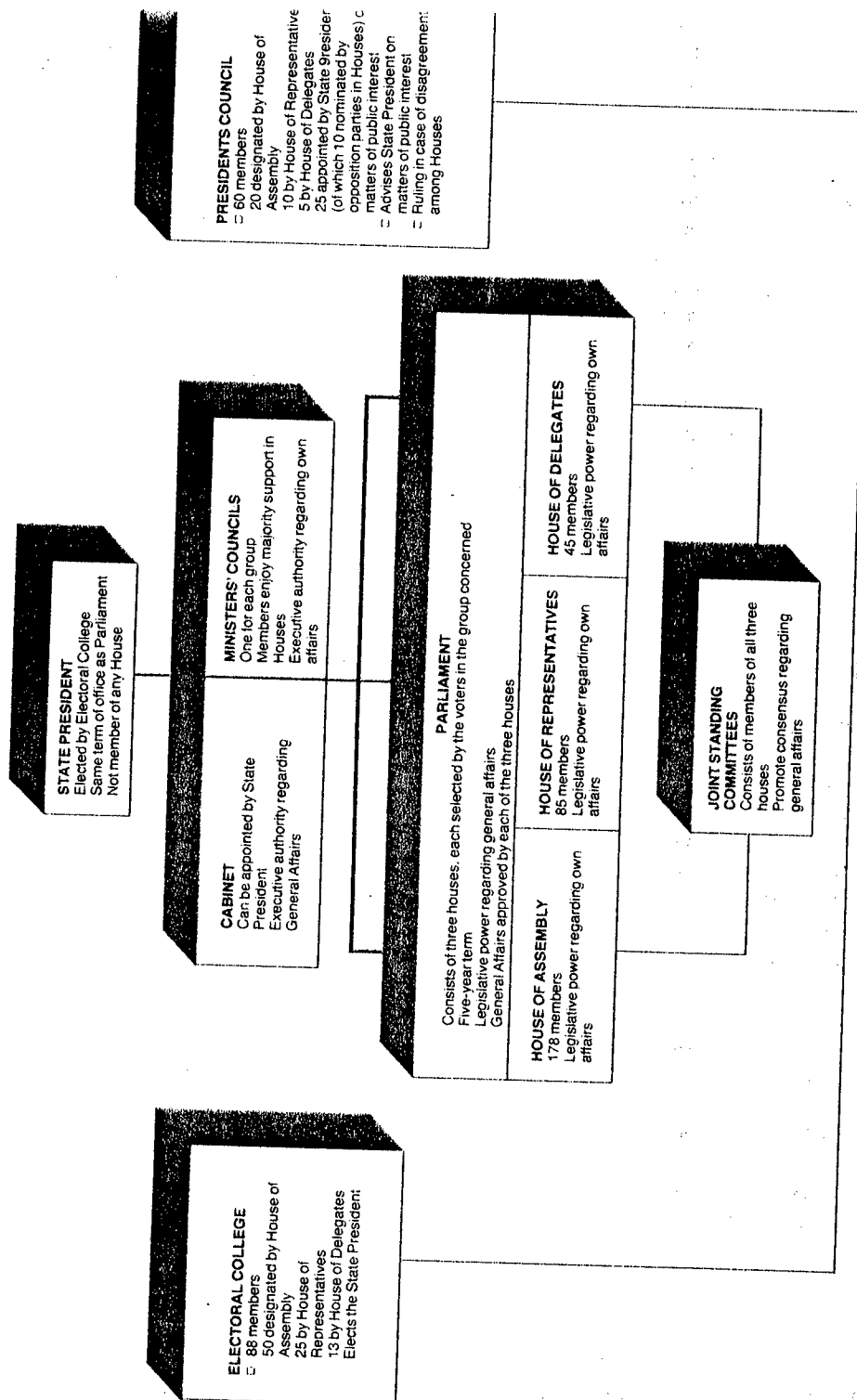
Malan seems to have had an abiding influence on Botha. Botha today still regards Malan, who taught him that Afrikaner identity did not conflict with a "broader nationalism", as his political mentor. In several respects, Botha does not emulate his great tutor. For one thing, Botha is a far more pragmatic politician than Malan, who was a political fundamentalist. Also, Botha's impatience contrasts sharply with Malan's political plodding.

One aspect of Botha's style, on which both his admirers and detractors agree, is his tremendous capacity for work. This had already been apparent in his days as party organiser and has since been maintained. His staff experience him as a "mover and shaker", a man who is always at the centre of action. His impatient nature drives him to handle matters as quickly as possible. Thus Botha's habit of clearing his desk before leaving his office. One is left with the impression that Botha thrives on crises, much as Verwoerd did. Verwoerd, it is said (with a dose of exaggeration), first thing in the morning enquired whether there was a crisis to be handled; if not, he invented one.

On becoming State President, Botha's workload increased, for he combines the burdens of head of state and head of government. All his life, Botha has been remarkably healthy, never missing a day's work. A close friend has remarked that work is Botha's hobby. He also keeps fit through walking and horse-riding, and sleeps well and easily. Nonetheless, since late 1984 there have been persistent rumours that he is in poor health, raising questions about his continued tenure in office.

Botha's energy also finds expression in his organisational skills. Cabinet ministers know him as an accomplished manager who familiarises himself with their departmental responsibilities. Though he leaves them a large measure of discretion, he keeps a watchful eye on their performance – which in his book means effective organisation and action. Botha's handling of the cabinet differs profoundly from that of his two predecessors. Verwoerd completely dominated his cabinet and interfered in the

HOW THE COUNTRY IS GOVERNED



detailed working of departments. Vorster, in contrast, had a laissez-faire attitude, generally preferring not to be bothered by departmental matters.

An early feature of Botha's premiership was the way in which he drew bureaucrats into top-level political decision-making. This was done through the various cabinet committees and their subsidiary organisations. Best known of these committees was the State Security Council (SSC), which had a vast network of supporting institutions. Various explanations have been offered for Botha's reliance on the inputs of expert bureaucrats or technocrats in political decision making. First, the Defence Force probably convinced him of the value of a team effort in decision-making, with professional experts supplying information and advice.

A second and entirely different explanation portrays Botha's "government by committee" as a substitute for decisive leadership. Botha, so the argument goes, is afraid of stepping out and giving a firm lead; he is obsessed with having his "back covered" by others, both politicians and professional bureaucrats (there is, however, ample evidence to refute this charge; decisiveness is a hallmark of Botha's leadership style).

A third explanation of Botha's style of government relates to his legendary quick temper. The argument is that the system of government by committee may go some way towards preventing rash decisions being taken in moments of ill temper.

Finally, Botha is said to be overawed by people with high academic qualifications. This is then related to his own lack of academic qualifications, which leaves him with an inferiority complex. Botha, the critics maintain, finds himself "in a job too big for him". To compensate, Botha has surrounded himself with staff sporting doctorates. In the State President's Office, for example, three of the four top officials have doctorates. But this, too, is a questionable explanation for Botha's leadership style. While he may be duly impressed by the expertise of this bevy of doctors, he doesn't hesitate to challenge them in debate.

Botha's preoccupation with planning extends well beyond the various formal structures already outlined. On a personal level he tends to be painfully methodical, particularly in preparing speeches –

Vorster, in contrast, would make impromptu speeches from a few hastily prepared notes – for official meetings and other encounters. Because he fears being caught unawares, Botha approaches potentially confrontational meetings with a plan of action. Part of this strategy may well include a display of ill temper designed to impress, if not intimidate, his adversaries. On other occasions Botha's loss of temper is quite spontaneous – but may have the same result.

A celebrated recent confrontation was with a delegation of maize farmers. An unyielding Botha refused to heed the farmer's demands. Afterwards, the leader of the delegation described him as a "tough customer" who had given them a "rough" reception. It was one of the "most unpleasant" meetings in his life, the farmers' leader said.

The showdown with the maize farmers points to Botha's decisiveness, even ruthlessness, when he believes the occasion demands it. This trait of Botha fits in with his impatience and his "clean desk" approach. Decisions nearly always involve risks, and Botha has certainly taken some major gambles in recent years. One need only recall his confrontation with the right-wing rebels in the National Party in 1982, leading to a split in the party. The decision to submit the government's constitutional proposals to a white referendum in 1983 also carried considerable political risks.

Botha's willingness to make tough and quick decisions, and to run the accompanying political risks, stands in sharp contrast to Vorster's caution, often indecisiveness. Vorster was hamstrung by the ever-present spectre of right-wing resistance to policy changes. And he seemed to suffer from a loss of political will and direction, particularly towards the end of his premiership. Had Vorster still been in office, reform initiatives such as a mixed Parliament, a new labour dispensation and the scrapping of sex laws, would probably not have been taken.

Two crucial political issues that have still not been resolved by Botha, after nearly seven years in power, are independence for Namibia and the political accommodation of black South Africans. It may well be that the government is undecided on both questions. Clearly, these matters cannot be left unresolved indefinitely. In line with his impatient nature, Botha has already said that he wants to resolve the question of black citizenship during his period in office.

What perhaps improves the prospects for progress on the two issues – assuming of course he remains in office for a few more years – is Botha's proven flexibility. Botha admittedly recognises

certain ideological parameters, but he is a far less orthodox Nationalist than any of his predecessors.

In dismantling elements of apartheid Botha has come to be regarded by some Nationalists as merely a "reluctant liberal", a man who is grudgingly undoing his political past. But such a view implies only the force of circumstance and makes no allowance for the various other factors influencing Botha's actions.

In facing up to the daunting challenges of leadership, Botha is said to be sustained by his optimistic outlook on life. His staff portray him as an optimist by nature, who rarely becomes despondent. That is not always evident in his public utterances; repeated warnings of a total onslaught against South Africa could hardly have inspired (white) confidence in the future.

Many other aspects of Botha's personality remain hidden from the public view. He has, for example, strong religious beliefs, is a regular churchgoer and finds solace and inspiration in the Scriptures. His convictions find expression in public references to love, morality and justice. Of course, an emphasis on Christian values is not hard to find in South African politics: consider the utterances of such diverse figures as Prime Minister Malan, Dr Beyers Naudé, Bishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Andries Treurnicht and Dr Allan Boesak. Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned ANC leader, is also a committed Christian – but none of his utterances may be made public. Clearly, the demands of Christianity are interpreted differently by different people.

Close associates observe that Botha does not suffer from the insularity of many other South African politicians. As Defence Minister, he made several open and secret visits abroad, some to African states. In 1984, while still Prime Minister, he paid an extensive official visit to Western European countries. His frequent portrayal of world politics as an all-consuming struggle between communism and anti-communism may, however, raise doubts in many minds about his understanding of the intricacies of international relations.

An intriguing aspect of political leaders is whether they have role-models. In the case of P W Botha, there is precious little to go on. Reference has already been made to Malan, for whom Botha had a particular regard. The fact that Botha has a painting of President M W Pretorius, leader of the Transvaal Republic, in his Pretoria office might indicate some admiration for him. Prime Minister Hertzog is another South African leader he holds in high esteem.

Hertzog's famous slogan of "South Africa first"

has left a lasting impression on Botha. His right-wing critics maintain that Botha uses the slogan to promote the idea of a non-racial South African nationalism at the expense of Afrikaner nationalism. As far as foreign heroes are concerned, it is known that Botha was greatly impressed by Dr António Salazar, the Portuguese dictator, whom Botha visited in 1967. Salazar first alerted Botha to the dangers of a "red belt across Africa", from coast to coast.

In his long years in politics, P W Botha has had a pillar of support in his wife, Elize. She shares his interest in politics and was involved in the Cape National Party organisation for over twenty years. As wife of the Minister of Defence, Mrs Botha went to great lengths to give moral support to the armed forces. Botha is deeply attached to his wife. When she became gravely ill in mid-1978, he seriously considered retiring from politics. However, she recovered and Botha was elected Prime Minister a few months later. The Bothas can rightly be described as South Africa's "most experienced political couple".

There is considerable doubt about who comes near Botha. It is said that, among cabinet members, Foreign Minister Pik Botha stands closest to him, followed by Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning. Pik's poll position is variously explained as a reward for his supporting Botha in the second round of the leadership contest in 1978, and because Pik, who is very much the (white) "people's politician", can in a sense compensate for his leader's lack of charisma: Pik's flamboyant, even theatrical, style and his rhetorical skills (in both Afrikaans and English) contrast sharply with his leader's often dour public image and rather unimpressive articulation (particularly in English). It should also be borne in mind that Pik Botha holds a key portfolio which necessarily involves continuous close liaison with the head of government. The latter consideration applies equally to Heunis.

Another politician in P W Botha's inner circle is his long-time intimate friend, Koot van Staden, a nominated Nationalist MP. Van Staden, too, is an old Cape National Party organiser and today serves as the State President's eyes and ears in the National Party, both in Parliament and beyond. Among the

top bureaucrats, General A J van Deventer, head of the SSC Secretariat,* Dr Jannie Roux, Secretary General of the State President's Office, and Dr L D Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service, are thought to hold the inside track.

As leader of the National Party, Botha has put a personal stamp on the party's parliamentary caucus. The caucus has a fixed agenda, but the details are seldom made known to members in advance. Botha impresses Nationalist MPs with his willingness to allow wide-ranging caucus debate. He is known for his powers of persuasion which, in turn, can be related to his ability to simplify and explain complex issues. This, however, does not mean that the caucus plays an initiating role in policy-making; that has traditionally been the preserve of the head of government and his cabinet. What strikes a new member of the caucus is, in fact, the dominant role played by Botha and his ministers.

Botha is clearly in charge of the caucus and he does not hesitate to give a firm lead. Before the defection of the Treurnicht group in 1982, Botha did not enjoy the same unassailable authority. The right-wingers' breakaway left a caucus more controlled in another respect, too: calculated leaks to the Press have apparently ceased.

A party stalwart, Botha is keenly aware of the need to maintain close contact with the National Party rank and file. Part of his success as a party politician can be attributed to his finely-tuned political antennae. Although some Nationalist MPs would have preferred South Africa's first executive State President to be above party politics, Botha opposed the idea. He may have feared that a formal severance of this link would undermine his power base in Parliament and also alienate him from grass-roots supporters.

The National Party's four annual provincial congresses provide the official platform for "popular" participation in the discussion of the party's programme and actions. The congresses however do not

** In a surprise move, Van Deventer was in May 1985 appointed as South Africa's ambassador to Ciskei. Van Deventer has, however, for some time been talking of retiring from his position in the SSC. Given recent strains in South Africa's relations with Ciskei - not least concerning military matters - P W Botha perhaps wants a tried and trusted officer to look after Pretoria's interests there.*

initiate policy; instead, they provide useful opportunities for the government to inform, explain and drum up support for its policies. It would appear that the congresses' already limited influence is being further eroded by such diverse factors as Botha's system of government by committee and the government's deliberate use of radio and television to convey its message to the public.

Perhaps because of these developments, Botha seems to be placing renewed emphasis on the role of his MPs in maintaining continuous grass-roots contact. "Chasing MPs back to their constituencies" is particularly important in the Transvaal, where the 1982 split in the National Party severely damaged its constituency organisations.

A feature of Botha's leadership style is that he values the contributions of outside experts in the process of policy-making. Best known are his two highly publicised meetings with the top-brass from the business world. Academics, too, have suddenly found themselves coming in from the cold to which Vorster had relegated them. A fair number - nearly all Afrikaners - have joined the key Department of Constitutional Development and Planning; and there are two former academics in the State President's Office. Botha seems to be nurturing a strong connection with a group of Stellenbosch academics,

known for their outspoken *verligte* views. Being an astute politician, he is obviously aware of the value of academics in generating ideas, serving as sounding boards and also as kite flyers for policy changes.

Any consideration of outside inputs into policy making must take cognisance of the Broederbond. That Botha and nearly all members of his cabinet belong to this secret elitist Afrikaner organisation points to a special relationship between it and the government.

And indeed there is. The Broederbond does not prescribe to the government; nor does it initiate policy. But it is especially valuable as a sounding board for the government and as a legitimator of official policy.

With over 10 000 members, many in key professions, it is obviously well placed to spread the official message. Like the National Party, the Broederbond was also torn by the right-wing rebellion in 1982. This, together with Botha's system of government by committee, are likely to have lessened its influence in public policy.

Several close observers have noted that Botha has mellowed over the past seven years, becoming more

tolerant, even open-minded. No doubt aware of the dangers of his short fuse, he now deliberately exercises self-control. He also has a remarkable capacity to forgive (unpunctuality is an exception); he is not a man who bears personal grudges. Yet he has an impressive memory. Having spent a lifetime in politics, he has acquired a store of knowledge on which he can draw with great effect when the occasion arises.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

P W Botha towers above the new tricameral Parliament. Although it would be unfair to say that the new constitutional dispensation was built around him, in practice it certainly revolves around him. In the eyes of many coloured and Indian MPs, he has become a father-figure. These new players in the parliamentary game truly believe the State President wishes to share power with them, even if they still have reservations on that score about several Nationalist politicians.

Some politicians wonder, indeed, whether the new constitutional system could continue functioning without Botha. Meanwhile, the Conservative Party, born out of opposition to the new constitution, seizes upon Botha's standing as evidence of his having traded the leadership of the *volk* for a colour-blind national leadership.

Next to Botha, the most prominent political figure in the new dispensation is Heunis. It is largely due to Heunis' tireless efforts that the coloureds and Indians agreed to come into Parliament. Heunis has acquired a reputation as a formidable persuader; he is the government's number one constitutional salesman. But while coloured and Indian MPs readily concede Heunis' key role in getting the new deal off the ground, his suave style has made some of them weary. Heunis "oozes charm", one MP explained, "and he can easily lead you up the garden path." Critics of the new constitution argue that this had indeed happened: coloureds and Indians were enticed into joining Parliament without being made fully aware of risks of "co-option".

Architects of the new constitution maintain that it embodies key features of consociational democracy. One is the idea of consensus, which in effect means that the majority parties in the three houses of Parliament should seek agreement on "general affairs" before binding decisions are taken. A prerequisite for the success of this process is that the participants should reach consensus on the meaning of consensus. But this may be easier said than done, for consensus means different things to different people. For one senior Nationalist, consensus means persuading the other party to accept one's point of view.

According to members of the two new chambers, Heunis similarly believes that consensus can be reached by talking and talking – until the other party agrees with him. There are, however, Nationalist MPs who see consensus as the outcome of a process of give and take. Most coloureds and Indians certainly see bargaining and compromise as essential ingredients of consensus. For them, this kind of consensus is a measure of the success of the new constitutional arrangements.

(It is often forgotten that the search for inter-racial consensus previously had a trial run of sorts, albeit not in the realm of Parliament. Following the recommendations of the Wiehahn commission of inquiry into labour legislation, the government tried to reach agreement with trade union leaders of all races on a new labour dispensation. Fanie Botha, then Minister of Manpower, played a pioneering role in bringing this about.)

The search for consensus between the ruling parties in the three houses takes place at two levels. The highest is the cabinet, of which the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the (coloured) Labour Party, and Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the (Indian) National People's Party (NPP), are members. The other level, composed of ordinary MPs from all parties in the three chambers, involves 31 standing committees. Although it is early days yet, the three majority parties are satisfied with the working of the committees. Some Nationalists even profess surprise at the smooth functioning of the committee system. The Labour Party's and the NPP's contentment thus far with the standing committees implies that they believe bargaining does in fact take place and the restrictive definition of consensus does not apply.

Legislation to date considered by the standing committees has mostly been of a rather non-controversial nature. The only matter on which the three major parties have been unable to reach consensus is the provision of a special (secret) fund for the Police under the budget vote. In terms of the constitution, the dispute has been referred to the President's Council for consideration. A contentious issue that did produce consensus between the majority parties was the scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act and Article 16 of the Immorality Act. The only controversy was among white MPs, with the Conservative Party insisting on the status quo.

The real test for consensus, and indeed for the whole constitutional system, will come when the Indians and coloureds begin to attack the pillars of apartheid. For the sake of their credibility, if nothing else, the coloured and Indian parties will in due course have to press for the abolition of, or at least

major amendments to, such laws as the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act.

The standing committees, it should be mentioned, will also meet during the parliamentary recess. Provision has already been made for them to meet in the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

The new constitution is not kind to the minority parties in the three houses of Parliament. They cannot, for example, affect the voting in standing committees, since members vote per house. The opposition parties can nonetheless play a constructive role in the committees, where they are free to present their views. The (white) Progressive Federal Party (PFP) has on occasion been helpful to the two other houses' members of standing committees, alerting them to the implications of legislation. Given the Indian and coloured MPs' lack of experience in the process of legislation, they may inadvertently overlook the finer points in bills. The PFP is nonetheless kept at arm's length by the Labour Party. The party still resents the PFP's opposition to its participation in the new deal. Labour Party MPs depict the PFP as a "celebrity party" and accuse it of a patronising attitude, of arrogating to itself the right to speak on behalf of the "non-whites".

The fact that all legislation on general affairs now has to be considered by a standing committee before the second reading debate, for the first time offers MPs the opportunity of discussing draft legislation in detail. Previously, the making of laws was largely confined to a particular minister and his top officials, and then approved by the cabinet, with Parliament usually – because of the National Party's majority – passing legislation without major amendments.

The standing committees are empowered to summon ministers and officials to explain legislation. The committees may also ask outsiders, for example businessmen, to present submissions or to testify in person. What may facilitate frank discussion and compromise in the standing committees, is that they all meet in camera.

Another forum in the search for consensus is the President's Council. The Council provided for in the 1983 Constitution differs substantially from its predecessor. The earlier President's Council was mainly concerned with devising a new constitution that would accommodate coloureds and Indians in Parliament. The present Council has by law both an advisory and a decision-making function. The Council must advise the State President on any matter he refers to it for this purpose. The Council may also in

its own discretion advise the State President on any other matter (except draft legislation). The decision-making function is directly related to disagreements that may arise between two or all three houses of Parliament. The latter function involves the President's Council in the legislative process.

Unlike its predecessor, the new President's Council is heavily politicised. Most of the 60 white, coloured and Indian members of the Council owe their positions to the parties represented in Parliament. Close ties exist between Council members and their respective parties in Parliament. In fact, members of the President's Council attend their parties' caucus meetings in Parliament.

The political character of the President's Council may hold serious implications for its role as consensus builder between the various component groups. Council members' party political affiliations may place constraints on their willingness to explore new ground and to reach consensus. The party differences in Parliament may thus simply be transmitted to the President's Council.

To be fair, the new Council is still in its infancy and has so far kept a remarkably low profile. The Council's role can only be judged once it has had several opportunities to discharge its advisory and decision-making functions.

On the whole, the new constitutional dispensation has so far received a favourable reception from the major parties involved. In the National Party, there is a sigh of relief that the coloureds and Indians are "playing along" very nicely, not upsetting the applecart. The majority parties among the coloureds and Indians find themselves in the invidious position of simultaneously being in government and in opposition.

The declared objective of both parties is to dismantle apartheid "from within", while at the same time serving in the highest councils of the "apartheid state". Their participation in the new dispensation, particularly their membership of the cabinet, has led to taunts that the Labour Party and the NPP have been co-opted into the system of white domination. They have clambered aboard the "gravy train", it is said. Labour Party MPs have been branded "brown Nats".

There are already signs of restiveness in the Labour Party, with some younger members criticising the party leadership for a too compliant attitude. The Labour Party from the outset said that its involvement is (initially) for five years only; further participation will depend on progress made in this time to meet its demands.

The ruling parties in the coloured and Indian

houses are painfully aware of the legitimacy crisis they face in their own communities. One need only recall the abysmally low voter turn-out in the coloured and Indian parliamentary elections in 1984. The legitimacy problem may also explain the quality of members attracted to serve in Parliament. The Labour Party itself recognises that it is burdened with a sizeable number of MPs who "simply don't make the grade". (All but 4 of the 85 members of the House of Representatives belong to the Labour Party.) In the House of Delegates, where the NPP and Solidarity are fairly evenly balanced, the problem of quality seems less acute. This might be explained in terms of the Indian community's urbanisation and their relatively high educational standards, compared with the coloureds.

The coloured and Indian parties maintain that the likeliest way of overcoming the legitimacy problem in the short term, is by "delivering the goods" to the grass-roots.

This may be a daunting task, given South Africa's many economic ills. At a symbolic level, the Labour Party and NPP already claim success with the abolition of the two so-called sex laws.

TOWARDS AN UNPLANNED FUTURE

A truly remarkable feature of present-day South African politics is that no significant political grouping, whether white or black, right or left, is satisfied with the status quo. Even the government accepts that the new constitutional dispensation is not the final answer to South Africa's political problems. Botha has publicly stated that a constitution is not a final, static document; instead, it is adjusted by new generations to meet new situations. The new constitution has highlighted the main item on the country's unfinished political agenda, namely political rights for the black majority.

Given this realisation, South Africans understandably ask whether the government has a plan or strategy to deal with the pressing issue of black political accommodation.

There are certain bottomlines or non-negotiables to which the government is committed. The crucial consideration is that political participation should be group-based. This involves the protection of minority groups' rights (read: whites, coloureds and Indians) against majority (read: black) domination.

Also in the social sphere, "group identity" is emphasised – meaning separate residential areas and schooling.

In the government's view, political reform involving blacks can only proceed on the basis of "negotiation" with black "leaders". In the meantime, the government is faced with a serious challenge in black urban areas. Its response appears to be ad hoc, resembling crisis management; it is an exercise in political fire-fighting. In dealing with the many "fires", the government has resorted to both political and security measures. There is, however, a patent lack of co-ordination in the use of concession and coercion.

The process of negotiation between the government and black leaders has hardly begun. Several obstacles first have to be overcome. First, all representative black leaders have to be drawn into negotiation if the process (and its outcome) is to enjoy legitimacy in the black community. Second, negotiation, like the concept of consensus, is variously interpreted. It would appear that many Nationalists still confuse negotiation with consultation. Negotiation involves bargaining and concession; consultation in the South African context means that the government presents blacks with a "cold turkey offer". Third, the agenda has to be agreed upon. Non-negotiables on any side may reduce negotiation to a non-starter.

We have already noted the parameters within which the government wishes to steer the reform process. The question now is whether the government has a reform strategy that goes beyond these bottomlines. Is there, in other words, a worked-out plan with clear objectives, defined means and a specific time-frame? Also, are the non-negotiables truly non-negotiable, or has the government prepared a ranking of "preferred outcomes" that would guide it in making concessions?

In National Party circles, there is no evidence of a Verwoerdian-type political blueprint. Nationalists make great play of the party's willingness to "negotiate" with blacks, but immediately qualify it by listing their non-negotiables. Except for the Conservative Party, members of all the other parties in the three houses of Parliament agree that the government has no definite reform plan or a hidden agenda. The government's action with regard to the black question is variously depicted as exploiting short-term advantages, playing an "up and under" game (kicking the ball – Mandela release offer, black forum – into the air and watching who takes it) and muddling through. The Conservative Party, by contrast, believes that the government does indeed work

from a defined strategy. They see the ultimate, long-term objective as black majority rule. A first step will be parliamentary representation for urban blacks.

It is safe to conclude that the new constitutional dispensation, whatever its initial successes, is destined to become a transitional arrangement – perhaps on the road to an eventual historical compromise between white and black.

Botha is well placed to lead South Africa towards such an accommodation. The kingpin of the new constitutional dispensation, he is presently the only leader who enjoys the credibility and support in all three houses of Parliament to embark on a process of legitimate negotiation with black leaders. Botha has proven himself a reasonably pragmatic politician, not dogmatically wedded to the policies and practices of the Nationalist past. The State President does not regard himself as a “visionary” or prophet, but professes to adhere to the demands of morality, peace and order in politics.

If Botha were to initiate a process of serious, open-ended negotiations with blacks, he obviously has to consider the (white) political risks. It is entirely conceivable that he could be faced with a second right-wing revolt in Nationalist ranks. Today there are no outward signs of disaffection in the National Party, but strains are likely to develop as concessions to blacks begin to “bite”. A further loss of support from Afrikaner ranks may leave Botha with no option but to broaden his power base to include the white “left-wing” opposition as well as coloured and Indian parties. This will have the ironic consequence of the National Party moving for the first time towards a truly national party. These considerations may of course be equally applicable to Botha’s successor.

In the public service, political restiveness has been notable ever since the formation of the Conservative Party. There have been repeated claims of political obstructionism in the bureaucracy. If the limited political reforms to date generate such resistance, the civil service could act as a brake on further change.

Given the daunting challenges facing P W Botha, and his determination to confront several problems head-on at the same time, some of his supporters fear that he may go down in Afrikaner history as a “tragic hero”. He runs the risk of trying to do “too much too soon”. This is of course the very antithesis of the familiar charge that Nationalist leaders do “too little too late”.

Finally, for how much longer will Botha remain at the helm? There are two scenarios. The first is

that Botha intends to retire by the end of 1986. He believes that he has completed his principal task, namely “resolving” the problem of coloured and Indian political rights. It is for his successor to find a formula for the political accommodation of blacks. Botha also wishes to give a successor ample time to consolidate his position before the next general election is held in 1989 at the latest.

The other scenario is that Botha will stay in office to lead the National Party into the next general election, perhaps before 1989. As a dedicated Nationalist, he would not want to be seen leaving the party in the lurch at a critical time. He will therefore resolutely tackle the issue of black political rights to allow the government to present the voters with a more or less worked-out formula at the next election. Alternatively, Botha could decide to submit his “black package” to a white referendum, as he did with the new constitutional dispensation in 1983. A success on this front would cap Botha’s career and richly earn him his retirement.

Whether or not Botha’s retirement is on the cards, the succession race already seems under way. The four front-runners are ministers Heunis, Pik Botha, Gerrit Viljoen and F W de Klerk. It is hardly a coincidence that two of them – Heunis and Viljoen – hold portfolios assuring them prominence in the constitutional debate. Viljoen is Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, portfolios dealing with blacks only.

The reality of provincialism in the National Party caucus may work to the detriment of Heunis, a “Cape man” like Botha. The Transvalers, the largest provincial contingent, probably consider it their turn for the leadership. Some Nationalists also fear that if Heunis were to succeed Botha as party leader and State President, he would be unable to hold the National Party together. This is not only because of provincial considerations. Heunis has the reputation of a “liberal”, which is not a recommendation in party circles. Moreover, his personal style is not exactly endearing; “Heunis is his own worst enemy”, in the words of a fellow Nationalist.

The other three contenders are all Transvalers. De Klerk, Minister of Home Affairs and of National Education, and National Party leader in the Transvaal, could count on strong provincial backing in the caucus. However, *verligte* MPs, also from the Transvaal, have reservations about De Klerk’s commitment to political reform away from apartheid. Viljoen only became a serious candidate this year. His handling of his difficult twin portfolios is increasingly impressing National Party MPs. Viljoen also has

other important attributes. He is a former head of the Broederbond. As an Afrikaner intellectual (albeit of decidedly conservative orientation in earlier years), this former Rector of the Rand Afrikaans University has long been highly regarded in the National Party and beyond. Pik Botha, the only one of the four to have previously contested the leadership, enjoys wide public support but has never been able to develop a meaningful power base in the caucus.

There is clearly no positive correlation between Pik Botha's public visibility and volubility and his caucus support. Nor would his close relationship with P W Botha help him when the proverbial chips are down. Botha, an old associate insists, would not "play favourites" in any succession contest. Followers of the various contenders are nonetheless constantly on the outlook for "signs" of favourites on Botha's part.

Although the State President is chosen by an electoral college, the National Party's numerical preponderance in this body ensures the success of its candidate.

Having begun this article with a quotation about greatness, it is perhaps appropriate to conclude with Charles de Gaulle's view of the matter: "Greatness is a road leading towards the unknown". Does South Africa have a De Gaulle?

A NOTE ON SOURCES

For the section on P W Botha's early life and political career, Dirk and Johanna de Villiers' book, P.W. (Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1984), was an indispensable source. Piet Meiring's Waagmoed Beloon: 50 menings oor P.W.-plan (Perskor, Johannesburg, 1985), contains some interesting additional pieces of information.

The discussion of Botha's leadership style is based largely on the authors' interviews with a large number of serving and retired politicians and officials as well as journalists in Cape Town and Pretoria in May 1985. This research was sponsored by Leadership.

SOUTH AFRICA

PROFESSOR ASSESSES POTENTIAL FOR POLITICAL STABILITY

Johannesburg LEADERSHIP SOUTH AFRICA in English Vol 4 No 1, 1985, pp 73, 74, 76, 79

[Article by Willie Esterhuysel]

[Text]

Since the latter half of 1984, South Africa has been caught in the vortex of the worst socio-political turmoil this country has experienced for many years. Various parts of the country, including some rural areas, have been affected. A variety of issues has triggered off the unrest; eruption of widespread violence and loss of life have become daily news items.

The turmoil coincided with the disinvestment campaign and added fuel to sanctions fires. In South Africa, serious questions surfaced in newspapers and among the people in general: Is a revolution on the cards for South Africa? Is South Africa on the verge of a period of cyclic violence, propelling the country towards unmanageable chaos and disorder? Are South Africa's black townships ungovernable?

To gain some understanding of the underlying causes of current turmoil, an observation by Alexis de Tocqueville is useful. Reviewing democracy in America, he observed: "If men are to remain civilised, or to become so, the art of associating together must grow and improve in the same ratio in which equality of conditions is increased."

The phrase, "the art of associating together", has a direct bearing on the issue of socio-political stability, for it emphasises the necessity of political community and the creation of institutions facilitating such community. This "art" raises a number of questions.

Among them are: Are existing institutions adequate for the integration of new, emerging social forces? Do the political will and art of innovation exist sufficiently to change existing institutions,

enhancing political community and the creation of a common sense of purpose? Do existing institutions have the flexibility to minimise the gap between rising expectations and reality?

Relative socio-political stability goes hand in hand with the effectiveness with which the "art of associating together" takes place. It depends in the last resort on the question whether institutions can be established which integrate social forces effectively, giving concrete expression to the wants, needs and aspirations of people. If this "art" is found wanting, socio-political instability appears to be unavoidable.

Admittedly there are identifiable living conditions, such as overcrowding, increased transport costs or rents, which can spark off unrest and turmoil, but one has to distinguish carefully between incidental unrest and structurally-generated unrest and turmoil.

Incidental unrest stems from specific and isolated issues and dissatisfactions. It occurs from time to time in any community and stimulates the process of bargaining.

Structurally-generated unrest is a different phenomenon, constituting the real issue in any discussion of the prospects for socio-political stability in South Africa. In the medium to long term, such unrest can only be dealt with effectively within a strategy of reform.

In the final analysis, socio-political instability generated by structural problems is rooted in a distorted balance between the "art of associating

together" and the social forces operating within a particular society. In this case, instability indicates that institutions and public policy are incapable of integrating social change and of accommodating the demands and aspirations related to social change.

If such an institutional lag exists in a particular society, frustrated expectations give rise to conflict, confrontation and turmoil. Conversely, socio-political stability implies adaptability and flexibility of public policy and institutions in the face of changing circumstances. In this article, I wish to point out that South Africa is experiencing unrest and turmoil generated by structural problems and the ineffective execution of the "art of associating together".

Over the past couple of decades the country has experienced rapid social change, generated by the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation, the impact of education, exposure to mass media (especially TV) and economic forces. The impact urbanisation has had on South Africa's black population is dramatic – if not revolutionary. Traditional values have been eroded. A new class has emerged. Political consciousness has become more sophisticated. Economic, political and professional demands and aspirations have multiplied and intensified. The cities have become the meeting place of people from the First and Third Worlds, concentrating within the boundaries of South Africa the global tensions that exist between countries of the First and Third World.

Public policy and existing institutions have failed to adapt effectively to these changes and, in consequence, a huge gap has developed between existing institutions and the social forces, wants, needs and aspirations created by the urbanisation of blacks. Reforms in the area of labour relations and union movements, giving the latter bargaining power, have succeeded in filling some of the gaps, but they have not, for obvious reasons, adequately met socio-political demands and aspirations.

Nor did the well-intended introduction of local authorities suffice in providing for this need. Urban blacks developed their own organisations to give formal expression to their political consciousness and aspirations. In these organisations, from the local to the national level, black opposition and frustration became institutionalised, contributing to the gap between government-created institutions and black aspirations. In short, the "art of associating together" – as far as officially established institutions are concerned – did not keep pace with emerging black aspirations, wants and needs.

Current unrest and turmoil in black townships underscore this point. Admittedly, a variety of

empirical causes can also be adduced to explain the unrest: the economic recession, scarcity of jobs, educational grievances, intimidation and hooliganism. However, at the root of the unrest lies the gap between existing institutions and the political and other demands of blacks. To remove at least some of their grievances would be commendable, but this would merely amount to superficial relief and the treatment of symptoms. Fundamentally, the grievances of blacks go deeper, culminating in an awareness of being excluded from the existing socio-political system.

This becomes clear when one takes a close look at some aspects of current turmoil. In one way or another, current unrest challenges the legitimacy of the present socio-political system and its institutions. This fact assumed tragic dimensions in the acts of violence and arson directed against those blacks who opted for participation in government-created institutions such as local authorities.

Blacks turned against blacks, with those taking a moderate line of approach becoming the victims of retaliation and frustration. Some paid with their lives. Others were compelled to resign. It has become a dangerous enterprise for blacks to participate in institutions lacking legitimacy among fellow blacks.

The challenge to the legitimacy of government-created institutions, displayed during the course of the present unrest, lies in the extension of a trend which has surfaced in South Africa on other occasions. The new constitutional dispensation met with widespread opposition. Elections for local black authorities recorded a low polling percentage. Blacks in leadership roles expressed a reluctance to accept the important invitation by the government to participate in negotiations.

In short, blacks do not want to be seen as collaborators with the present system. For this very reason the intimidation and conspiracy theory does not suffice to explain the popular support mobilised during the unrest.

ART OF ASSOCIATING TOGETHER

Reflection on the prospects for socio-political stability in South Africa should take serious note of the problem of legitimacy or, to phrase it somewhat differently, the effectiveness of the "art of associating together". In a democracy, one of the main objectives of this art is to establish institutions with legitimacy and authority. Legitimacy is related to the degree of support a particular socio-political system, including its institutions, manages to generate. It generates legitimacy when people identify with it in

the belief that the system gives expression to their aspirations, wants and needs, delivering the goods expected from it.

This usually entails: acceptance of the values and ideology underlying a particular socio-political system and its public policy; identification with the structures of the system in the belief that they are just; and confidence and trust in the people operating the system.

Legitimate institutions are a *sine qua non* for stability. If a state fails to generate legitimacy, it has to resort to force and coercive measures to establish a measure of stability. Hence there is a close relationship between the lack of legitimacy and the use of force. The degree of coercion a state has to employ to ensure stability provides one with a fairly reliable index as to the degree of legitimacy that particular state enjoys.

As far as urban blacks are concerned, one has to concede that the present legitimacy reading for South Africa's socio-political system does not give cause for optimism. This somewhat bleak observation gives rise to the question: Does the current instability and the failure of existing institutions to integrate emerging social forces among urban blacks imply that a revolution is in the offing for South Africa?

TIGHTROPE WALKING

Despite the fact that South Africa is walking a political tightrope between the ideal of stability and the forces of instability, it is safe to assume that a revolution is not inevitable and for the following reasons:

- Lack of legitimacy does not necessitate a revolution. To say that the existing socio-political system lacks legitimacy among urban blacks does not imply that the power of the state is in jeopardy. As far as the present South African state is concerned, it is an indisputable fact that its power-base is still intact, sophisticated and formidable.
- Divisions within the black population also militate against revolution. The main actor in this field is the ANC, which enjoys considerable popular support among South African blacks. It is, however, not in a position to overthrow the South African state by violent revolutionary means for it does not have the military muscle, access routes and bases to do so. The most it can achieve is to create low-intensity security risks, making life somewhat uncomfortable. In short, the ANC can be contained by South Africa's sophisticated security system.

The UDF, an umbrella organisation, publicly rejects the use of violence. It does not provide the

framework for massive revolutionary mobilisation. Recently it has been at loggerheads with another black organisation, Azapo, and its affiliates. Azapo represents the idea of black consciousness while the UDF stands for multiracialism.

Inkatha, the organisational power-base of Chief Buthelezi, takes a strong and consistent stand against violent means. In areas and at schools where this movement is active, unrest has been limited.

An analysis of black opposition to the present socio-political system indicates that it does not stem from a cohesive revolutionary strategy. It lacks a centre of power from which opposition can be effectively co-ordinated and orchestrated with the aim of eroding the power of the state. A significant proportion of blacks is, moreover, still in favour of a negotiated settlement.

If a revolution is not on the cards for South Africa, does it imply that socio-political stability will not be at stake?

In view of what has been said about structurally-generated unrest, incidents of unrest and turmoil cannot be excluded from a short- to medium-term projection of the future. Resolving structurally-generated unrest, especially on the political level, is not the outcome of a single and dramatic act of creation. It depends on sustained efforts of reform, bargaining and compromise.

Furthermore, it should be emphasised that a strategy of reform tends to generate its own incidents of conflict and unrest. Reform, particularly on the structural level, makes a socio-political system less rigid, enabling forces of disorder to surface. It is commonly accepted by scholars that a very delicate balance exists between reform and incidents of unrest.

Reform, moreover, creates expectations among those not profiting from the existing order. It highlights their grievances and strengthens their conviction of being outsiders to the old order of things. If these expectations are not met adequately, and within a reasonable period of time, frustrated expectations add fuel to the fires of conflict and confrontation.

A situation wherein incidents of unrest and turmoil occur need not produce pessimism and fatalism. Socio-political stability in South Africa does not demand the total absence of incidents of turmoil. What is of prime importance is the restriction of unrest and turmoil to manageable proportions over the short to medium term.

OBSTACLES

In view of the thesis that South Africa is caught in the vortex of structurally-generated unrest, the

restriction of turmoil depends upon the nature and pace of structural reform, and consequently on the effectiveness with which a broadening of participation in the South African polity is engineered.

The prospects of bringing this task to fruition are not as gloomy as some believe and others would like them to be. The South African Government is committed to reform. This commitment was clearly stated by the State President in his opening address to Parliament. It is, furthermore, underscored by a new style emerging in South African politics, a style based on an acceptance of negotiation as the only effective means through which a settlement of South Africa's political dilemmas can be attained.

Admittedly, some serious obstacles and problems still exist, militating against a more successful drive towards restructuring the South African polity. A segment of the white voting public is still prisoner of ideological illusions of the past. Its presence on the political scene poses some serious problems to the execution of fundamental reforms and does not enhance prospects for stability.

The disinvestment campaign against South Africa has strengthened its political zeal, and provided it with the argument that changes that recently took place in South Africa were of no avail as far as the international world is concerned; that nothing short of total white capitulation will satisfy international demands.

The deep distrust among blacks of the real intentions of the government provides another obstacle, especially as far as the process of negotiation is concerned. Blacks are, by and large, unwilling to participate publicly in negotiations. They want to see some tangible evidence of the intentions of the government, giving them good reasons for participation. This mood among blacks should be taken seriously, especially if future stability is a priority and public acceptance of the principle of negotiation is sincere.

Part of the tangible proof blacks want to see is the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. A majority of blacks also favour a national convention on South Africa's constitutional future.

The prospects for socio-political stability will be enhanced significantly if some of these demands could be met in one way or another, or included in an agenda for initial negotiations. In this respect a negotiated agreement with blacks on a formalised mechanism, facilitating the process of constitution-making should be regarded as a priority.

The general perception among blacks that the government does not really want to negotiate and that it does not pay any black to opt for negotiation

should be altered within the shortest space of time. This reluctance can be overcome only through furtherance of mutual trust and confidence between the government and those blacks who do see negotiation as worthwhile and resulting in positive change.

OPPORTUNITIES OUTWEIGH OBSTACLES

Influx control measures and pass laws provide an excellent opportunity to this end. Far from having had a stabilising effect on relations between blacks and whites, these measures have, more than anything else, produced some seriously destabilising results. They have affected the lives of blacks from morning till night and from workplace to dwelling-spot. Their political costs have been extremely high, for they have caused a high degree of resentment and anger against the existing order and its rules.

The experience of being controlled and policed has contributed substantially towards blacks' perception of themselves as "the oppressed" and of whites as "the oppressors". If one wants to pinpoint an area in which structurally-generated unrest and dissatisfaction exists, influx control measures and pass laws provide an excellent example.

To adapt these measures, making the criteria of control more flexible, will not resolve the political polarisation stemming from the experience of being totally controlled. The destabilising political effects which existing measures have had cannot be neutralised by a "softening" of control measures, especially if these measures are to apply to blacks only. Blacks will still, and quite rightly so, perceive them as discriminatory – whether they are based on the availability of jobs and housing, or on anything else.

A scrapping of influx control measures, substituting for it a policy of positive urbanisation, built not upon the idea of rigid control but upon the principles of good management, will enhance the prospects for stability significantly. If these policy changes were to be the outcome of negotiations with blacks, allowing them to share in the credit for it publicly, a huge step towards a more stable future would have been taken.

The allocation of freehold-title rights for blacks, envisaged by the government, will provide another firm step towards relative stability. The taking of this step, in conjunction with the abolition of influx control, should be an immediate priority. Ways and means must be found to bypass red-tape and technical problems obstructing the implementation of this important policy change. The same goes for the participation of blacks in central business districts.

Prospects for relative socio-political stability and

for restriction of unrest to manageable proportions depend, in the final analysis, upon the "art of associating together" on the constitutional level. Excluding blacks from the process of political decision-making will have the same effect on the prospects for socio-political stability as a dagger in the heart of a human being.

If one is serious about the democratic objective of creating stability on the basis of authentic and legitimate institutions, constitutional reform in the direction of black participation is inevitable. Without legitimate black participation in political decision-making processes, the future stability of South Africa will remain at stake despite coercive actions intended to safeguard it.

This point is of particular significance to government actions against the forces of unrest and disorder. Insofar as these actions stem from a power structure from which blacks are excluded, they will not gain black support.

Taking such steps will obviously require delicate political manoeuvring and courage. Signals sent out by its spokesmen indicate that the government admits the mistakes of the past and is seriously looking at ways and means to rectify them, despite the political risks involved. Pro-reform coalitions are emerging and significant changes in policy principles have been announced: acceptance of the permanence of urban blacks, the right of blacks to freehold title and the necessity to review influx control measures.

The opportunities for a negotiated settlement of South Africa's political dilemmas outweigh the obstacles. Time has not run out for the achievement of relative stability. Indeed, it is now ripe for its attainment. South Africans with vision, concern and the capacity to contribute should commit themselves to the achievement of this goal.

CSO: 3400/866

SOUTH AFRICA

AUSTRALIAN OPINION TURNS AGAINST COUNTRY

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 2 Aug 85 p 7

[Article by Marshall Wilson]

[Text]

MELBOURNE — The state of emergency appears to have swung Australian thinking against the rebel cricket tour and weakened a rightwing push for a re-think on ties with South Africa.

Newspaper editorials and letter columns were consistent in arguing that Kim Hughes and his players should think again about what they were doing.

"Cricket rebels get off lightly" was the headline of an editorial in the Melbourne Age. It said that Hughes and his men would be playing directly into the hands of the South African government.

"Whether they like it or not, they will be helping to give South Africa the legitimacy and credibility it craves, but which it is denied by its racial policies."

The Melbourne Herald took a similar view. It said that while public opinion may have been with the cricket rebels over their right to play where they wished, it had gone into reverse in a climate in which blacks were being arrested without trial and gunned down in sufficient numbers to make daily headlines.

Political commentator Drew Middleton in New York and former head of the Australian treasury John Stone made similar points in their widely-read columns.

Middleton's column was headed "South African clamp aids Moscow". He said the irony of the situation was that in any economic squeeze on Pretoria, the Soviet Union would emerge the only winner.

Middleton said Southern Africa would be the greatest prize of the decade if the Russians could get their hands on it. He suggested that Red agitation in the region should be seen as an effort to destabilise the Botha government.

Stone used the analogy of Iran as the peg on which to hang a similar theme.

While the late Shah's reign had not been all good, that of the Ayatollah Khomeini was far worse.

Stone said South Africa's "impending demise" should be viewed in the same context, with only Russia standing to gain from any eventual apocalypse.

In Canberra, a UN report identifying 24 Australian companies with operations in South Africa has been circulated.

The report could embarrass both the opposition Liberal Party and the Australian Democratic Party since it identifies companies with links to political figures prominent in both.

CSO: 3400/856

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTS ON BOTHA'S THREAT

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 31 Jul 85 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

There is reason to understanding President P W Botha's inclination to fight fire with fire by threatening to repatriate black foreign workers in the face of economic sanctions. But its cost to the region would be severe indeed.

On the other hand, it needs to persuade the international community that sanctions, boycotts and disinvestment will hurt Southern African blacks the most.

The UN — and individually vociferous anti-apartheid governments and groups — have either failed to consider, or are blithely, blindly and perversely ignoring, the serious threat that economic measures against this country pose to the very people that the measures are misguidedly designed to support.

How better to spell it out than in a threat to cut off neighbouring states from their regional economic lifeblood — the South African industrial nexus?

Pretoria is alternately aggressive and apologetic.

This begs the question: Was the repatriation threat just a rattling of the sabre? We guess so. And so will no doubt many of those advocating sanctions. But because of it the well-meaning but misguided may be more aware of the consequences of their sanctions threats.

CSO: 3400/856

SOUTH AFRICA

BOTHA URGED TO TALK TO TUTU

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 31 Jul 85 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

The Right Reverend Desmond Tutu's views are in general not ones with which we can find much to agree. Trumpeted abroad, we believe they have done the cause of freedom in this country great harm. Yet, be that as it may, President Botha should speak to him . . . and, of course, to Chief Minister Buthelezi.

The reason is that there are few blacks with even a remote claim to leadership, apart from these two, who are not locked up. We have no doubt that were Nelson Mandela to be released, Tutu would fade into another Muzorewa. But Tutu is the creation of the National Party and in the circumstances they have to wear it.

Tutu's tardiness in speaking out firmly against civil disturbances, his constant histrionics, his dubious friends and his politicisation of the church do not endear him. But the fact is that first by restricting his travel and now giving him the presidential snub, Botha has inadvertently dignified him and given him a standing in the eyes of many blacks that he does not deserve.

If we are to return to the road of peaceful reform in this country, it has to be discussed with black leaders of some ilk and have their nod.

The question for Botha to ask himself is: if not Tutu nor Buthelezi who else? Sebe?

If Tutu has ideas on how to reduce the level of violence and promote durable reform, then they must be worth at least discussing. As Oscar Wilde said: "The value of an idea has nothing whatsoever to do with the sincerity of the man who expresses it."

CSO: 3400/856

SOUTH AFRICA

SABRA LEAVING FAK

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 3 Jul 85 p 2

[Report: SABRA [South African Bureau of Racial Affairs] left FAK [Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Associations] over Party Politics]

[Text] SABRA has withdrawn from the FAK because of that organization's party-political bias.

That decision was announced in a press statement after SABRA's most recent council meeting in Pretoria.

SABRA says it made the decision in the light of FAK's recent tendency to consider requests for affiliation on party-political grounds. "The FAK thus can no longer be considered a federation of autonomous Afrikaner organizations," SABRA explains.

According to the statement, SABRA is not happy either about the silence of the FAK on integration, abolition of the prohibition on mixed marriages, and the many "reforms" threatening ethnic relations and endangering especially the future of the Afrikaner.

"The impression SABRA gets from that is that the FAK approves of integration and considers opposition to it as party politics, that it wants to introduce and guide the Afrikaner nation into a mixed society and that thus it wants to supply cultural support in that context."

SABRA says that it strives for good relationships with leaders, enterprises, institutions and associations which have the same final objective as SABRA in mind. Such relationships are of the greatest importance for an effective distribution of work in Afrikaner ranks, and for complementing and supporting each other's activities.

SABRA further says that it will emphatically look for cooperation with associations which choose separate development as a basic premise. The results of SABRA's research and reflection will be shared with them.

Sabra states that the new constitution and government policy make no difference whatsoever in its basic premise and objective. It does make a difference, however, in its manner of working and work priorities.

As to its basic premise, the separate development of nations comes first for it, and it is not planning to change the meaning of those words. According to that basic premise the Afrikaner nation and other Whites who want to build a state together with it are entitled to independence in their own fatherland; the various Non-white nations are likewise entitled to develop toward independence in their own respective fatherlands.

This basic premise is diametrically opposed to the Constitution of 1983. Describing that constitution as "separate development," as is being done in government circles, is called a misnomer by SABRA.

SABRA also thoroughly discussed its position under the new constitutional dispensation during its council meeting. According to a decision made there, there are good reasons why SABRA should continue its activities and not recoil from controversy.

SABRA says that the constitution is an integration measure which is diametrically opposed to separate development. The question has arisen whether in the light of this perhaps it ought to be occupied with less controversial matters, such as regional development.

The council decided unanimously that problems with respect to races and nations constitute its main task within the context of separate development, and that it cannot avoid those and still continue to exist. These are controversial matters, of course, and all other matters, including regional development, become controversial when they are linked with ethnic relations.

Regional development for that matter is also becoming a controversial matter now since it is going to be the foundation for second- and third-tier governments. It is already a primary cause of quarrels and friction between ethnic groups and for that reason SABRA will have to give thought to it.

Numerous other matters which as a result of the constitution have become the focus of attention will also require research and deliberation, and at the same meeting the council established new functions to make sure that the money for that will be found.

SABRA is the only association of its kind which pursues separate development as its basic premise. The others all take integration as their basic premise. SABRA's research and guidance thus is indispensable, otherwise ethnic relations will fall entirely into the hands of those who have integration in mind.

8700

CSO: 3401/270

SOUTH AFRICA

WHITE ORGANIZATIONS BBB AND AWB AT ODDS

Johannesburg DIE TRANSVALER in Afrikaans 9 Jul 85 p 3

[Report: "BBB (White Liberation Movement) Warns Terre'Blanche (of AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement]) after newspaper report"]

[Text] Johannesburg--The Afrikaner Resistance Movement of Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche was warned by the unknown far-right secret organization the White Liberation Movement not to cause a confrontation.

In a letter to Mr Terre'Blanche, a copy of which was sent to the papers, the BBB reacts sharply to a statement of Mr Terre'Blanche about the BBB to DIE TRANSVALER.

Mr Terre'Blanche recently reacted sharply to words which were recently painted on the wall of the Westdene reservoir in which a connection was implied between the two organizations.

According to the BBB, it was not responsible for the "graffiti" on the wall--the site of the Westdene bus disaster.

In the letter, Mr Terre'Blanche is accused of "scathing attacks" on the BBB. According to the letter, written by an anonymous so-called "chief secretary" of the BBB, no member of the BBB is a member of the AWB.

Mr Terre'Blanche is told: "Contrary to what you say, the BBB does not feed on the misery around the death of the children of the Westdene bus disaster, but merely does its duty as a responsible White by not allowing the truth to be covered up with respect to the attack on Whites on the roads of South Africa."

This duty, according to "the chief secretary," is not performed by any of the so-called rightist or conservative movements, including the AWB.

Emphasis is put on the fact that the BBB has no desire whatsoever to join the AWB, but also that it has not singled out the AWB as an enemy.

Mr Terre'Blanche is warned, however, that if he continues to insult the BBB, it (will) "undoubtedly lead to a confrontation." Mr Terre'Blanche is requested to "clear up the matter."

8700
CSO: 3401/267

SOUTH AFRICA

CONTROVERSY OVER COLORED HOUSING PROJECT IN NEWLANDS

Johannesburg DIE VADERLAND in Afrikaans 11 Jul 85 p 2

[Report by Karin Brynard: "KP (Conservative Party) Protests Offensively to Colored Neighbors"]

[Text] Johannesburg--Bitter words fell last night at a stormy protest meeting of the KP in Newlands about the "short distance" between a colored housing project and the white area of Newlands.

The protest meeting was convened by the KP in order to register protest against the construction of 500 flats for colored people in Newclare-Westbury, the neighboring colored area.

The NP-LP [National Party Member of Parliament] for Maraisburg, Mr Pieter Pretorius shared the platform on the problem with the KP-LP for Jeppe, Mr Koos van der Merwe.

The meeting was rowdy from the beginning, and offensive references to Coloreds, Indians and Blacks were frequently heard from the audience.

The chairman of the meeting, Mr Jack Myburgh, said at the beginning of the meeting that he objects to the size of the buffer area. It would be possible to throw a rock straight over the buffer strip into Newlands.

He sees no reason either why flats for Coloreds cannot be built in another area and then those flats could be made available to Whites.

Mr Koos van der Merwe said that the flats could have been built in Ennerdale, 40 kilometers farther. The KP does not hate Coloreds. However, it wants the Coloreds to have their own area where they can govern themselves in their own parliament. He proposed the area between Atlantis and Mitchelsplein in the Cape for such a self-governing state.

The "little handful" of Coloreds remaining in the Transvaal will exercise their political right in that state. They will not enjoy permanent residence rights and they will be treated the same way as urban Blacks.

The chairman repeatedly had to ask for order, and Mr Pretorius had a difficult time making his speech and answering questions due to the rowdy interjections.

He once again explained that the area in which the flats are being built has been a Colored area since 1968 as a result of a proclamation of the Groups Area Act. It is cut off from the white living areas by buffer zones. He also said that large numbers of Coloreds who currently live illegally in white areas such as Hillbrow and Jeppe want to move there voluntarily.

He explained that under a Supreme Court ruling of 1982 someone can be removed from a specific living area as a punitive measure for his presence there if there is an alternative place for him to stay.

In the midst of outcries from the audience that the Coloreds would burn down the school in which the meeting was being held, the Esperanza Primary School, because they "breed like rabbits" and the flats would shortly be inadequate, the government was also accused of "being afraid of Coolies and Bushmen."

Mr Van der Merwe predicted that Dr Andries Treurnicht, as State President "shortly" after the KP came to power, would declare constitutional matters to be white private matters and in that way abolish the new constitution. He also blamed the government, however, for the fact that the next general election perhaps won't take place until 1994.

8700

CSO: 3401/267

SOUTH AFRICA

BOYCOTT OF WHITE STORES STARVES BLACK CHILDREN

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 19 Jul 85 p 12

[Article "From Our Correspondent": "Many Children May Die in Boycott: Workers Afraid to Take Food for the Hungry"]

[Text] Port Elizabeth.--Many black children in Port Elizabeth are in danger of starving to death because of the boycott of white stores. Welfare workers with food parcels don't dare go into black residential areas out of fear for their safety. It breaks the hearts of hungry black people that all food parcels are taken away from them and contemptuously destroyed.

"We have never experienced such a terrible situation," says Mrs Enid Smuts, directress of the Children and Family Care Society in Port Elizabeth. "You cringe when you hear children who sit waiting for help with their parents in our waiting room crying from hunger."

The society finds that fewer and fewer black people seek its help because they have become afraid to come and fetch food. A black social workers with the society says that these people, who are totally dependent on the society's food parcels, cannot comprehend when they see how this food, which means vital energy to them, is indiscriminately confiscated and destroyed.

Mrs Smuts says that her society held talks this week with various community leaders to point out the seriousness of the situation. Despite the stress laid on the hundreds of black children who are going to starve to death, the leaders were not prepared to take conciliatory action. They said that they would look into the matter "at the committee level."

The Children and Family Care Society's food parcel service continues to remain available, but its workers are powerless to deliver the service because of the ideologies to which some black leaders adhere. During the discussions the society was unable to obtain an assurance from the black leaders that its workers would be able to provide food to the needy in the neighborhoods in safety.

"We cannot put our workers lives in danger and send them in under these circumstances."

Many of the black children now going hungry are cared for by godparents, of whom many are pensioners who depend entirely on their bimontly allowances. The Welfare food parcel has so to speak become a lifeline for them, without which they are thrown on the mercies of the struggle for survival.

Mrs Smuts brands the store boycott "an unforgivable deed perpetrated on innocent children who cannot protect themselves. A power struggle is going on among the black leaders, which is being conducted at the expense of the innocent."

12906

CSO: 3401/276

SOUTH AFRICA

CONSERVATIVE PARTY PROPOSAL ON 'WHITE HOMELAND' REJECTED

Pretoria DIE TRANSVALER in Afrikaans 19 Jul 85 p 6

[Article: "An Illusion Rejected"]

[Text] Illusions about the geographical rearrangement of the country's population groups will largely remain just political fantasies, all the more so if they are as drastic as the Conservative Party's recent policy gimmick that a separate state can be created for whites. The Afrikaans Student Federation [ASB] rejected that bit of fantasy in no uncertain terms at its congress this week. It cannot now be stated as a fact that the majority sentiment at the ASB is representative of all the young people in the republic; nevertheless, the fact that the elected representatives of all the Afrikaans universities do not accept the homeland idea is an indicator worth mentioning.

A white country for Afrikaners would of course be the ideal; but then again nothing more than just an ideal, for the concept of a white country is simply not practically possible in the African context. Rather, the white person must chart his future in Africa by continually taking notice of the practical circumstances around him. This will eventually require an arrangement which makes provision for everyone getting his proverbial place in the sun. It is remarkable that the young people within the ASB also see things this way at this point of time, because not long ago the same student organization indulged in and expounded the opposite way of thinking. As one of the congress goers said after the resolution at Stellenbosch: "This represents a new direction in the ASB."

Instead of sending all blacks and coloreds, as it were, off to homelands, the process must now be reversed, according to what the Conservative Party asks. The Afrikaner preferring to isolate himself from others in his own homeland is a new plan. It is just as dangerous a dream as that of the fifties, because it does not address the realities of the South African situation.

13084

CSO: 3401/190

SOUTH AFRICA

SANCTIONS SEEN AGGRAVATING RACIAL STRIFE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Jul 85 p 1

[Article by Klaus Natorp: "Where Is Botha's Path Leading?"]

[Text] What has been feared for months has now happened in the Republic of South Africa: Political unrest is worsening the already difficult economic situation of the country. But as long as the South African economic crisis lasts, high price increases with simultaneous recession, one can scarcely count on the political unrest abating, because this was in the beginning and continues even now to be mainly economic in origin. Of course, the black Africans' political organizations found it easy to politically exploit their clientele's economic dissatisfaction. They needed only to hammer into their followers again and again that their economic and social position could be improved only through a fundamental political change.

And so a vicious circle was begun: Because of the economic decline that the Republic of South Africa now finds itself in, disturbances are arising time and time again in the main black residential districts; the disturbances block an economic recovery or at least delay it; the persistent economic difficulties continue to provide new nourishment for the flames of political turmoil. How will the South African government get out of it?

Previously, the South African economy was the driving force behind integration of the non-white sectors of the population into society. The vigor of the South African economy has presumably contributed much more to changing the basic political conditions in the Republic than the political parties, no matter how eager they may be for reform--to say nothing of the foreign influences which are important but are mostly overrated. If the South African economy were to lose its strength, things would look bad for the country's future.

In this respect, it would also be disastrous if the United States were to impose economic sanctions on South Africa just now. Both houses of the American Congress have already passed them. Now, the different versions of the bill have to be reconciled in a mediation committee and, moreover, the President still has to sign. One can only hope that he will not do this, because at the moment sanctions would only make the situation in South Africa worse. In any event, they would not have the effect of helping the black segment of the population, whom Congress wants to support with its bill, make any progress on the road to

greater political participation in their own affairs and those of the country as a whole. Sanctions and, to boot, ones which obviously are motivated by internal politics (pacifying black Americans and other blocks of voters from the anti-apartheid front), will only harden the attitude of many white South Africans and make it more difficult for President Botha to continue in peace with his policy of limited reform.

Now as before, the reins of power are all in the hands of the white South Africans. When they finally will make up their minds to share this power with the other sections of the population, and how much of their power they then will be willing to give up, depends on them alone. Botha might well be willing to accommodate the blacks quickly and to a large extent. He has already granted the Cape Mulattos and the Indians certain rights within the system of white supremacy. Something similar is conceivable for the blacks--say, in a federal system with the black states that already exist and a special solution for the "white" regions and the "urban blacks" living in the crowded industrial areas around the big cities. But, despite his very extensive presidential powers, Botha is no dictator. He has to answer to a parliament, and this parliament is dependent on an electorate that has differing views of Botha's goals, which still have never been precisely defined, and of the speed with which they can be achieved.

It is not only among the blacks that a power struggle is in progress for the best starting positions for the time after an agreement on the new order in South Africa; among the whites, too, there is considerable disagreement concerning where Botha's path is leading. The worst thing that could happen to South Africa would be a battle with everyone against everyone: black against white, black against black and white against white. In some places the signs of such a development can already be discerned. Botha must stop this at all costs, if he wants to maintain himself at the head of the state and not be washed away one day by what is happening. That would perhaps be the hour for the armed forces. But what would be gained by that?

In the long run, there is no path that can avoid the necessity of negotiating a solution acceptable to all segments of the Republic of South Africa's population. Botha declared his readiness to do this, but he was not precise enough, for fear of those white citizens who feel that he already went too far with the three-chamber parliament and the announcement that next the blacks were to be politically "satisfied." And perhaps he delayed too long in starting a dialogue with the leading representatives of the blacks. Now that a state of emergency rules in the principal black residential areas, scarcely anyone from among them will want to speak with Botha.

12507

CSO: 3420/76

SOUTH AFRICA

MUGABE CRITICIZED FOR BERATING ZIMBABWE WHITES' VOTING BEHAVIOR

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 24 Jul 85 p 7

[Article: "Mugabe Insults Whites"]

[Text] Mr Mugabe is greatly upset about the big victory which Mr Ian Smith won among the whites in Zimbabwe. Rhodesians informed us that they were initially willing to give their loyalty to Zimbabwe, but the dictatorial and emotional behavior and especially the mass murders in Matabeleland made them doubt the wisdom of staying on in Zimbabwe.

Mr Smith's overwhelming white support was the occasion for Mugabe to threaten and also insult the whites during a speech in the former Salisbury. Amid a lot of cheering, he settled the matter with: "A Boer remains a Boer!" We would like to see what the reaction would have been if one of our white leaders had said: "A Kaffir remains a Kaffir!"--said with the same malice as in the case of Mr Mugabe. We suspect that the English and foreign press would have taken note of that with great dismay. We would also certainly have had various sensational court cases. We are also certain that Mr Botha and his party and government would have bent over backwards to reluctantly offer an apology. We agree with THE CITIZEN, which summed up the matter as "a prepared reaction to Mr Smith's victory." The newspaper also believes that Mr Mugabe is neither a democrat nor a reasonable man. The newspaper also believes that that outburst of rage by Mr Mugabe makes the future of the whites uncertain.

Of the 250,000 whites in Rhodesia there are about 25,000 left in Zimbabwe, and these people form the backbone of the economy. The power of these white entrepreneurs is also found in the simple fact that Zimbabwe borrows money abroad at more favorable rates of exchange than South Africa, and the Zimbabwean monetary unit is quite a bit higher than the rand in value. If the white man is going to withdraw from Zimbabwe still further, Zimbabwe's economy --like that of Mozambique--will without doubt collapse like a house of cards.

This episode again contains a good lesson for South Africa. A handful of power is worth a lot more than a corn bag of promises. After all, this is precisely on what the rightist viewpoint is hinged. For South Africa there is no better method to bring about disinvestment than to continue following Mr P.W. Botha and the NP [National Party].

13084

CSO: 3401/192

SOUTH AFRICA

TUTU WARNS MANAGERS ABOUT BLACK COMMUNITY ISSUES

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (BUSINESS Supplement) in English 28 Jul 85 p 7

[Text]

IN their own interest business managers must be concerned with issues crucial to the black community, says Bishop Desmond Tutu.

He told the Wits Business School: "We are learning slowly and from bitter experience that if you, as a business manager, treat with disdain or of minor interest the concerns of the black community then you will pay a very heavy price in the long run."

"Come liberation, justice and freedom in South Africa, then every institution, be it church, business or whatever, is going to be judged and judged harshly on its contribution to the liberation struggle."

Investment

"What did you do to advance the cause of liberation, what did you do to help dismantle the vicious policy of apartheid?"

"Business will have to in-

vest in schemes to help blacks realise their potential more fully. There will have to be bridging and enrichment educational programmes to offset the devastating consequences of the apartheid system.

"It seems that for a long time there will have to be what the Americans call affirmative action when people will have to reverse discrimination in favour of blacks and other disadvantaged classes.

"These will have to be pursued aggressively because the backlog is staggering.

"The control of business will need to reflect more and more the demographic realities of South Africa so that whites do not occupy a disproportionate share of the leading positions in their firms."

Bishop Tutu said, however, that this had to be done carefully.

"We must avoid tokenism and the danger of appointing a black just because he is black, for an incompetent black on falling will merely set the clock of black advancement several years back."

CSO: 3400/859

SOUTH AFRICA

STATUS OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN LEADERS DISCUSSED

Bishop Tutu Criticized

Pretoria BEELD in Afrikaans 30 Jul 85 p 10

[Article: "Stand Up"]

[Text] Other than what he thinks, Bishop Desmond Tutu is not telling us any secret when he says that many young black people want to bring about a change of government in South Africa by force. How can they think otherwise when several of their leaders have impressed that idea in their heads with continual forebodings about bloodbaths and the like if the whites do not do this or that? And can Bishop Tutu state with a clear conscience that he himself is entirely without blame for that?

The bishop recently took an encouraging stand against violence. However, it will not further his credibility if in advance he throws his hands in the air about the young blacks who will not listen to him and who will want to reject his own "pacifist" leadership. It looks as if the bishop is surely having many reservations before he will decide on which side of the fence to climb down. This is only again confirmed by his insistence on talking with President P.W. Botha all alone instead of as part of a delegation from his own church. What he perhaps does not realize is that such a wavering display of leadership will least of all impress moderates in the country, but even less the activists and violent ones. And if Bishop Tutu goes on like this much longer, he indeed has good reason to fear that the rebellious young generation will reject him. He is probably too modest about the leadership which can emanate from him, but then he should leave no doubt about where he stands, although it will undoubtedly be more difficult to win his people over to moderacy than it was to get acquiescent acclamation for bloodbath stories. The bishop, however, must be realistic enough to know that he has no other choice, unless he wants to passively sound the retreat in the face of those who are merely promulgating a message of chaos. If he does not want to see that happen, he is the one black leader who must now have the courage of his conviction to stand up and be counted.

Pretoria DIE TRANSVALER in Afrikaans 28 Jul 85 p 12

[Article: "The UN and Mandela"]

[Text] It would be naive to deny that South Africa is under extraordinary pressure. The existence of a state of emergency internally and the resolution of the UN Security Council abroad over the weekend are indications of how high and fiercely the fires are burning. As can be expected in such circumstances, all kinds of demands are now being made on the Republic -- domestically with the apparent aim of advising the Government on how to cool the atmosphere here, and abroad with the obvious aim of steering the country on a course that will satisfy the radicals.

Just as suddenly, the "unconditional" release of Nelson Mandela becomes in the process a condition for holding talks -- a refrain in which the Progressives also joined over the weekend.

South Africa must now be careful that the goal behind the negotiation initiatives does not totally disappear in the clouds of dust which are being kicked up. The goal still remains to involve the moderate elements here in a talk about a new future for the blacks. Mandela cannot be a part of that talk because he does not want to renounce force and thus does not qualify as a moderate. He can hardly be "unconditionally" released under the circumstances, without also giving his organization, the ANC, and the latter's leader, the Communist Party, a voice in the talk.

13084

CSO: 3401/190

SOUTH AFRICA

BLACK STRENGTH SEEN IN EFFECTIVE BOYCOTTS, STRIKE THREAT

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 12 Aug 85 pp 84-85

[Unattributed article: "South Africa: 'Suicidally Resolved'"]

[Text] Blacks are boycotting white stores; foreign firms are withdrawing; in more and more areas of the country the fires of rebellion are burning. South Africa's apartheid regime is under pressure from many quarters. Now, even the workers in the all-important gold and coal mines are planning to go on strike.

The man in the safari suit and the moustache clipped short in the Boer manner was pointing to the overfull shelves of his hardware store. And then he pointed resignedly at the empty aisles of his store. Normally, it would be full of black customers. But now the situation was "like the Kaffir War."

South Africa is not—yet—in a state of war. The two sides are too unequal in strength for that. The whites are firing their guns; all the blacks can do for the time being is march and mourn.

But still—the blacks have discovered weapons to which the South African regime can react neither with police truncheons or army bullets: customer boycotts and strikes.

If the blacks really succeed in boycotting white shops throughout the country for any length of time, the regime is likely to face a far more difficult situation than if the Western industrialized nations instituted a trade blockade.

For 4 weeks now, blacks have not been buying anything in white shops in the Cape Province where the port cities of East London and Port Elizabeth are located. As a result, 43 shops in the North End section of Port Elizabeth have suffered declines in sales ranging from 30 to 100 percent. Two of the shops were forced to close down. "The boycott hurts," the Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL wrote.

On 25 August, the workers at 18 gold mines and 11 coal mines are planning to go on strike. The mines affected by the prospective strike produce 70 percent of all the gold which in turn provides almost half of South Africa's export income. The miners are demanding a 22-percent pay raise as well as an end to the state of emergency. In addition, 1 May is to be made a legal holiday.

"The blacks are resorting to the only weapon they have," Helen Suzman, a member of the liberal opposition says. "The threat of a countrywide black consumer boycott no longer is just the nightmare of paranoid retail store owners," the magazine FINANCE WEEK wrote.

The 22 million blacks have no political rights, to be sure and must live in areas strictly segregated from the whites. But the 4.8 million members of the white master race depend on them economically as they do on the 3.7 million coloreds and Asiatics. The regime must now find an answer to the question of what to do to the blacks who refuse to buy.

The fact is that most white businessmen earn most of their income from black customers. At the railroad stations and near the big bus terminals, e.g. on the western edge of Joubert Park in Johannesburg, the white store owners earn lots of money from the black workers on the way back to the dismal townships to sleep.

But now the "consumer boycott committees" are telling the blacks: "do not buy in the cities" and "shops and government, that is the same damned thing." Buying in white stores is no longer without danger.

Blacks in strike-torn East London who bought laundry detergents, corn meal or clothing for their children last week were faced with punishment by their fellows. Young black revolutionaries, called "executioners in school uniforms" by the black newspaper SOWETAN, checked the bags of the commuters at the bus and railroad terminals, burning goods purchased at white shops right on the spot. Time and again, those who had bought them had to run for their life.

Cheeky Watson, the owner of a textile shop in the eastern Cape Province affected by the consumer boycott, has been doing a booming business even though he is white. Watson, a former champion rugby player, turned down a career on the national team and joined black teams instead. He was therefore considered a hero by the blacks and so the boycott controllers did not bother anyone who could show them a sales slip, proving that he had made his purchase at Cheeky Watson's.

On Thursday morning, the police forbade Watson to make out any more receipts.

The blacks can frequent their own retail shops of course but these frequently charge excessive prices and must—however paradoxical it may seem—go to white wholesalers to obtain their wares.

Angry policemen begrudge the black beneficiaries of the consumer boycott their profits. In Alexandra near Port Elizabeth, they fired tear gas into a store several times because the black owners were making too much of a profit since the white stores were being boycotted. In Fort Beaufort, they arrested the owner of the largest black supermarket, his staff, his relatives and finally even his aged parents so that no one was left to run the business.

"The wanton power of the security forces under the state of emergency is unlimited," says Molly Blackburn, a member of the political opposition. For this reason, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), the white opposition in parliament, is calling for an immediate end to the state of emergency.

PFP chief Frederik van Zyl-Slabbert put forward a five-point plan to help defuse black-and-white polarization. The plan calls on the government to:

- + enter into immediate negotiations with church and civil rights leaders to put an end to violence;
- + appoint a "national council" to investigate the causes of the unrest;
- + make a firm promise to the effect that racial discrimination will be abolished;
- + offer the prospect of a constitution which will grant full civil rights to all inhabitants of South Africa;
- + free all political prisoners, including African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela.

The National Party government of President P. W. Botha, the white opposition fears, will dismiss the plan out of hand.

"The South African government," said Conservative British Minister of State Malcolm Rifkind, "appears suicidally resolved to alienate even those who wish the best for their country."

The U.S. government feels alienated from the Pretoria regime ever since South African commando units attacked U.S.-owned industrial facilities in neighboring Angola, claiming to be in pursuit of terrorists.

Ronald Reagan ordered his ambassador home "for consultations." France and other EC countries followed suit. Last Wednesday, Carl Lahusen, the FRG's ambassador left South Africa. The ambassadors of Paraguay and Israel as well as the chiefs of mission of the internationally unrecognized homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei stayed behind.

In public at any rate, President Botha maintained his Boer brand of doggedness. "I will let no one outside this country tell me what to do," he said. "We know very well how the situation can be kept under control."

But at the same time, he let his foreign minister, Roelof Botha, go to Europe --to hold a confidential meeting with the American President's security adviser Robert McFarlane in Vienna and to attend talks with government representatives in London and Bonn. "It seems slowly to be dawning" on the South African regime "into what kind of a situation it is moving," said a Democratic congressman in Washington.

Last week, the unrest spread to Natal province, an area over which the state of emergency had not been imposed. Following a funeral procession for murdered black lawyer Victoria Mxenge, youngsters attacked homes and shops owned by Indians. 500 Asian families fled the suburbs of Durban.

Once again, the security forces in their armored vehicles moved in, firing live ammunition. By Friday, the hospitals were reporting 50 dead.

More funerals will follow and inevitably there will be protests by black mourners and confrontations with whites, who will have to realize that an end to this cycle of violence is not in sight.

The more insecure the regime gets, the harsher the measures it takes will become. The scenes of suppression in turn frighten away investors and cause foreign firms to shut down their operations in South Africa.

Every shot that is fired and every wire photo which demonstrates the regime's inhumanity to the world pushes South Africa into deeper isolation. The American Congress plans to ban sales of Krugerrands in the United States. The export of nuclear equipment and computers to South Africa is to be banned and bank transactions are to be suspended.

The more the black majority realizes that the government may be able to kill the demonstrators but that it cannot intimidate the black masses--in spite of the state of emergency--the more it is encouraged to resort to protest actions. South Africa, said Reagan's press spokesman Larry Speakes, "is in an extremely difficult position."

9478

CSO: 3420/81

SOUTH AFRICA

ASB OPPOSES POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 19 Jul 85 p 4

[Article "From Our Political Editorship": "Political Violence Condemned by ASB"]

[Text] Stellenbosch.--A motion rejecting violence as a means of political change was adopted at the ASB [Afrikaans Student Association] congress here yesterday by an overwhelming majority.

In the motion the ASB also calls on all groups in South Africa to take part peacefully in the constitutional process and expresses the hope that violence will be regarded only as a "last resort" in the maintenance of law and order.

The ASB also commits itself to links with "groups that do not subscribe to violence as a means of solving political problems in the present context."

The proposer of the motion, Mr Lucius Botes (UOVS) [University of the Orange Free State], said in his introductory address that because of its Christian National basis, the ASB cannot associate itself with persons or institutions that advocate violence.

Miss Ronee Robinson (RAU) [Rand Afrikaans University] said that if the ASB wants to make a contribution to peace, it must be ready to open discussions with anyone whatsoever. A refusal to talk to advocates of violence will bring about more and greater violence.

Mr Victor d'Assonville (PU) said that a willingness to deal with advocates of violence will be a "slap in the face" for those who have committed themselves to peaceful solutions.

Many of those organizations that advocate violence had obtained their support simply by intimidation. The polarization would be increased by entering into discussions with them.

Mr Tienie Swanepoel (UP) said that people who advocate violence have a reason for doing so. The ASB must determine what that reason is.

Dialogue also means listening to the other party's position. Discussions with advocates of violence do not, therefore, necessarily presuppose approval of their position.

Mr. Henk Stoker (PU) said that those in favor of discussion with advocates of violence expect the ASB to talk to "people who seek to make the country ungovernable by attacks on others."

12906

CS0: 3401/275

SOUTH AFRICA

MARAIS CALLS FOR USE OF ARMY IN UNREST

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 24 Jul 85 p 1, 16

[Article: "Black Areas: Order Falling Apart; 'Use Defense Force,' Says Jaap"]

[Extract] Order and authority are falling apart in many of South Africa's black residential areas. With disturbances which have already continued incessantly since last September, it is now accepted that South Africa has to deal with the most serious threat to internal security ever.

When he addressed the Orange Free State regional congress of the HNP [Herstigte Nasionale Party] last week, the party leader, Mr Jaap Marais, made a sharp attack on the government's handling of the disturbances. Mr Marais said that authority and order in the black residential areas have been almost completely destroyed. The rioters have chosen the black police and members of local black management boards as their targets, and have succeeded to such an extent that these authority figures have either been driven out or made powerless. The rioters have now taken over authority in many black villages and appointed persons who act as substitute authorities.

Mr Marais said that by its weakness the government has allowed these villages to now become bases of terrorism. "The riots have been allowed to grow into a war. In the meantime, Mr P.W. Botha has been silent about this extremely alarming and serious state of affairs," the HNP leader said. Mr Botha has not even once in public expressed a word of sympathy over the murder of a white woman at Nigel nor a word of abomination at the murder gangs.

Mr Marais said that military operations in Angola will not do anything to this growing internal destabilization. "Why doesn't the government use the Defense Force to restore law and order?" Mr Marais asked.

13084

CSO: 3401/191

SOUTH AFRICA

STATE OF EMERGENCY WILL NOT AFFECT REFORM POLICY

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 25 Jul 85 p 20

[Editorial: "Are They Afraid?"]

[Text] It is so easy to say that the declaration of the state of emergency is a sign that the government has decided to say goodbye to its policy of political reform and "to shoot its way out of the state of unrest," as the PFP [Progressive Federal Party]'s group on law and order put it so vividly that week, true to the negative character of the party.

To say that is easy, in fact, for people who on the white side have so far always tried to put a spoke in the wheel of the reform process, and for those who on the black side continue to shy away from the demands of responsible leadership.

Inasmuch as they stood aloof and peered over their shoulders at the extremists on their side, what right have they to make such accusations against the government, which has demonstrated its good faith by putting through extremely far-reaching measures despite opposition from its own rank and file? Isn't there rather a responsibility now on the part of those who stand on the sidelines and shout to demonstrate their own good faith for once?

Only those who are wilfully blind will fail to grasp that the state of emergency is a necessary evil to which the government was obliged to turn if the climate for reform was not to be entirely ruined. And it is sufficiently clear that that was the aim of the steps the government had to take, with undoubted reluctance.

And for those who still could not understand this, Minister Gerrit Viljoen gave another intimation only yesterday in BEELD that reforms in all areas will be tackled with "new momentum" as soon as the emergency measures have had their desired effect. But apart from that he gave the assurance that, to the extent that they have not been handicapped by the state of unrest, current initiatives have in no sense come to a standstill.

Why in any case is it necessary to doubt this? The government is busy following a course that good sense indicated to it--a course that everyone blessed with even the most limited amount of good sense ought to recognize as the golden mean between extremism of left and right.

And if people who clearly possess enough good sense don't want to follow that road, questions involuntarily arise as to their motives. It can be either that they don't choose the golden mean of moderation, or that they shrink from accepting the government's word because they are afraid to recognize that it in fact means it in all seriousness. And if they have convinced themselves of that, how will they then continue to be able to evade the demands of responsible leadership, and begin to work together with the government at a process of give and take? [sic]

It will not be much of a surprise if this turns out to be another prominent reason why there is such a raucous clamor that the government does not mean it seriously. Because that is apparently what these destructive so-called leaders fear more than anything else: that their misled followers should come to see that the government in fact has the interests of everyone in the country earnestly at heart.

12906

CSO: 3401/276

SOUTH AFRICA

RELATIONS BETWEEN AFRIKANER TEACHERS, OTHERS

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 9 Jul 85 p 4

[Report "From Our Correspondent": "Afrikaner is Necessary"]

[Text] Cape Town.--Members of the teachers' unions of the various population groups were told yesterday that they should not alienate the Afrikaner in their search for a solution to the teaching problem.

The chairman of the Association of Afrikaans Teachers' Unions, Professor Hennie Maree, gave this warning after other speakers at the conference of teachers' unions at the University of Cape Town expressed criticism of government policy and the Afrikaans teachers' unions.

Mr Franklin Sonn, chairman of the Union of Teachers' Associations (UTASA) said inter alia that they experienced problems in working with the Afrikaans-speaking teachers because of those teachers' desire to maintain "apartheid education."

Professor Maree said that the alienation of the Afrikaner must be guarded against, because future historians might possibly find that the Afrikaner was not so unjust and perhaps compared well with the most righteous in Africa and the world.

Moreover, for all his faults, the Afrikaner has set an example in that he had "worked and not burned" when he had found himself in a similar position.

12906
CSO: 3401/275

SOUTH AFRICA

LACK OF CONTACT BETWEEN AFRIKAANS, ENGLISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 16 Jul 85 p 6

[Article "From Our Political Editorship": "Constructive Link with NUSAS Impossible"]

[Text] Stellenbosch.--Constructive linkage with a white radical group such as NUSAS [National Union of South African Students] is impossible at this time, Mr Martinus van Schalkwyk, chairman of the Afrikaans Student Association (ASB), said here yesterday.

He delivered his chairman's report before some 600 delegates from Afrikaans universities and colleges--the largest number who have ever attended the congress. The theme is Youth Power.

Mr van Schalkwyk said that NUSAS refused to conduct talks about student concerns and seeks to restrict any contact to matters that belong exclusively to the political sphere.

He said that in his term as chairman he has consulted over two successive chairmen of NUSAS on a personal level.

"The time and energy devoted to such links could rather be used to establish still more contact with non-whites."

He said that the National Student Front, which functions on English campuses, did not fill this gap.

"It is unfortunate that it has not yet been found possible to establish a vital English-speaking youth organization with which links are possible."

Mr van Schalkwyk said that links must not be restricted only to the national level. Campuses should take the initiative to expand connections with other groups on the local level, too, so that understanding and respect between population groups improve and national ties can be perpetuated.

12906
CSO: 3401/276

SOUTH AFRICA

RIGHTWINGERS DEFEATED IN CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 13 Jul 85 pp 1, 2

[Report "From Our Political Editorship": "FAK Rightwingers Beaten"]

[Text] Bloemfontein.--Candidates with far-right sympathies were decisively defeated at yesterday's elections to the executive board of the FAK [Federation of Afrikaans Culture Unions] in Bloemfontein, which means that within a year moderates have entirely taken over control of the FAK.

Last year's confrontational congress in East London, where a group of rightwing members of the executive board were voted out, was followed by the defeat of the right-leaning Professor Marius Swart and Professor J. C. Lombard in yesterday's voting.

After the election it was speculated in the lobbies that the verdict of the congress was much more decisive than that of last year's congress. There was talk of vote totals that indicate a noteworthy unity of sentiment among cultural leaders as regards the FAK's future role.

The three members of the executive elected with absolute majorities yesterday are Mr Hendrik Sloet, managing director of Saambou, Professor Jan Senekal, professor of Afrikanns at the University of the Orange Free State, and Rev Henno Cronje, Transvall information chief of the NG [Dutch Reformed] Church.

Mr Sloet, managing director of Saambou, was vice-chairman of the previous executive board. His term had, however, expired.

The three who were defeated are Professor Swart, Professor Lombard and Mr D. J. (Gannie) Viljoen. A seventh candidate, Mrs G. Malan of Johannesburg, withdrew before the voting.

Professor Swart is professor of history at the UPE [expansion uncertain: University of Potchefstroom?], Professor Lombard is professor of Bible study at the UV [expansion uncertain: University of the Orange Free State?] and Mr Viljoem is a past director of the Bureau of Development at the UV.

Professor Lombard was a board member. The third vacancy filled yesterday arose earlier when Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of the Afrikanervolkswag, resigned from the board.

As expected, voting was strongly along the lines of the present political divisions among Afrikaners.

Professors Swart and Lombard, who openly identify themselves with far-right politics and the Volkswag approach to culture, as well as Mr Viljoem, who was nominated by the far-rightist as the conservative representative of reconciliation, clearly did not expect, however, that the current would be so strongly against them.

After the three vacancies has been filled, Dr D. F. Louw of the Pretoria Culture Board proposed a motion in which DIE VOLKSBLAD, BEELD's sister paper, is condemned for its reporting about the board election.

His objection was to a report in which inter alia it was correctly predicted who the candidates in yesterday's elction would be.

Earlier Mr Louw has also got at the board over its decision not to grant affiliation to the Volkswag.

Mr Pieter van der Merwe, a member of the President's Council, proposed, however, that the matter be dropped. Fewer than 20 of the roughly 400 delegates voted against that.

12906
CSO: 3401/275

SOUTH AFRICA

EMIGRATION LIKELIHOOD COMPARED WITH RHODESIA

Johannesburg DIE VADERLAND in Afrikaans 1 Aug 85 p 12

[Article: "Talk as an Antipode"]

[Text] Emigration and flight capital are inevitable side effects of a situation like the one now prevailing here. We have already experienced this on previous occasions. It especially applies to people who have come here from other countries in search of a better future. However, it would be blind politics not to see that giving in is also the subject of lively talk among established and even loyal Afrikaners. The question is being particularly asked whether we are not on the same road which led Rhodesia to become Zimbabwe. We do not believe so. There are substantial differences, apart from the fact we are a bigger white population and also a sovereign country.

South Africa possesses a formidable security force in its police and defense force. They are quite capable of suppressing unrest, even an attempt at revolution. As a matter of fact, the joint security forces have not come close to displaying their potential yet. They have clenched their fists, but have not really struck yet. However, it would be shortsighted to pin our hopes on that alone.

Our situation differs radically from that in Rhodesia by the manifold and serious attempts at talk, understanding and dialogue. Attempts are right now being made for a church deliberation. The Afrikaans Student Federation [ASB] and Inkatha have reached a talking situation and the ASB is also trying to hold discussions with other colored organizations. The talking situation is proceeding on many levels. The recognition of black trade unions has created a situation of conditions which compels the parties to greater mutual understanding, and not only in the work situation. Dialogue is taking place over a broad spectrum in the business world and black speakers are also making their contributions at symposiums. Academics from Afrikaans universities are going out of their way to bring about communication with the black community's leaders. And, although with reservation, the opening up of Afrikaans universities has also led to a new exploratory situation. The talk and exploration are reciprocal, although it does not occur at the level of public platforms.

It is these broad and increasing talks that make our situation radically different from the pre-takeover period in Rhodesia. And this is also where our strongest hope for a solution lies.

13084

CSO: 3401/192

SOUTH AFRICA

ASB INVESTIGATES UDF

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 19 Jul 85 p 4

[Article "From Our Political Editorship": "ASB Looks at Connection with UDF"]

[Text] Stellenbosch.--Instructions were given to the executive board at the congress of the ASB [Afrikaans Student Association] here yesterday to enquire into the "nature, purpose, foundation and ties" of the UDF [United Democratic Front], as well as the results of an ASB link with that organization.

The motion, which aroused considerable discussion and brought sharp differences of opinion to the fore, was finally adopted unanimously with applause.

The proposer of the motion, Mr Ernst Basson of Potchefstroom University [PU], said that it is common knowledge that the UDF is a genuine organization. Nonetheless the ASB must establish for itself whether the UDF is in reality a front organization for the ANC, which advocates violence as a means of change.

Mr Louis Aucamp, also from PU, and seconder of the motion, said that the motion is not aimed at taking a stand for or against the UDF, but at giving the ASB the opportunity of looking into the possible consequences of a link with the organization.

Mr Gerdus Kruger of the University of Pretoria [UP] expressed his doubts as to the desirability and usefulness of such an investigation, especially inasmuch as the police has already conducted a similar inquiry. The ASB should much rather look into links with other youth movements.

Mr Leonard van der Dusen, also from the UP, said that there is enough evidence of the nature of the UDF. That body is simply a political organization, and an investigation by the ASB, which is a cultural organization, will therefore be a useless waste of time.

Mr Frank Kilbourn of the RAU [Rand Afrikanns University] said that in the light of the UDF's important role in the country's politics, the ASB must inform itself as to the UDF's aims and methods.

The importance of such an enquiry was also stressed by Mr Louis Coetzee (PU), who said that the ASB has thusfar always taken the initiative with respect to contact with other organizations.

Mr. Frans Viljoen (UP) said that it would do the ASB no harm to accept the motion. "Although the likelihood of the UDF entering into discussions with us is extremely slight, we must keep our options open."

12906

CS0: 3401/275

SOUTH AFRICA

FRENCH BELIEVE SANCTIONS WILL HAVE LITTLE EFFECT

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (BUSINESS Supplement) in English 28 Jul 85 p 1

[Article by Brendan Ryan]

[Text]

FRENCH businessmen believe the disinvestment measures announced so far will have little effect on their South African operations.

However, the implications would be serious if the French Government moved to curtail trade.

France is one of the largest European consumers of SA coal, importing about 5.8-million tons in 1984. French electronics and engineering companies have won major contracts in SA, particularly with Escom.

Buck passers

French exports to SA in 1984 are estimated at 4.3-billion francs (about R935-million). SA exports to France last year are estimated at 5.95-billion francs (R1.3-billion).

Efforts to confirm these figures failed, the French trade mission in Johannesburg and the French Consulate in Pretoria passing the buck between them. Neither would give figures.

Bernard Lafitte, managing director of Total SA and president of the French Chamber of Commerce and

Industries of Southern Africa, believed the reason for the French Government's action lay in next year's elections.

"The Government faces an election in March and its position at present does not look good. Maybe they think they can win votes by this action against South Africa."

Big gap

Total SA exports about 3.5-million tons of coal a year and has another 500 000 ton a year export entitlement for the Phase 4 programme.

Mr Lafitte said Total had already provided the money needed for that expansion and did not require funds from its parent for the foreseeable future.

SA shareholders held 44% of its operations in this country. Funds raised in SA by Total for expansion would not be affected by the French Government's ruling.

"There is also often a big gap between what a politician says he will do and what he actually does."

The French Chamber of Commerce and Industries, the South African branch of the French National Committee of External Trade and the French man-to-man committee of the SA Foundation,

are all protesting to the French Government on its move against South Africa.

They say French companies have played an important role in bringing about social change in SA and the embargo on new investment will lead to more poverty.

Peter Gray, senior general manager of the French Bank of SA, said the bank's business would continue as usual.

SOUTH AFRICA

RENAULT, PEUGEOT TO MERGE

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (BUSINESS Supplement) in English 28 Jul
85 p 3

[Article by Don Robertson]

[Text]

RENAULT and Peugeot are almost certain to merge in South Africa.

All that is needed is the blessing of the two boards in France, expected before the end of December.

However, the French Government's decision to ban new investment in South Africa could have a bearing on the rationalisation of Renault and Peugeot.

Peugeot's marketing activities have come to almost a standstill and the single South African representative, Pierre Michel Faunconier, is in France.

Peugeot and Samcor have

agreed to sever their links.

Renault, however, does not believe that the French Government's move will disrupt its operations. Renault Africa is wholly owned through Euro Motors by Nefic, Nedbank's long-term financing division.

Johan Theron, public affairs manager at Renault Africa, says additional in-

vestment could be raised in SA. Recently, R42-million was raised to tool up for the Renault 9. Equipment was bought from Japan and only components came from France.

The next model launch from Renault will be the 21 Renault 19, but it is not expected until 1987.

CSO: 3400/859

SOUTH AFRICA

PAULUS AT ODDS WITH NP REPRESENTATIVE OVER MINE LABOR POLICY

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 31 Jul 85 p 2

[Article: "Paulus in Sharp Clash With NP-LP Over Wiehahn"]

[Text] He is willing to resign as chief secretary of the Mine Workers Union [MWU] and run as a candidate in the Stilfontein constituency if the NP-MP [National Party Member of Parliament] of that constituency, Mr James Cunningham, also resigns. That is what the chief secretary of the MWU, Mr Arrie Paulus, told DIE AFRIKANER after he was challenged by Mr Cunningham to run as a candidate in a mining constituency in later general elections.

The challenges arise from a recent article in the MWU's mouthpiece, DIE MYNWERKER [The Mine Worker]. Mr Paulus said in the article that MPs who represent mining constituencies must take a stand against the abolition of work reservation in the mining industry or resign. Mr Paulus said that the sixth Wiehahn Report and the White Paper were held back until after the general elections of 29 April 1981. MPs representing mining constituencies thus do not have a mandate from their constituents for the abolition of work reservation in the mines.

DIE AFRIKANER then approached four LP-MPs representing mining constituencies for comment. They were Dr Boy Geldenhuys from Randfontein, Mr Willie Landman from Carletonville, Dr M.H. Veldman from Rustenburg and Mr James Cunningham from Stilfontein. All four declared outright that they support the Government's White Paper on the sixth Wiehahn Report. Mr Cunningham added that Mr Paulus is "in a fog" if he thinks that he (Mr Cunningham) will resign as MP for Stilfontein. He said, "Why doesn't Mr Paulus run instead as a candidate in a mining constituency in later general elections?"

Mr Paulus says he is "sick and tired" of Mr Cunningham's challenges. Mr Cunningham already leveled a similar challenge in a debate of a standing committee of the Volksraad [House of Assembly]. "I already challenged him last year to resign as MP. I let him know by registered mail that I would resign as chief secretary in order to run against him in Stilfontein. He was too cowardly to respond to that. Mr Cunningham cannot allege that he did not receive the letter. I was in touch with the post office and have proof that he signed for the letter." Mr Paulus says the challenge still stands. "If Mr

Cunningham resigns, I will resign as chief secretary of the MWU tomorrow and go run against him in Stilfontein," he says.

Mr Paulus says he did not expect the MPs to resign. "They are sitting in Parliament on borrowed time. The mine workers will cast their vote in later elections." He says that NP-MPs were thoroughly aware of the recommendations of the Wiehahn Committee and the White Paper before 29 April 1981. They were thus in a position to inform their constituents.

The MP for Randfontein, Mr Boy Geldenhuys, says the sixth report of the Wiehahn Committee did indeed recommend the abolition of work reservation in the mining industry, but also made an important stipulation. That stipulation is that a service security agreement must be made. "My viewpoint is that this agreement must be made. I do not see the need to resign and then have the voters express themselves on the matter. Many reports have become known only after elections, and therefore Mr Paulus's argument is not valid," Dr Geldenhuys says.

Mr Willie Landman, MP for Carletonville, says it is government policy that all discriminatory legislation must be done away with. "I do not believe the mine worker is afraid to compete with anyone, as long as it is on a fair basis." Of course he supports the Government's policy on the abolition of work reservation in the mining industry, Mr Landman says. He would, however, like to consult with his constituents, and possibly a compromise can be reached. Mr Landman says a White Paper had not yet been laid on the table at the time of the general elections of 29 April 1981. The MWU now says the sixth Wiehahn Report is unacceptable, but how can something be termed unacceptable if it has not been reasoned out first?

The MP for Rustenburg, Dr M.H. Veldman, says he does not find it necessary to respond to Mr Paulus's challenge in DIE MYNWERKER. Mr Paulus knows what the present position is and that negotiations are under way. He associates with the viewpoint of the minister, who has said that he is still giving the Chamber of Mines and the MWU until 31 December for the opportunity to settle. Dr Veldman says he is not really "bothered" by Mr Paulus's accusation that MP's from mining constituencies do not represent their constituents and ought to resign.

Mr Paulus is in a fog if he expects him to resign as MP, says Mr James Cunningham, MP for Stilfontein. Only a minority of his electors are mine workers and, moreover, even before the 1981 general elections he held out the prospect that work reservation in the mining industry would disappear. Mr Cunningham says the MWU alleges that the majority of mine workers reject the government's policy. Then why didn't they win the constituency in 1981? Mr Cunningham says he wants to challenge Mr Paulus to run as a candidate in a mining constituency in later elections.

13084

CSO: 3401/192

SOUTH AFRICA

DISADVANTAGES OF FLOATING EXCHANGE RATE DISCUSSED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 1 Aug 85 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

The international value of the rand plunged to within a whisker of a new low yesterday when it hit \$0,4350 before recovering to \$0,4580. It did this despite a quite substantial increase in the price of gold, which under normal circumstances would have seen the currency rise in value, entirely because of market rumours.

One advantage of having a floating exchange rate is that when capital is likely to leave the country in some quantity whatever the reason may be, the price of the currency falls and takes the strain off the country's store of reserves, which would otherwise be dissipated in defence of a fixed exchange rate.

This enables the economy to adjust in an orderly way to more straitened circumstances, thereby sowing the seeds of an eventual sustainable recovery.

The other side of the floating coin is that market-determined currency values are subject often to violent short-term fluctuations as arbitrageurs (international speculators to you and me) take advantage of the situation.

Yesterday this hard truth was brought home to South Africans many of whom have only been exposed to the cold winds of competitive foreign exchange markets for a relatively short time.

Essentially what happened yesterday was

that we paid the price of our own political upheavals. We would have had to pay, of course, regardless of whether we had the imaginary protection of a fixed rate of exchange. But not only the means of payment would differ, so would the economic consequences.

A fixed rate of exchange yesterday would have meant that the central bank shelled out millions of dollars from the reserves. The chances are our trade surplus would have been eroded and the recession would have had to be deepened for who knows what period.

Instead the value of the rand was reduced by the market. This means imports will be more expensive and the slide in interest rates will probably be inhibited in compensation. It is an orderly adjustment that should not shock the economy and it will retard the recovery to much less an extent.

If the rumoured exchange controls were to have been reimposed on non-residents, the plunge in the rand's value would probably have been greater. For over the past 18 months South Africa has gained more from share transactions than it has lost. If any hindrance were placed now on the repatriation of the proceeds of these deals, it is a dead certainty that share purchases from abroad would not just be temporarily interrupted by the emergency. They would dry up completely.

CSO: 3400/856

SOUTH AFRICA

URBAN FOUNDATION MD CALLS FOR REFORM ALLIANCES

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 31 Jul 85 p 2

[Article by Peter Wallington]

[Text]

THE forging of reform alliances to bring pressure on forces upholding the status quo was the most crucial step in managing reform, Urban Foundation MD Robin Lee said yesterday.

He was speaking at a Social Responsibility Management Association meeting in Johannesburg on "Reform and the social responsibility of the private sector".

While organised commerce and industry had made calls for reform in recent months, reform should not depend on statements of what ought to be. Reform was a manageable social, economic and political process, he said.

"Reform envisages change occurring in sequential fashion rather than simultaneously, and not requiring any prerequisite in order to begin."

The key prerequisites in managing reform, he said, were:

- ☐ The identification of key areas of need in which positive change seemed attainable and would have important multiplier effects in the society;

- ☐ Issues that needed to be addressed were: a willingness to change on the part of the dominant sector; the evident inability of past policies to cope with present problems; pressure to change, both external and internal; and concrete proposals on what changes were necessary

and how these could be made;

- ☐ Resources for change must be marshalled and, in particular, reform alliances must be forged.

Lee said the realisation that reform was a process that could be managed gave cause for hope.

"It is not the case that nothing can be done... that we must simply wait for the revolution to occur. On the contrary, substantial progress can be made, especially if the private sector throws its weight behind this process."

He said each company and association could reinforce its concern with social inequality by channelling its social-responsibility commitment to the goal of reform and by pooling resources for maximum effect.

By co-operating with other like-minded organisations the private sector could help to bring a united and strengthened front demanding legislative change, Lee said.

He added that it was important to take advantage of the government's willingness to effect reform, "for black suffering is already acute, polarisation is gaining ground and substantial positive change is crucial to defuse the current situation".

CSO: 3400/856

SOUTH AFRICA

POLICE SAY NOT INTERESTED IN PRIVATE LIVES

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 1 Aug 85 p 4

[Text]

THE SA Police yesterday reaffirmed its attitude that it was not interested in the private life nor personal views of people "unless such individual's actions involve the security of the State".

Reacting to the adjudication by the Media Council on the complaint by the police against *The Star* newspaper, about the Boesak affair, the SAP public relations division issued a statement saying that the Commissioner of Police had taken cognisance of the finding.

The statement said: "The Commissioner of the SA Police has taken cognisance of the finding of the Media Council.

It was also noted that:

- 1, The finding confirms that neither the SA Police nor any of its divisions were, as such, responsible for the fabrication or dissemination of the pamphlet or tape recording in question;
- 2, That two jurists, G Hugo and Professor S A Strauss, who represented the public at the Media Council hearing, did not in all respects agree with the finding of the majority of the council;
- 3, The SAP wishes to reaffirm its attitude, as stated by the Minister of Law and Order in Parliament, that it is not interested in the private life nor personal viewpoint of any individual, unless such individual's actions involve the security of the State." — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/859

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

RENAULT NOT FROZEN--The French government decision to freeze new investments in South Africa would not interfere with Renault Africa's planning and objectives, managing director Bernard Vernoux said today. As Renault Africa was a wholly-owned SA company, total capital investment and expenditure required for the tooling for the Renault 9 and Renault 11 model ranges had been sourced locally, while CKD purchases from Renault France were financed through normal supply credit arrangements, he said. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 31 Jul 85 p 3]

UNREST HITS HOMES PLANS--A major R65m housing scheme started this year on Woodbridge Island, Milnerton, Cape Town, has been halted as a result of the political unrest and slump in the property market. This was confirmed by Harry Fuchs, MD of Woodbridge Island Development Company, which is 50% owned by D&H Industrial Holdings. Building has been postponed until June, Fuchs said. He added that the decision had been difficult to take as the site was now ready for a start to be made on building the first of the 344 expensive houses earmarked for the scheme. "We have already spent R10m on civil works, including the building of a bridge linking the island to the Milnerton mainland," Fuchs said. Fuchs said that he would use the postponement period to consolidate the marketing drive. Work will also be continuing with the civil-engineering works, tree-planting and landscaping, building of electrical substations and the island's gatehouse. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 31 Jul 85 p 4]

HSRC WARNED--Minister of National Education F W deKlerk has warned the Human Sciences Research Council that at all times it must ensure the "invisible line" between research and policy-making was respected. [sentence as published] De Klerk said it was important a research organisation like the HSRC should not be drawn into the political arena by forces outside, adding that the media had a "grave responsibility" to report objectively and in a balanced way when it came to research findings. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 1 Aug 85 p 4]

WHITES MUST LOWER STANDARDS--The director of the Bureau for Economic Research at Stellenbosch University, Professor Attie de Vries, said that White South Africans have high economic expectations but would have to scale them down. DeVries said the SA economy had almost reached the low point of the recession and there would be some sideways movement before the upswing started during the first half of next year. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 1 Aug 85 p 4]

UN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE BERATED -- It is fairly clear by this time that there is a worldwide affliction boiling about South Africa's internal policy. But that this policy would take up so much time of the UN Women's Conference held this week in Nairobi comes as an unexpected refrain to the anti-South African chorus. So much unanimity on a question has seldom been demonstrated by women's organizations, which was represented, among others, by the daughter of the American president, the wife of the Egyptian president, New Zealand's minister of women's affairs and the wife of the Greek premier. DIE TRANSVALER does not believe it is a fair deduction to accuse women in general of being at their most talkative on subjects about which they know the least, but in these particular cases an obviously blatant ignorance about conditions in South Africa did not deter the so-called leadership women of the world from speaking their minds. And they never said a word about the misfortunes and pain of the women and mothers in Ethiopia and elsewhere. [Text] [Pretoria DIE TRANSVALER in Afrikaans 18 Jul 85 p 10] 13084

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