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27 June 1985

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

WEST AFRICAN PORTS UNABLE TO HANDLE MORE FOOD AID

AB311155 Paris AFP in English 1142 GMT 31 May 85

[By Philippe Mudry]

[Text] Niamey, May 31 (AFP)--West African ports are unable to handle any more food-aid for drought-stricken countries in the hinterland, and much of it risks rotting in the rain, authorities said here in the capital of land-locked Niger today. One official of an international organization said he had advised his headquarters to postpone a number of shipments until August in the hope of clearing the backlog. Other aid donors said that on May 22 about 100,000 tonnes of food for Niger alone was held up at ports in Nigeria, Benin and Togo. Of this aid, 52,000 tonnes of was [as received] in the clogged port of Cotonou, the Beninese capital. In Lome, Togo, 10,000 tonnes of aid for Niger, plus 60,000 tonnes for Mali and Burkina Faso were waiting to be cleared.

"There is no more room in the port, and food is now being stored in the city," the aid official said.

A Niger Government source said that a team from the Trade Ministry had been on the coast for several days to assess the situation and try to prevent the food from deteriorating as the rainy season reaches its height. Much of the food was only being stored under tarpaulins, the source said.

Meanwhile the authorities here launched an appeal on Tuesday for international help in transporting food into the interior of Niger. The aim of the appeal is to ensure that even the remotest of the country's 155 distribution centres are stocked up by the end of July, so that farmers can cultivate their fields.

Wassalke Boukari, chairman of Niger's technical committee for the organization of food aid, which liaises between donors and the government, said the estimated cost of the distribution programme including the provision of enough transport was 1.9 billion CFA francs--about \$4 million.

Mr Boukari said response to the appeal had been swift, particularly from the United States, United Nations agencies and the European Economic Community. Washington, for example, had promised to pay for the transport of all its

promised aid of 10,000 tonnes to its final destination, but 500 million CFA francs (about \$7 million) still had to be found. Mr Boukari said the programme was essential, as road transport through the bush had proved to be the weak link in the chain from aid donors to some 2.5 million people affected by famine in Niger.

According to donors, some 400,000 tonnes of food [words indistinct] aid for sale and commercial imports) has to be shifted to meet needs, and there are insufficient trucks in the country to do it. Vehicles being used belong to the armed forces and the government, or have been requisitioned from development projects. A scheme to commandeer private trucks has met difficulties because many are not in a fit state, Mr Boukari said. "The programme we have submitted to the donors should enable us in particular to repair the trucks and compensate their owners", Mr Boukari said. He also expressed regret that vehicles promised by Italy, the Netherlands and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries had not yet arrived.

Some 100,000 tonnes of food have been received so far, and the government has managed to distribute about 60 percent of it, a performance which is considered good given the size of this mainly-desert country. Donors say that with around 20,000 tonnes of food arriving each week the situation at the moment is generally satisfactory, though there are some areas which are worse off than others.

New factors have arisen, however, such as a general tendency of farmers to return to their villages to cultivate their new season's crops, and the sudden return of some 58,000 people expelled as illegal immigrants from neighbouring Nigeria. The returnees are each receiving enough food for more than a month to enable them to settle back home.

CSO: 3400/379

BENIN

SCHOOL ACTIVITIES RESUME NORMALLY IN PROVINCES

AB031430 Parakou Domestic Service in French 1300 GMT 3 Jun 85 (tentative)

[Excerpts] Today, Monday, 3 June 1985, schools and the university have been reopened after remaining closed for about 1 month. The closure was ordered on 6 May 1985 by the head of state in the wake of the acts of vandalism and banditry carried out in Cotonou and Porto Novo by a handful of subversive school children and students manipulated by the enemies of our revolution.

Students and school children, who did not want to give the impression that they have given up classes, went back to school this morning. We could see this during our tour of some of our provinces. We visited the Oueme Province from where Comrade Ando Dossa, principal of the (Gavie) secondary school, is on the line explaining that classes resumed normally this morning with the flag-raising ceremony.

[Dossa] As a matter of fact, the flag-raising ceremony took place today and was performed without a hitch. After this I asked the students to return to their respective classrooms, which they did. The teachers were all present at the ceremony. Classes resumed immediately after flag-raising and there is no problem. Each teacher has started classes. Meanwhile, security agents have arrived and are at crossroads to enhance security for teachers and students.

[Announcer] Comrade Principal, are the students and parents happy on the occasion of the resumption of classes?

[Dossa] We have received a delegation of parents who have come to realize that their children have actually resumed classes. Apparently, the students are happy to go back to school. Their parents are happy, too. The teachers were also pleased to resume work because, according to them, they felt bored at home.

CSO: 3400/379

CHAD

HABRE FACED WITH DIFFICULT ECONOMIC SITUATION

ABO42118 Paris AFP in French 1147 GMT 4 Jun 85

[Text] Ndjamen, 4 Jun (AFP)--At the threshold of his fourth year in power, Chadian President Hissein Habre is faced with a very difficult economic situation, which particularly deteriorated within the past 18 months. The commemoration of the fall of Ndjamen into the hands of the FAN on 7 June 1982 will therefore take place "in austerity," Chadian official circles point out.

This deterioration is due to the joint effects of the state of war--open or masked--against Goukouni Oueddei's Transitional National Union Government [GUNT] backed by Libyan elements in the north of the country, the political disturbances in the south, and the effects of the drought raging throughout the country.

Agriculture and stock breeding, which represent 60 percent of the gross domestic product, have particularly suffered during the same period. Cotton production, the leading export commodity, fell by 35 percent during the 1984-85 harvest season which has just ended with only 97,000 tons, as compared with the brilliant results of the previous year (158,000 tons). This fall is attributed mainly to the clashes between Codos groups, opposed to the Ndjamen regime, and the Chadian Army. These clashes have created an atmosphere of insecurity inconducive to farming on the cotton plantations in the south, it was explained at the Cotontchad [Chadian Cotton Industry] headquarters in Ndjamen.

Drought caused a cereal deficit estimated in 1984 by the FAO at 300,000 tons and emergency relief exercises had to be organized to supply the people with basic foodstuffs (millet, sorghum, and rice) at the rate of 12,000 tons a month.

Cattle--nearly 10 million head of cattle, according to IMF estimates--suffer from lack of water, and the number is very difficult to estimate because of the nomadic nature of the owners.

Furthermore, the occupation of the Borku-Enndi-Tibesti [BET] in the north has provoked "forced migration of flock" toward the south, where the herds cause considerable damage to farms.

In the secondary sector represented mainly by six large companies--Cotontchad, Sonasut [National Sugar Company], STT [Chadian Textile Company], MCT [Tobacco Manufacturing Company], STEE [Chadian Electricity Company], and Logone Brewery--general activity has not attained its pre-1978 level, it is indicated at the Ministry of Finance. Added to this delay in the resumption of economic activities is the lack of confidence by prospective investors. "As long as the issue of the occupation of the northern part of the country is not resolved, holders of foreign capital in particular will feel reluctant to come and invest in Chad," Finance Minister Elie Roumba explains.

Public finance feels this moroseness in the economy. Import and export taxes, which represent 65 percent of budget revenue, are directly affected by the fall in economic activity. Thus the loss for the cotton sector alone is estimated at 2 billion CFA francs (Fr40 million) in export tax, about 10 percent of the 20 billion CFA francs for expenditure in the 1985 budget estimates.

Revenue, which is estimated at 15 billion CFA francs (Fr300 million) also suffers from the weakness in the system of tax and levy collection. In fact, the public treasury has lost 3.5 billion CFA francs (Fr70 million) in 1984 in taxes not received on imports and the sale of petroleum products, according to Total Oil Company.

Corruption has added to this slackness of the system to deprive the Chadian state of part of its revenues. A great number of customs malpractices were recently discovered involving the highest officials of the Customs Department, police sources in Ndjamena disclosed. But the inquiry, opened upon the discovery, has been suspended following the death during the inquiry of a customs officer suspected in the case.

At the same time, Ndjamena has to face "incompressible obligations," Mr Roumba explained. For example, military expenditures which represent 40 percent of total expenditures, or more still, the civilian administration, which the Chadian leaders consider as "plethoric" with its 15,000 functionaries and who cost the government 900 million CFA francs (Fr18 million) monthly despite the half salary law.

This fragility of the public finances has made Chad to depend heavily on French budgetary assistance (3.5 billion CFA francs, or Fr70 million) as well on the United States (1.2 billion CFA francs, or Fr24 million).

The Chadian leaders are convinced that they will be able to rescue the country from this precarious situation by developing [words indistinct] Chad, as President Habre repeated at each stage of his tour of the provinces during the past 3 months. But in their minds, this recovery depends on the restoration of a stable political situation which begins with the recapture of the north. Observers in Ndjamena are waiting for the head of state to make this the main theme of his address on the occasion of the celebration of 7 June on Friday.

CSO: 3400/379

GABON

PRESIDENT BONGO ON 'CLANDESTINE IMMIGRATION'

AB312220 Libreville L'UNION in French 16 May 85 p 6

[Part 4 of a press conference by Omar Bongo, president of Gabon, in Libreville on 11 May, published in 4 parts by L'UNION from 13 May through 16 May]

[Excerpts] Concerning clandestine immigration, I have told the ministers of national defense, and labor and employment as well as General Assele [commander of the National Police] that all foreigners living in our country should be registered. The ambassador of Congo should know the number of his countrymen residing in Gabon. The same goes for the ambassadors of Equatorial-Guinea, the CAR, Cameroon, Sao Tome, Zaire, and Angola. The ambassadors of Ivory Coast, Senegal, Togo, and Nigeria should know how many Ivorians, Senegalese, Togolese, and Nigerians there are in Gabon. For other nationals, the security forces should know the number of Beninese, Burkinabe, Malians, Nigerois, Guineans, and Chadians in Gabon. Companies operating in Gabon and those who employ foreigners clandestinely should declare them to the police and to the Ministry of Labor and Employment. Otherwise, beginning 15 to 30 June 1985, it will be "a run-for-your-life" affair.

I am therefore asking the minister of state for foreign affairs and cooperation to immediately convene all ambassadors from friendly African countries. Of course, the police and the gendarmerie should undertake their own investigations by putting up roadblocks, and by systematic identity checks. I say: "We have had too much rain, now it is drought time." I think I will not come back to this issue of clandestine immigration. After these investigations we shall know who entered Gabon through the right door, that is, those who came with work permits delivered by the Ministry of Labor and Employment and an entry visa delivered by the immigration services of the police and gendarmerie. We shall then know those who came to our country through the window, that is, passing through the footpaths in the bush or by canoe. Meanwhile, the borders should be watched permanently. Comrade Auge "you should as soon as possible convene all sectional secretaries of the party in all the provinces and all provincial delegates of the party as well as all the chairmen of the departmental assemblies and draw their attention to dangers about clandestine immigration." Thus every foreigner who enters clandestinely into Gabon should be exposed. If ever it is found that some Gabonese are hiding these illegal aliens in their homes, well, I will deal with them. In fact, it is

inadmissible that at this time when we are aspiring for peace and tranquility, people should import into our country methods and systems that we have never known in our country before. We see people leaving Nigeria by canoe to come here. Others leave Chad, Zaire, Congo, and everywhere to come here. Where do these people pass? Gabonese do not go anywhere; they do not go out.

Members of government, I had asked you to send me the list of foreign employees in your departments. If need be, the new work permit that the Ministry of Labor and Employment will establish should be signed by me so that I am no longer deceived. For, in spite of all that I have said, we see people here the next day.

Recently, diplomatic relations between Ivory Coast and Gabon nearly deteriorated because there was a crazy journalist who came to Libreville clandestinely and was sent back by the airport police. He goes back to Ivory Coast and tells some tall stories. In retaliation every Gabonese who goes to Ivory Coast was automatically sent back. Thanks to the understanding of President Houphouet-Boigny everything has entered into order. Do you see how far this clandestine immigration can lead?

I ask the security forces to watch all the small footpaths in the bush by which these foreigners infiltrate into our country. Party militants should also be vigilant. I am giving the security forces the mandate to act in all locales and under every circumstance, so that we can see ourselves clear of this affair. I warn companies in Gabon which employ foreigners. There is a ceiling for the number of foreigners they should employ, and they should not exceed it.

CSO: 3400/379

GHANA

LOAN AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH FRG

AB312034 Accra Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 31 May 85

[Text] Ghana and West Germany today signed a bilateral agreement in Accra under which Germany is to offer Ghana a loan of DM10 million. It will be used to improve the transport sector and the water supply system in the country. The loan, which carries an annual interest rate of 0.5 percent is repayable in 50 years with 10 years grace. The secretary for finance and economic planning, Dr Kwesi Botchway, signed for Ghana, while the West German ambassador, Mr Vogel, signed for his country.

The loan is the result of bilateral negotiations held in Bonn between the governments of both countries in September last year. Dr Botchway described the loan as the most important loan Germany has offered Ghana in the past 2 years. He disclosed that DM7.5 million of the amount would be used to purchase spare parts for MAN and Mercedes Benz trucks being used in Ghana. The remaining 2.5 million would go to Ghana Water and Sewerage Corporation for the purchase of equipment and spare parts to rehabilitate the country's water supply system. Dr Botchway assured the ambassador that under the economic recovery program, steps are being taken to improve the country's export sector and to judiciously utilize existing credit facilities so that Ghana will be in a better position to pay all her debts.

On his part, Mr Vogel pledged the determination of his government to continue to offer assistance to Ghana for the success of her recovery program. Mr Vogel announced that another round of negotiations between his country and Ghana would be held in Accra in September this year to examine which areas Germany can offer further assistance to Ghana.

CSO: 3400/374

GHANA

GREATER ACCRA TO SET UP TASK FORCES IN BANKS

AB050845 Accra Domestic Service in French 0600 GMT 5 Jun 85

[Text] The Greater Accra Secretariat of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution [CDR's] is to set up task forces to check malpractices in the financial institutions in the area. Managers of these institutions are therefore urged to do their own house-cleaning before they are exposed. This was announced by the regional organizing assistant, Warrant Officer Serge Nunoo, at a rally in Accra yesterday to commemorate the 6th anniversary of the 4 June uprising. He said the CDR's are going to track down all reactionary elements in the system. WO Nunoo criticized CDR's in the institutions where the frauds occurred for not being vigilant enough.

The secretary for rural development and cooperatives, Mr Acquah Harrison, said the anniversary should be a time for stock-taking by every Ghanaian. They should address themselves to the task ahead. Mr Acquah Harrison said in view of the country's limited resources, all progressive elements should resolve to fight ignorance and disease which plague the rural area.

A special assistant to the political counselor for the economic development of CDR's, Mr Dan Abudakpeh, urged Ghanaians to fight tribalism and regionalism if the revolution is to achieve its objectives. He urged those managements which are reorganizing CDR's to stop forthwith. This is because they have no mandate to do that. Mr Abudakpeh said although the ongoing process has achieved some socioeconomic gains, the task ahead is more.

CSO: 3400/374

GHANA

RADIO COMMENTS ON UPHOLDING VALUES OF 4 JUNE REVOLUTION

AB042256 Accra Domestic Service in English 1300 GMT 4 Jun 85

[Commentary by David Anarglatey]

[Text] An anniversary of June 4 is an occasion for stock-taking to review how nearer we are to achieve the goals of June 4, 1979. Still these goals can be summed up in one word--accountability--for if those placed in responsible positions are aware that they have to account to the people for their actions, they will not only work hard, but they will also refrain from using their office to amass wealth. This, in turn, will be a good example for all others to copy. In the absence of a system of dishonest acquisition of wealth, the way to attain the good life is through hard productive work which will improve the national economy since the wealth of the nation is the sum total of the individual efforts. The fact that 3 and 1/2 years after the onset of the revolution there are no reports of rampant corruption in high places may be an indication that the principle of accountability is holding. Anybody who is tempted to underrate the positive nature of this achievement should turn his mind back to 1 year after the 1966 coup or 1 year after the return to civilian rule in 1969, or 2 years after 13 January 1972 and compare the corruption that had begun to set in to the present year of restraint even of frugality in high places.

Admittedly, the current spate of bank fraud is a negative development, but even here, the fact that the culprits were quickly dealt with by the tribunals is a credit to the revolutionary system of justice. But the bank thefts are a symptom of weakness in the revolution's mechanism for identifying crooks and corrupt elements. It seems that the National Investigations Committee [NIC] will have to evolve a more active system for this purpose. It seems that it is no longer adequate to leave the question of identification and investigation to the unreliable chance of someone coming forward to report an unusual lifestyle. It may be necessary to pursue the declaration of assets on a regular mandatory basis and to embrace both high and low in society. It seems that with the searchlight of the revolution thrown on high officials, the junior ones have begun to feel that they could indulge in corrupt deals with impunity. Otherwise, why is it that most of the culprits in the recent bank incidents were younger and more junior officers. These incidents also tell a sad story about the state of revolutionary vigilance of the CDR's [Committees for the Defense of the Revolution] in the

banks and the ministries where the fraud originated. It seems that in the workplace CDR's failed to notice what was going on or, having noticed it, they failed to report it because their close colleagues were involved. Remember, Boham would not have been arrested if he had not been found drunk with 70,000 cedis with an AK47 rifle in his car at night.

The episode may also signal something worse, a failure of conviction about the noble goals of the revolution, which in turn may have made some erstwhile cadres turn away from vigilance toward criminality. Thus a great task faces the national secretariat of the CDR's to restore the cadres to their former high state of vigilance which must begin with their readiness to correct themselves. In addition, the NIC must increase its receptiveness in tracking down wrongdoers. In this, it should use also the traditional investigatory bodies and insist on annual declaration of not only local but also foreign assets including any gifts paid into foreign accounts for people.

As stated earlier, there is a direct relationship between accountability and the work ethics which the chairman of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] referred to at the commissioning of the GBC [Ghana Broadcasting Corporation] transmitters yesterday. Thus all measures that will result in cleaning up the system of all malpractices will be a direct effort to usher in the principle of hard work as a national culture.

CSO: 3400/374

GHANA

RAWLINGS COMMISSIONS BROADCASTING TRANSMITTERS

AB031626 Accra Domestic Service in English 1300 GMT 3 Jun 85

[Text] The chairman of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council], Flight Lieutenant Rawlings, today commissioned two new 50 kw transmitters for the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation [GBC] in Accra. The project, which was wholly financed by the government, cost \$3.2 million with the cedi component of 7.8 million cedis.

In a speech, Chairman Rawlings said it was an occasion to reflect on the achievements of the GBC and question its performances over the last 50 years. He said it is one thing having sophisticated equipment and another to plan programs to benefit the majority of the people. The leader of the revolution said the only appreciation the GBC can show the people is to help them know the truth and to understand the ongoing process. There should be programs in all the Ghanaian languages on their farming activities, their cultural values and virtues.

The undersecretary for information, Totobi Quakyi, who chaired the function, said the mass media are aware of the role that they should play in the ongoing revolutionary process. And for this reason, they are responsive to the criticisms they are subjected to occasionally. Mr Quakyi said the best possible response to the criticism is to endeavor to raise the quality of their work in full appreciation of the valued framework in which they work. He said the media have wide capabilities that the greatest disservice they can do to society will be to perpetrate psychic and moral violence on the people. This sort of violence is of a more subtle nature than physical brutality, and is all the more dangerous because it rarely raises a protest, even from the victim.

Earlier, the director general of the GBC, Fifi Hesse, announced that the next stage of the rehabilitation exercise is to convert one of the television studios into color at the cost of \$1.9 million. This project will be completed by February next year and will also be financed by the government. The television transmitters at Anyangote, Jamasi, and Kisi will also undergo modernization at the cost of \$2.9 million to be borne by a Japanese grant. Mr Fifi Hesse said with the new transmitters he is confident that there will be fewer or no breaks in transmission at all.

CSO: 3400/375

GHANA

BRIEFS

RESTRAINT ON NDEBUGRE LIFTED--The chairman of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] has directed that the temporary restraint placed on Mr John Ndebugre from performing functions of secretary of state be lifted. [Text] [Accra Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 31 May 85 AB]

JAPANESE CAR TRANSACTIONS SUSPENDED--The PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] has directed that all transactions by government organizations and departments with the African Automobile Limited, agents for Mitsubishi vehicles, should be suspended with immediate effect pending a thorough investigation into the conduct of the company in respect to past and present government orders. [Text] [Accra Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 5 Jun 85 AB]

CSO: 3400/375

KENYA

MOI HOLDS TALKS WITH SFRY PRESIDENT IN BELGRADE

EA031939 Nairobi KNA in English 1610 GMT 3 Jun 85

[Text] Belgrade, June 3--H.E. President Daniel Arap Moi today cautioned African countries about the dangers of being divided ideologically. The president noted that after the colonial powers scrambled for Africa at the Berlin conference in 1885, the same powers are coming back to divide the continent ideologically.

President Moi who was holding discussions with the Yugoslav President Radovan Vlackovic, said that the ideological scramble for Africa was even more dangerous, because it comes under different guises.

The president noted with concern that developed countries are dumping arms in Africa without any tangible developments. He said there was need for sincere and genuine desire on the part of the developed countries to help Africa. The president called for a new approach to aid in Africa if meaningful development is to take place.

On the food shortage in Africa, the president said it was not the direct consequence of mismanagement as it is construed in industrialized countries, but as a result of unpredictable weather conditions.

President Moi, who is deeply concerned about the deteriorating conditions in southern Africa, said Kenya stood by the UN Resolution 435 of 1978, which calls for the independence of Namibia.

He condemned the apartheid system in South Africa which he described as an affront to the dignity of mankind, and that Africa will not rest until the system is dismantled.

The president recollected with satisfaction that the late President Tito was the co-founder of the Non-Alignment Movement, which has achieved most of its objectives including decolonization of Africa.

On inter-dependence, the president called for genuine dialogue between the North and the South, because one cannot succeed without the other.

President Moi paid tribute to his host for the hospitality accorded his delegation and the cordial and friendly relations they had together.

He noted that the relations which were established by the late President Jomo Kenyatta and Josip Tito have continued to flourish and strengthen for the benefit of the two peoples.

During the discussions, President Moi briefed his host on situation in several parts of Africa, including the Horn of Africa and the recent developments in the Sudan.

The Kenya delegation at the discussions included Ministers Nicholas Biwott, Peter Okondo, Elijah Mwangale, Maalim Mohamed, and several senior government officials.

CSO: 3400/380

KENYA

BOY CITES POLITICAL DIVISION IN MOMBASA IN DEVELOPMENTAL DELAYS

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 9 May 85 p 4

[Text] **POLITICIANS** in Mombasa have split up into two camps, the MP for Kwale Central, **Boy Juma Boy**, said.

Contributing to a freelance motion by the MP for Mombasa North, **Mr. Ibrahim Mwaruwa** urging the Ministry of Local Government in conjunction with municipality of Mombasa to make arrangements for the development of the roads and drainage system in the Kongowea area of Mombasa, **Boy** alleged that political divisions erupted daily thus causing delay in development.

He named the Mombasa's two giants as an Assistant Minister for Lands and Settlement, **Mr. Sharif Nassir** who is also the MP for Mombasa Central who has the mayor and all the Mombasa Municipal councillors in his camp and on the other hand the MP for Mombasa South, **Mr. Abdallah Mwidau** on the other camp with other Mombasa MPs

Boy urged the elected leaders be they MPs or councillors, to look after the welfare of those who elected them and stop mudslinging. He complained that the leadership squabbles in Mombasa had retarded the development so much so that

school children had no buses to go to school on. Some arrived as late as 9.00 a.m. daily due to lack of buses.

Introducing the motion **Mwaruwa**, had said political divisions among the elected members of parliament from Mombasa were retarding development in the district.

An Assistant Minister for Local Government and MP for Nakuru West **Mr. John Mungai** supported the motion. He warned leaders not to influence workers to go slow because this retarded development.

KENYA

TIPIS CAUSES STIR ON BRANCH POST REMARKS

Nairobi THE WEEKLY REVIEW in English 10 May 85 pp 4-5

[Text] MR. Justus ole Tipis, a minister for state in office of the president, and Kanu national treasurer, has said he will no longer seek the Narok Kanu branch chairmanship he lost to Mr. William Ntimama in 1976 — and which he has sought to retain since. All of a sudden, Tipis claims that to seek the seat would be "stooping a bit too low" considering that he is the national treasurer of the party. To many observers, the statement amounted to an unwarranted political arrogance at a time when Tipis' fellow cabinet ministers and national party officials were seeking to consolidate their grassroots support through their respective party branches.

The remarks by Tipis were in response to suggestions in the media that he was preparing either to make a new bid for the Narok seat or to sponsor a candidate of his choice against Ntimama. The suggestions were prompted by recent public pronouncements by politicians from both camps in Narok, including Tipis himself. But the minister dismissed such speculation as "misleading and unfounded". Not only did he argue that contesting a party post in Narok would be stooping too low for the current national treasurer of the party, he also asserted that he would not sponsor anyone in the election either.

The drama in Narok began three weeks ago when Ntimama convened a party meeting where a resolution was reported to have been passed that Ntimama be returned unopposed as branch chairman. Among other matters discussed was that Ntimama's successor as chairman of the Narok County Council, Mr. Hassan ole Kamwaro, should resign from the council on the grounds that he had said at another meeting that Kanu in Narok was "dead"

Kamwaro immediately called a press conference to deny this. He said the statement he made was that Kanu in the district was "dormant" as a result of Ntimama's reluctance to convene any kind of party meetings over the years. He took the opportunity to condemn Ntimama for not convening meetings to condemn a former minister for constitutional affairs, Mr. Charles Njonjo, at a time the whole country was condemning the "traitor" (Njonjo was established by a judicial commission to have been plotting against President Moi's government). He further said Ntimama had also failed to

gather the branch governing committee to carry out screening of suspected dissidents and unloyal elements when the rest of the country was engaged in such a clean-up exercise following Njonjo's purge from the party, and he called Ntimama Njonjo's collaborator. On that basis, he said Ntimama should resign.

It was after this that Tipis pitched in on Kamwaro's side. In a series of meetings in Narok, Tipis castigated Ntimama as "loud-mouthed" politician who encouraged ethnic differences among the Maasai in a bid to keep them divided. Without calling for Ntimama's resignation, Tipis also joined in accusing him of collaborating with Njonjo.

While all this was going on, a relatively unknown charcoal burner in Narok, Mr. Paul ole Sempele, out of the blue issued statements that he had taken over as acting chairman of the branch and directed Ntimama to hand over all party files and other records to the administration within a week. There is no provision in the party constitution for such arbitrary takeovers, and Tipis was quick to point that out to Sempele and others who might be tempted to act in a similar fashion. What

was clear was that Tipis, Kamwaro and other critics of Ntimama, while seemingly restraining Sempele, exploited the incident as a demonstration of how much Ntimama had lost the confidence of the Narok people. Most observers felt Kamwaro, Sempele and the others were merely being used by Tipis to test the water before Tipis made up his mind whether personally to challenge Ntimama or to sponsor someone else.

Tipis' demeaning remarks about the branch post, made at a Kanu recruitment rally in Narok, were surprising to most political observers. First of all, it is widely held in the country that national party elections will follow soon after the grassroots elections which Tipis said he would not contest in Narok. What guarantee does Tipis have that he will be re-elected at the national level? Should that not happen, he could easily find himself with no post at any level within the party.

It is true that one can contest a national party office without being elected to a branch post first, and many have done so in the past. Most politicians, however, prefer to be elected at the branch level and then resign the lesser posts if they are elected to national office. This has several advantages. The first is the assurance it gives them of their unquestionable support at the local level, giving them the mandate to act as the political spokesmen of their home districts. The second is the enhancement of their stature as credible candidates for national office. Delegates at the party conferences where national elections are held often vote as district blocs. Hypothetically, it is possible for a candidate who had been rejected by his district to find enough support from other districts to win a national office, but such cases are more the exception than the rule. In a fair election, most districts would be tempted not to support a candidate who does not have the backing of his own district. It is for this reason, for instance, that the Nyeri branch of the party has been insisting on electing the vice-president of the party, Mr. Mwai Kibaki, as chairman of the branch in the coming grassroots elections, following which the branch would support his re-election to the vice presidency. Should he win re-election, then he can resign from his branch post.

Tipis' apparent arrogance seemed hardly justifiable. At the time of his first election as national treasurer in 1966, he was the branch chairman in Narok. Although still the national treasurer at the time of the grassroots elections in 1976, Tipis put up a spirited defence of the Narok chairmanship against Ntimama and even tried to use party headquarters machinery unconstitutionally when it became clear he would lose to the newcomer, which he did. Apparently, he did not think it below his stature or dignity to put up such a spirited fight for the branch post then although he was a national official of the party.

It seems unlikely that anyone will be returned unopposed at the national elections, except the president himself. There have been some calls for the vice-president to be returned unopposed, there have also been signs that there are people who would not like to see that happen.

This makes it difficult to understand why Tipis seemed so sure he would retain his seat, but he is wary of jeopardising his image by contesting the Narok chairmanship in case he should lose again. By keeping out of the race and sponsoring somebody else, Tipis would ensure his image remained intact when he sought re-election at national level. Alternatively, the minister may have merely been making a tactical move to keep the others guessing, with the hope of taking on Ntimama in the last minute, should the situation seem to favour him. Such sudden changes of mind are common in politics.

Whatever the case, the new squabbles in Narok have opened political wounds that seemed to be on the mend in the past two years or so. Signs of rapprochement between Tipis and Ntimama, the two traditional political opponents in the district, began appearing just before the nominations for the 1983 general elections when Ntimama decided at the last minute not to contest the Narok North parliamentary seat held by Tipis, or to defend the chairmanship of the Narok County Council, which he had held for over a decade. Ntimama's subsequent appointment as chairman of the National Housing Corporation was seen as a reward from the president for giving way to one of the president's closest friends, Tipis.

On the surface, it appeared that the two protagonists were finally getting along well together. Beneath the surface, however, it appears that Ntimama had not given up his political ambitions in Narok, for one thing, and for another, Tipis still seems in some way interested in putting spokes in the wheels of Ntimama's contest for the leadership of Narok District.

At a meeting with the Rift Valley provincial commissioner, Mr. Hezekiah Oyugi, to discuss the present wrangles, on Tuesday this week, Tipis called Ntimama a "trouble maker" and accused him of sabotaging development in the district and ignoring his party responsibilities. A group of councillors, supporters of Tipis, suggested that Ntimama be relieved of his party post. Oyugi rejected the suggestion, saying Ntimama was constitutionally elected and those who sought to remove him must wait for the elections. The PC, however, stressed the government's concern over the current wrangles which, he said, if allowed to continue, could pose a threat to peace in the district. ■

CSO: 3400/359

KENYA

GOVERNMENT TAKES STEPS TO REDUCE OIL CONSUMPTION, FIGURES GIVEN

Nairobi E A REPORT ON TRADE & INDUSTRY in English May 85 p 12

[Text]

OIL IMPORTS are a very heavy drain on Kenya's foreign exchange resources and a big burden on the economy, though Kenya is not the only developing nation to find itself in a quandry on this account. Even so, Kenya is decidedly one of the few African countries which are trying to overcome the problem in a manner consistent with existing, possible and potential resources available within her own boundaries.

In this regard, the Government is determined to make Kenya self-sufficient in oil. At the moment, the country has none and all of the nation's needs of petroleum have to be met through imports, either by purchases from the oil-producing Arab countries or on the spot market.

The Development Plan 1984-88 says: "To cope with the worsening balance of payments situation and to maintain regular supplies of petroleum products, the Government is considering the following measures:

- To continue to recover the full cost of oil imports through consumer pricing;

- To continue to use the price mechanism to discourage wasteful consumption and thereby stimulate conservation. Gasoline will continue to bear heavier taxes than other petroleum products since it is mostly used for private transportation. In order to encourage industries to shift from oil to coal, a progressive tax on fuel oil will be considered. In addition, the import duty on coal will be reviewed.

- To manage, at established prices, supplies of essential petroleum products, particularly diesel, dual-purpose kerosene and cooking gas and ensure that shortfalls are met through direct imports.

- To enhance the recovery of white petroleum products from the refinery.

- To ensure the reliability of supply, the country will diversify its sources of crude oil through the National Oil Corporation of Kenya.

- To ensure adequate storage capacity at Mombasa."

Oil exploration has, for a long time, been an important part of the Kenya Government's development strategy; it is now being given even greater importance by President Daniel arap Moi as is evident from the production-sharing contract signed by the Government in March with a consortium of oil companies for starting explorations in an area covering 15,359 square kilometres in North-Eastern Kenya.

The agreement was signed by the Minister for Energy and Regional Development, Mr. Nicholas Biwott, and representatives of the consortium, Mrs. Cathy Demeestere, manager of Fina Exploration Kenya SA; and Mr. Georges Trump, Managing Director of Amco Kenya Petroleum Co.

The two firms will conduct seismic studies at a cost of £45 million in the first three years. Work is likely to start this month. Mr. Biwott is reported as having said that at least four wells will initially be drilled at a total cost of £28 million. The area to be covered lies north of Malindi and includes the north-eastern part of the country.

"It is a difficult area to be covered by this venture since it is dry and hot," Mr. Biwott said.

Mr. Trump expressed the hope that the final results would be positive in what he termed a "new technological undertaking".

Insofar as one can ascertain, a large number of Kenyans are similarly hopeful about the outcome of the exploration. Success of the exercise will automatically transfer Kenya from a HOPEC (Hopefully Petroleum Exporting Country) to OPEC

(Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries).

The assessment of the layman aside, President Moi's Government is highly cognisant of the pros and cons of the situation with regard to the energy sector as a whole. It is well respected in the fifth Five-Year Plan.

The current demand for domestic petroleum consumption (1985) is about 1.40 million tonnes. Next year it will be 1.46 million tonnes, rising to 1.52 million in 1987 and 1.58 in 1988, according to the Plan.

Much of the petroleum consumption has been, and will continue to be, in the industrial and commercial sectors, followed by the residential and agricultural sectors in that order.

CSO: 3400/360

KENYA

OKONDO CRITICIZED FOR IMPORTATION OF RESTRICTED GOODS

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 9 May 85 p 5

[Text]

The Minister for Commerce and Industry, **Mr Peter Habenga Okondo**, was accused of allowing massive imports of restricted goods when equivalents are being manufactured in Kenya.

He was thus crippling Kenya's industries and defeating the Government's industrial and employment policies, said several MPs.

Whatever Mr Okondo tried to say, in reply, was greeted with loud accusations that he was working for the downfall of Kenya's industrialists. "Shame!" MPs shouted.

Speaker after speaker told the House that Kenya's industrialists who are funded through the Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation and the Kenya Industrial Estates now faced imminent collapse because imports were throttling locally-made products.

Said **Mr Charles Rubia** (Starehe): "It is bad for a Minister of the Government to stand here in the House and condemn our products."

Mr Rubia told the House that Kenya's ceramics industry was about to close down due to lack of market. He said Kenya produced extremely high quality ceramics and yet the market was full of imported ceramics.

But Mr Okondo told the house that his Ministry allowed certain categories of the restricted imports. On ceramics, he said, he had personally dealt with the matter since it was now very

serious. He said the quality of ceramics around the world was so diverse and high that those produced in Kenya were of relatively lower quality.

But Mr Rubia shot up on a point of order and said this was not correct. The ceramics produced in Kenya were as good as anywhere in the world, he said. "Where are we going to sell these products?" Mr Rubia asked.

Earlier **Mr Matu Wamae** Mathira, had risen on a point of order and said that if the current policies were not adhered to, Kenya's industries would close.

Mr Wamae pointed out that one factory — Kawaia — had been closed and J.D. Brothers were importing carpets of the kind produced in Kenya because they were putting up a hotel here.

Mr Wamae wondered what standards the Minister was talking about whose standards they were and for whom?

The exchanges were sparked off by a question by the Mbooni MP, **Mr Joseph Munyao**, who wanted to know whether the Minister was aware that the continued importation of restricted goods was adversely affecting the local industries.

Mr Okondo said he was not aware that restricted goods were being imported. He said, however, certain restricted but high-quality goods, like carpets, were allowed in.

But Mr Munyao disagreed, saying the Ministry had been licensing wholesale imports of the kind locally produced.

Mr Munyao cited J.D. Brothers

as having imported carpets worth Sh4 million and Menengai Drapers carpets worth Sh6 million.

But Mr Okondo pleaded with the MPs, saying it was a most sensitive matter which should be handled extremely carefully.

The Deputy Speaker, **Mr Samuel arap Ng'eny**, who was then in the Chair, told the Minister that the mood of the House showed the MPs were dissatisfied with the answer he had given. Could he go and do homework and make a Ministerial statement, Mr Ng'eny advised Mr Okondo.

KENYA

PARLIAMENT DEBATES HALTING EXPORT OF CEREALS

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 17 May 85 p 5

[Text] The Government was urged to discourage the exportation of agricultural produce to ensure the country does not go begging in case of drought.

Gem MP, Mr Horace Owiti made the call while contributing to the debate on the National Cereals and Produce Board Bill. He said the money used to import yellow maize could be used to expand the storage facilities in the country.

Mr Owiti said he did not think Kenya had any surplus in maize or beans to be exported.

"There should be storage facilities in all the district headquarters to ensure we have stocks to last us two or three years but not to go begging every time there is drought," he said.

The MP pointed out that the exportation of grains was being kept secret and wananchi only learned that food was being exported when told by workers at the ports.

Said Mr Owiti: "Farmers should be informed when there are exports to be made for they should have a say in whatever goes out in order to produce more."

On agricultural loans, Mr Owiti asked the Government to write off loans given to farmers during last year's drought. He said most farmers lost all their investment because of the drought and were having difficulties in repaying the loans. "Even if it is not everything, the Government should write off 50 per cent."

He further pointed out that applications for loans took a long time to be processed and asked

that such exercises should be conducted promptly so that farmers could prepare their land for planting.

Contributing to the same Bill, Lurambi North MP, Mr Joshua Angatia said it was too expensive to import yellow maize which he called "unpalatable."

Mr Angatia also suggested that the money used for such imports should be used to expand storage facilities.

Said the MP: "We should build our strategic reserves to last us two or three years. Why is it that we cannot store food for more than two years while traditionally people used to store it for a long time?" he asked.

Mr Angatia said there had been exportation of cereals and pointed out that there were people planning to export maize.

But on being challenged by an Assistant Minister for

riculture to say who the people with such motives were, Mr Angatia said there was a shortage of beans last year because they were exported under suspicious circumstances.

He also pointed out that maize was exported in 1979, causing the food shortage in 1981.

KENYA

YUGOSLAVIAN CONTRACT TO PROVIDE TELEPRINTERS, TRAINING

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 14 May 85 p 4

[Text] THE Kenya Posts and Telecommunications Corporation yesterday signed a contract worth US dollars 1,747,347 (about Kshs. 27,957,552) with a Yugoslav company, Electroniska Industrija for the supply and delivery of 1,000 page teleprinters to the Corporation.

The chairman of the Corporation Prof. Bethwell Ogot, signed on behalf of the Kenya Posts and Telecommunications Corporation while the Ambassador of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Mr. Zoran Zagar, signed on behalf of the Yugoslav Company.

According to the contract, delivery of the teleprinters is to commence immediately. The contract also provides for the free training of P&T personnel locally and abroad. Three P&T technicians will proceed to Yugoslavia on a three week course. On their return, they will be accompanied by two Yugoslavian instructors from the supplying company who will train more staff locally.

Spares and maintenance will be provided by the supplying company for two continuous years.

Addressing the press at the signing ceremony, Prof. Ogot said that the contract will greatly help to alleviate the shortage of telex services in the country. He disclosed that there are over 800 telex subscribers on the waiting list due to the rapid expansion of trade and industry in the country.

Prof. Ogot disclosed that the equipment has been technically tested by the Kenya Posts and Telecommunication Corporation staff and will meet the corporation's needs.

The Yugoslavian Ambassador said that the signing of this contract will open new ways for further trade relations with Kenya. He invited other Kenyan Organisations to do more business with his country and thanked the KP&TC for its pioneering role in this case.

KENYA

POWER COMPANY TO RATION ELECTRICITY

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 16 May 85 pp 1, 24

[Article by Senda wa Kwayera]

[Text] Electricity will be rationed in all parts of Kenya for about a week, the Kenya Power and Lighting Company announced yesterday.

The announcement said a fault on Monday at Gitaru, one of the country's larger generating units, was to be blamed.

It said: "Owing to a fault which occurred at Gitaru on May 13, power supplies available for distribution to consumers throughout the country have been inadequate".

The fault "has forced the company to ration electricity to various categories of consumers and requests them to bear with the situation while the company's engineers work round

the clock to rectify the fault".

It hoped the situation would return to normal within seven days. During then, consumers should exercise great thrift in their use, the statement urged.

Speaking to the *Nation* in his Electricity House office yesterday evening, Mr S. K. Gichuru, the managing director, said: "We are not going to disconnect power for domestic consumers unless it is absolutely inevitable."

Consumers were also urged to co-operate with KPL officials so everybody can have a fair share of the commodity during the crisis period.

Several blackouts have been reported in many parts of the country recently.

According to Mr Gichuru, the fault was detected on Monday night when the generator switched itself off automatically to reduce power supply from parts of the city.

Mr Gichuru added: "This always happens when such a malfunction occurs to ensure that not all parts of the city are affected."

He said a faulty generator at Seven Forks power station, on the Tana River, was solely to blame.

During the Monday blackout such city areas as Ngei, Otiende, Akiba, Eastlands and the Langata Barracks, and its environs were hit for long spells.

On Saturday the Voice of Kenya radio suddenly went off the air in the middle of a live international football match transmission from Nyayo Stadium between Kenya's AFC Leopards and Zambia's Mfulira Wanderers.

But according to Mr Gichuru, this was not a problem originating from Seven Forks power station, but a local one.

This would take place, at any rate, over where a major industrial consumer does not co-operate with the economy appeal, he said.

He added: "We are approaching mainly the large industrial consumers to discuss with them the amount and time of reduction as it is easier to discuss with one administrator of

an enterprise than with an individual.

"The agreement is to ensure that we inconvenience the large industrialists a little so we can spread and share the inconvenience with the rest of Kenyans," he explained.

During the interview, Mr Gichuru was flanked by the company's chairman, Mr Isaac Lugonzo.

KENYA

GOVERNMENT'S FOOD STORAGE POLICY CRITICIZED

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 4 May 85 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text] **SINCE the national food policy was formulated after the food shortages of 1980, there has been constant talk of increasing food storage facilities. But so far little has been done to actually increase these facilities.**

Last Tuesday we again heard an announcement in the usual vein from the permanent secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development. He was reiterating what has already been stated.

We appreciate the fact that the question of constructing storage facilities is no easy task. We are also aware of the constraints on our resources.

But we cannot afford to keep talking about this problem without taking concrete steps towards its solution. We are only too aware of a recent case when maize, to take one example, had to rot in the fields in Kitale for lack of storage. Before that the President had to personally intervene in a situation where rice was germinating in Mwea for lack of gunny bags and storage facilities.

For a country that has faced two droughts and food shortages within the short spell of five years, we cannot afford to be complacent. One of the major problems of achieving food self-sufficiency is simply that of lack of storage. There are many subsistence farmers in this country who could produce twice the maize they now produce if they had adequate storage or if the organisations empowered with the buying and storing of such vital staple foods had adequate facilities.

We cannot over-emphasise the importance of food storage facilities. This is at the core of any

move aimed at food self-sufficiency. Without adequate and proper storage facilities, a lot of wastage and consequently shortages follow. With adequate storage, the bumper harvests of good years can be kept aside for the lean years. This is a lesson that Joseph taught the Egyptians thousands of years ago and it is still as valid today as it was then.

Properly planned storage facilities can ensure that food or maize for that matter is kept near to centres of population or to areas of great production. This would minimise costs in transportation while ensuring that all the extra food available is safely and adequately stored for future use.

There have been recent talks of mountains of cheese and rivers of milk within the European Community countries. These mountains and rivers were the result of careful planning and adequate storage. If we in Kenya are to avoid food shortages, we need action now to build extra storage facilities so that we can build up mountains of maize which would serve us in times of food shortages.

If the produce board can hire extra storage facilities now while making arrangements for building silos and other such facilities this would go a long way in meeting our urgent storage needs. It is one thing to encourage our farmers to produce more. It is still another to build the necessary storage in which to preserve the extra food that will be produced.

According to our national food policy, this country must always have strategic reserves of maize and other foods. This is the only way we shall avoid food shortages and enjoy self-sufficiency. The President's directive for storage facilities to be built must be implemented quickly.

KENYA

COLD STORAGE FACILITIES DOUBLED AT AIRPORT

Nairobi E A REPORT ON TRADE & INDUSTRY in English May 85 p 7

[Text]

AN Assistant Minister for Agriculture, Mr. George Mwicigi, who has special responsibility for the development of horticultural crops, expressed the Kenya Government's concern over the losses of horticultural produce that occur at Nairobi's Jomo Kenyatta International Airport, causing not only loss of foreign exchange but also humiliation and frustration to farmers. Mr. Mwicigi said that in recognition of this problem the government has agreed to liberalise its air service policy in considering favourably applications for extra cargo space to uplift horticultural produce to help minimise losses at the airport.

The Assistant Minister was speaking at the recent opening of the Sulmac Co. Ltd.'s new cold store extensions at the airport which have cost more than Sh. 4 million.

Mr. Mwicigi went on to say: "Lack of cargo space is not the only problem facing the horticultural industry. Lack of cold storage facilities is also a very big constraint". It was encouraging that Sulmac had extended its own cold store facilities at the airport and he urged other exporters to follow the company's lead.

Mr. David Gray, chief executive of Sulmac, told guests at the ceremony that the company had exported 170 million flowers during the 1983-84 season and expects this season's total to be in the region of 200 million.

The new extensions have doubled the handling capacity of the cold store and it can now handle some 8,000 boxes -- three-and-a-half to four million flowers -- at a time.

Mr. Gray said the extensions to the cold store, which represented an investment of over Sh. 4 million, demonstrated Sulmac's confidence in its planned expansion of its export activities, but pointed out that

production costs are rising more rapidly than the market price of flowers, which means the company's overall profitability can only be safeguarded by increased production and efficiency.

The export of flowers currently represents about 20 per cent by weight of Kenya's total horticultural exports but 40 per cent of the total value, earning over K£8 million at Fob values.

KENYA

MUSLIM RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES WORRY PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 7 May 85 p 5

[Text] The Coast PC, Mr Yusuf Haji, complained yesterday about widespread religious differences among Muslims.

He appealed to Kadhis to use their positions to bring the wrangling mosque factions together.

Mr Haji, addressing Kadhis from all over Kenya at a seminar in Mombasa, said the Government could not let some people upset peace in places of worship.

"It would be shameful to close down mosques due to division among worshippers, but the Government has to maintain peace and order," said the PC.

He called on Kadhis not to side with any wrangling groups as that might worsen the rows.

He expressed concern that some Kadhis were supporting factions involved in disputes.

Mr Haji told the Kadhis they had a responsibility to promote unity among Muslims.

Muslims, he said, should not be divided on ideologies of other countries as they were Kenyans.

Kenyan Muslims were lucky that the Government employed full time Kadhis.

The Registrar of the High Court, Mr Abdul Rauf, said the judiciary was losing many magistrates to the private sector.

He said ways of improving the terms of service of magistrates were being considered by the Judicial Service Commission.

Mr Rauf said the Judicial department was finding it difficult to replace magistrates who went into private law practice.

He called on Kadhis attending the seminar to make suggestions on their scheme of service during the 14-day meeting.

They were also asked to propose clear minimum educational and religious standards for Kadhis.

CSO: 3400/356

KENYA

POLICE QUESTION UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 4 May 85 pp 1, 20

[Article by Senda wa Kwayera]

[Text] A Kenyatta University College professor of history, Mr William Ochieng, was released yesterday after police quizzed him for 48 hours over an article he published in THE STANDARD.

Professor Ochieng was picked up from his house on the Kenyatta University campus at 5.30 on Thursday morning.

Talking to the NATION in his campus office shortly after the release he said: "I was arrested by four plainclothes officers who questioned me till about 4.30 p.m. today."

He added that he was picked up and quizzed specifically on the article in the SUNDAY STANDARD issue of April 28, headlined: "Does Our Capitalism have a Human Face?"

According to Prof Ochieng, he wrote the article "purely for academic purposes and it meant no malice to anyone."

He added: "They were furious over this particular article as they thought the tone was contrary to Kenya's ideological standpoint; more so because in the article I had not made my stand clear whether I support or abhor what I was writing about."

The professor said he had not been in any way harassed by the police officers. "They were polite and nice," he said.

Prof Ochieng said, however, that he was hungry. Asked whether he had been given food, he said: "You know there is no canteen there." But he did not name the place where he had been held.

He said: "Since I am a writer, they were wondering where my stand is--whether I am with the rest of Kenyans or not."

He stressed that it would be wrong for anyone to judge him by his abstract and academic articles. Nobody should conclude that he was not singing the same song as other Kenyans.

"If they have been monitoring the things I have been writing, they should be able to know my stand in this country," he said. "It is not true that I have a different stand from that of the rest of Kenyans."

On arrival at his office, Prof Ochieng was received by four secretaries in the history department who shouted: "Karibu, karibu", (welcome, welcome).

CSO: 3400/353

KENYA

KISIERO CRITICIZES MARXIST UNIVERSITY LECTURERS

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 9 May 85 p 5

[Text] Long bearded people with Marxist persuasion should not be employed as lecturers in Kenya's universities, an Assistant Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. Wilberforce Kisiero, said.

Kisiero said such people were not suitable for Kenya as they would mislead students with their Marxist ideas.

Contributing to the Universities Bill, the Assistant Minister cautioned that recruitment of lecturers should be done carefully.

University lecturers should have a sense of respect for the country and an understanding of its problems.

"Fellows with foreign ideas and Marxists..such people are not suitable for our country," he said.

The Minister for Energy and Regional Development, Mr. Nicholas Biwett said the aspect of the bill was to provide guidelines for effective administration of the university.

He said there was need for lecturers to interact. They should be true nationalists who did not sing the tune of outsiders. "In our university, we should teach Kenyan politics and our philosophy", he said.

The MP for Mumias, Dr. Elon Wameyo urged the Minister for Education, Science and Technology to rewrite the Universities Bill, currently being debated, with a view to amending it to remove all anomalies.

Wameyo said that there was no point of having one central admissions committee for all the universities.

He pointed out several clauses which should be amended and asked the minister to re-write the Bill.

An Assistant Minister for Co-operative Development, Bishop Alois Olmoch, praised the inclusion of the establishment of private universities in the Bill saying it would provide facilities for students who were not admitted into public universities.

CSO: 3400/353

KENYA

AMENDED UNIVERSITY BILL SAILS THROUGH PARLIAMENT

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 17 May 85 p 5

[Text] The Universities Bill number 6 sailed through the second reading with heavy amendments.

The Bill was later given the third and final reading. It seeks to allow the establishment of private universities.

After the committee stage, Members of Parliament congratulated the Minister for Education, Science and Technology, **Professor Jonathan Ng'eno** and the Attorney-General, **Mr Justice Matthew Muli**, for taking heed of the MPs views in making the amendments.

Mr Martin Shikuku (Butere) said this should serve as an example to Ministers. They should sit in the House and listen to Members' views and incorporate them into their Bills. This way, **Mr Shikuku** said, the Minister would get maximum co-operation from MPs.

Mr Kitili Mwendwa (Kitui West) said the commissioners to serve in the Higher Education Commission should be nominated by the Minister for Education, Science and Technology and formally appointed by President Moi.

He said this would give all commissioners equal powers and authorities.

Mr Gideon Mutiso (Yatta) said the Chief Secretary should not sit on the commission especially when the Permanent Secretary for Education, Science and Technology was on it.

Mr Mutiso expressed the fear that including the Chief Secretary in the commission removed the chance for appeals against decisions made by the commission.

Mr Joshua Angatia (Lurambi North) said including Ministers

and the Chief Secretary in the commission removed any chance for open deliberations by all officers sitting in it.

He said many junior officers or commissioners sitting there would fear expressing opinions opposed to those of the Chief Secretary.

He said the officers sitting in the commission should be given all the authority needed and act without fear or favour.

The Attorney-General, **Mr Justice Muli** said the inclusion of the Chief Secretary and the director of personnel management in the commission and the admission's council was only for the beginning. He said these sections may be amended if need be.

Mr Matu Wamae (Mathira) was full of praise for the way the Bill had been handled by the Ministry. This should be a model for other Ministers to follow, **Mr Wamae** said.

Mr Samuel Kivuitu (Parklands) said the commission should make sure standards in these universities were kept high. He said there was a danger of businessmen opening third rate universities and minting out of them.

Mr Kivuitu said since it is mainly the rich who will take advantage of the universities, this country runs the danger of having centres for the promotion of elitism.

He urged the Government to guard against the opening of Etons or Harrods in Kenya. These two institutions serve the rich and ruling classes in Britain.

Dr Mukasa Mango (Busia East) expressed the hope that the national universities already established would not now be manipulated to serve local and

regional interests in the country. He said in the past, there had been attempts to manipulate the University of Nairobi into a regional university. He said those who may wish to do this now have an opportunity to use the private universities.

He asked the commission to provide money for chalk and other stationery for the smooth operation of a university.

Mr Joseph Munyao (Mbooni) asked the Minister for Education to distribute universities fairly in the country.

KENYA

ONYUNA ORDERS ARREST FOR POSSESSION OF UNIFORMS, FIREARMS

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 4 May 85 p 3

[Text] ANYBODY in South Nyanza district found in possession of firearms, and uniforms resembling those worn by armed forces personnel will be arrested and prosecuted.

South Nyanza district officer (one), Mr. Elmurds Asewe Onyuna, gave the warning when he addressed a large crowd at Homa Bay stadium to mark this year's Labour

Day celebrations.

Onyuna, representing the area DC, said that incidents of banditry, particularly along roads where people dressed in uniforms resembling those worn by Kenyan security forces, were on the increase.

Recently a missionary was killed in Migori by people said to have been dressed in

such clothes.

He directed security forces members in the district not to wear only part of their uniform while in civilian clothes, particularly the jungle jackets. He said they should be fully dressed in uniform when on duty.

He, however, assured the people that the government

was working round the clock to curb crime. He asked them to cooperate by reporting criminals and people holding firearms illegally.

On employment, Onyuna directed that in line with the district focus for rural development, all vacancies in government departments must be reported to the district commissioner. — KNA

KENYA

SECURITY MINISTER TIPIS PLEDGES TO END VIOLENCE

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 15 May 85 pp 1, 5

[Article by Chris Musyoka]

[Text] **The Minister in charge of security, Mr Justus ole Tipis, yesterday pledged in Parliament to "wipe out by hook or crook" all criminal activities in Kenya.**

MPs had earlier expressed great concern over the increasing number of armed

attacks, saying the security of Kenyans and their property was at stake.

The reply by Mr Tipis, a Minister of State in the President's Office, came in the wake of points of order prompted by his own ministerial statement concerning a weekend Kenya News Agency report of violence in South Nyanza's Macalder Division.

A subsequent attempt by the MP for Migori, Mr Misiani Gor, to move an adjournment motion urging the House to consider the Macalder attack and others elsewhere in the country as a matter of grave concern failed.

In his statement, Mr Tipis referred to an earlier statement by Mr James Mathenge, a Permanent Secretary in the President's Office.

Mr Mathenge, who is in charge of security and provincial administration, had said that the story of a 1,000-strong mob having been on the rampage and burnt houses of suspected criminals and property had been exaggerated.

The truth, Mr Tipis told the House, was that a group of people

had seized a young man and beaten him up, alleging he had stolen some clothes.

They had gone ahead and burnt some houses belonging to the suspected criminals but police had soon intervened and restored order.

The Minister said eight people had been arrested and investigations were continuing. He reiterated, however, that a machinery existed which people must follow to apprehend suspected criminals. Nobody was expected to take the law into his own hands.

He said: "Suspected criminals must be reported or handed over to the authorities so they can be dealt with according to the law."

It was after this that Mr Gor sought permission to move his adjournment motion under Standing Order No 20, which concerns subjects of national importance.

He said that while he was grateful for the Minister's intervention in Macalder, there were "numerous, violent and very frightening" criminal incidents at Migori and South Nyanza in general perpetrated by people from the area and others crossing the border and Lake Victoria from neighbouring countries.

"The nation should focus attention on this issue, which affects many parts of the country," Mr Gor said.

But the Deputy Speaker, Mr Samuel Ng'eny, who was in the chair recalled that Mr Tipis and touched on violence in South Nyanza but if South Nyanza MPs wanted to make their points they could do so without involving the whole House.

The MP for Homa Bay, M Oluoch Kanindo, said robber and armed attacks were the order of the day in the district. He said plantations around the Sony sugar factory at Awendo were harbouring thugs who terrorised people, particularly when the factory closes down.

He said the main targets were buses, people walking about at night and homes. At Awendo alone, he said, five attacks were made every week.

The security situation had deteriorated mainly because there were too few ill-armed policemen in the area, Mr Kanindo said, adding that there were 1,000 such officers serving a population of about one million.

Criminals crossing the border and the lake were armed with sophisticated weapons but "our policemen are not well armed", he said.

He alleged that Awendo police had recently downed their weapons and fled when confronted by armed criminals.

The district was wide and police vehicles were inadequate to cover the area, Mr Kanindo went on, claiming that chiefs had abdicated their responsibility and that administration policemen just walked about as they wished.

The MP for Kirinyaga East, Mr Nahashon Njuno, said his constituency, particularly the part bordering the forest, was similarly affected.

Mr Njuno, who is an Assistant Minister for Health, said well organised criminal bands were now moving from house to house terrorising people and stealing

property.

"The police force in my area is too small and I appeal to the Minister to take my constituency into account," Mr Njuno said.

The MP for Karachuonyo, Mrs Phoebe Asiyo, said a great deal of thuggery took place in her constituency, but she thanked the Office of the President for "the wonderful work" it was doing.

Hardened criminals she said, were crossing the border by boats mainly for smuggling purposes.

While the security and administration officers on the Kenyan side had Land-Rovers, criminals had boats and there was no way "our police can chase the thugs," she said, suggesting that Kenyans should also be provided with boats.

Mr Tipis thanked MPs for their concern over security and said the Government, led by President Moi, took the life of every Kenyan seriously.

The Government was concerned not only about those killed by thugs but those who continued to lose their lives through road accidents.

He said the Government had increased the number of security personnel to cover Nairobi and other areas. But said the Minister, "I can't disclose the number for security reasons".

He said all security personnel — Police, Army, Navy and Air Force — were making concerted efforts to root out crime.

"Only a few months ago I set a platoon of GSU (General Service Unit) to deal with thugs coming into Kenya from a neighbouring country," he said.

"Wananchi in Isiolo, Turkana and neighbouring areas know very well that we will not have mercy on them. We will eliminate them by hook or crook wherever they are.

As for those using boats to cross Lake Victoria, Mr Tipis said he knew the routes and even the boats used.

CSO: 3400/354

KENYA

RETIRED OFFICERS PERMITTED TO SERVE AS PUBLIC OFFICERS

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 17 May 85 p 32

[Text] A retired military officer may be appointed as a public officer and employed in the department of defence service headquarters or in any other military establishment, in a post in which his military knowledge in the armed forces may be required.

This information is contained in today's edition in the *Kenya Gazette* under the Armed Forces (Retired Officers) Regulations, 1985.

The regulations were signed by the secretary to the defence council, Mr Joseph Muliro, and come to operation on July 1, 1983.

These regulations apply to commissioned officers who have retired from armed forces

including brigadiers, colonels, lieutenant colonels and majors.

The legislation states that an officer who has retired from the armed forces shall be eligible for appointment as a retired officer if he is at least 44 years old (unless he was retired on compassionate grounds).

The officer shall have held a regular commission and retired at the normal retiring age, or compulsorily retired, but not through misconduct or inefficiency.

He shall not be over the age of 55 years at the time of the appointment, but when a young officer is unavailable and there are exceptional circumstances, the defence council may waive this requirement.

It further explains that an officer who retires from the armed forces while invalid shall be eligible for appointment if he is certified fit for service as a retired officer by a duly qualified medical practitioner.

A Women Service Corps Officer shall be eligible for

appointment as a retired officer if she is retired normally, had regular commission and at least 10 years commissioned service.

The department of defence personnel branch shall be responsible for the promulgation of the terms of service, the appointments and the administration of retired officers.

Applications for employment as retired officers shall be made to the defence council.

A serving regular officer should do it through his service headquarters to the department of defence six months before his due date of retirement.

Officers who have retired from the armed forces should apply to the secretary of the defence council.

KENYA

MOI ADDRESSES ARMY URGING LOYALTY

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 4 May 85 pp 1, 8

[Article by Charles Kulundu]

[Text] A disciplined army is an asset to the country for this makes the nationals feel secure and protected, President Daniel arap Moi said yesterday.

The President said officers of the Kenya Army, whom he had just commissioned yesterday at Lanet, should take up their heavy responsibilities with dedication and devotion in defence of their mother country.

President Moi, who is also the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, told the newly-commissioned officers to demonstrate their skills and the knowledge they had learnt at the college in an exemplary manner and be a shining example to their juniors.

President Moi told the officers who had just completed a year's training to approach their work with great loyalty to the country because wananchi depended on them for security and protection.

The Commander-in-Chief said the army officers must be God-fearing and seek the blessings of the Almighty in their work because without God's guidance, one could not succeed in his work.

President Moi advised the army officers to live an exemplary life and avoid gossip which could ruin the good name of the army while endeavouring to do all in their power to make Kenya a better place for all to live in.

On promotion, President Moi said this would continue to be decided upon solely on merit, individual performance and the level of commitment to one's work in the army.

President Moi opened his speech by commending the officers who had completed a year's training and expressed his satisfaction that they had received adequate training. He urged them to go into the field and prove, through actions, what they had been taught.

Stressing the need for discipline and acceptance of the heavy responsibilities placed on them, President Moi said officers should always show by example that they loved and were loyal to their country so that their juniors could emulate their good example.

The President told the officers they had learnt much of what a soldier was required to know and advised them to start their work with determination to protect the country's boundaries and help to improve the image of the Kenya Army now and in future.

He reminded the officers of the need to abide by the oath of allegiance they had taken.

Paying tribute to the leadership in the Kenya Army under the Chief of General Staff, Gen. Jackson Mulinge, President Moi said the exemplary leadership had given the army a good name in the eyes of the public and advised the new officers to emulate the example.

President Moi said those countries whose armies had gone against the discipline required of the armed forces had run into problems which threatened to extend to other generations.

President Moi thanked the college's commandant, Brig. D. I. Opande, and his staff for the good work they had done to give the officers adequate training and assured them that the country was proud of them.

The ceremony was also attended by the Minister of State in the Office of the President, Mr. Justus ole Tipis, a Permanent Secretary in the Office of the President, Mr. Joseph Muliuro, the Chief of General Staff, General Mulinge, the Commander of the '82 Air Force, Lt. General Mohamed, the Commander of the Kenya Navy, Major General Mbilu, the Deputy Commander of Kenya Army, Major General Lengees, an Assistant Minister for Health, Nahashon Nfuno, the Nakuru mayor, Coun. Daniel Kanyi, the Rift Valley Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Hezekiah Oyugi, and the Nakuru District Commissioner, Mr. Simon Tetu.

President Moi yesterday at State House, Nakuru, received shs. 80,000 towards the National Famine Relief Fund from the L.S.B. Leakey Foundation, adds KNA.

The cheque for the amount was presented to the President by an Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Philip Leakey. Receiving the cheque, President Moi told Leakey to pass his best wishes and gratitude to the trustees of the foundation.

CSO: 3400/353

KENYA

BRIEFS

PAPER MILLS TO EXPAND--The Highlands Paper Mills in Eldoret plans to expand its capacity at a cost of Sh. 50 million. The general manager, Mr. George Donde, said plans were also in hand to raise the firm's export earnings to Sh. 5 million per annum. The company also aims to serve the paper board market in Kenya and effect a saving of some Sh. 18 million in foreign exchange. Mr. Donde added that the company's products were in the process of penetrating the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) market. The company has been financed by the Industrial Development Bank and uses agricultural wastes such as wheat straw in the manufacture of its products. [Text] [Nairobi E A REPORT ON TRADE & INDUSTRY in English May 85 p 7]

CSO: 3400/360

MOZAMBIQUE

BORDER DEAL WITH ECM TO MINE BAUXITE

Harare THE HERALD in English 16 May 85 "Business Herald" Supplement p 1

[Article by David Masunda]

[Text] An agreement has been signed between Mozambique and Penhalonga miners-- E. C. Meikle--to enable ECM to mine bauxite in that country following diminishing local reserves of the mineral, sources in Harare and Penhalonga have said.

ECM has been mining the mineral in a few bauxite pockets in Penhalonga but reserves are said to be running out fast and quality is deteriorating.

Said Mr John Meikle, managing director of ECM: "The agreement to mine bauxite in Mozambique was between myself and the Mozambique government. The Zimbabwe Government supported the application."

Mr Meikle said Zimbabwean deposits of the mineral had always been very small.

Mozambican deposits are said to be vast and the grade of bauxite quite high. At present there was no company mining the mineral in Mozambique, sources in Harare said.

ECM once mined bauxite in Mozambique but was forced to stop in 1976 when war escalated.

Bauxite reacts with sulphuric acid to form aluminium sulphate which is used for water purification purposes. Aluminium sulphate is also used in the manufacture of ordinary paper and white-lined paper for cigarette boxes.

Mr Eben Makonese, general manager of aluminium sulphate manufacturers Zimphos, said his company supplied Harare Municipality with liquid aluminium sulphate and all other municipalities in Zimbabwe with a solid form.

His company bought bauxite from ECM but had been forced of late to import for trial, "weipa bauxite" from Australia because of the deteriorating quality of ECM bauxite.

ECM bauxite from Penhalonga had a very high iron content forcing Zimphos to make operation modifications.

"But," said Mr Makonese, "for us to import aluminium sulphate would be quite ridiculous when bauxite is next door."

Mr Meikle said ECM was waiting for the minefields to be cleared. Once it started mining, he said, the company would not only sell the mineral to Zimbabwean users but export it to other SADCC countries.

Meanwhile, it was also said in South Africa that Maputo had been looking into the feasibility of starting a plant to smelt aluminium from raw bauxite but the project had been shelved because of over-saturation and sluggish world prices.

CSO: 3400/373

MOZAMBIQUE

BANDIT ACTIVITY FRIGHTENING SOUTH AFRICAN SUGAR INVESTORS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 24 May 85 p 3

[Text] **TERRORIST** activity in Mozambique is frightening off would-be South African investors in the country's ailing sugar industry. A joint study between C G Smith Sugar and consultants E L Bateman into the industry was started towards the end of last year. This followed a Cuban report on the industry and was designed to assess the viability of a shareholding interest by C G Smith in a significant proportion of the Mozambique sugar-producing trade. Mozambique produced about 380 000 tons of sugar a year before the industry collapsed, and now produces only 80 000 tons. Preliminary discussions were held between representatives of C G Smith and Mozambican officials. "Our standpoint at this stage was for us to have a controlling interest in the company to be set up to operate the sugar industry," said Glyn Taylor, MD of G C Smith Sugar. Attention was focused on two mills — the state-owned Maragra and privately-owned Nkomati, respectively 70km and 100km from Maputo. "Our next move would have been to take a multi-disciplinary group — agricultural, financial and technical — to assess the authenticity of the reports," said Taylor. "But at this point civil insurrection just got too hot and we have had to put the situation on hold." Mozambican sugar industry officials are to visit South Africa soon. Details of the Bateman report are not available for scrutiny.

"Everything to do with Mozambique and its sugar industry is just too sensitive at the moment," said Pete Theron, controller of the report. He conceded, however, that the sugar industry there "is very much worth investing in", despite sabotage damage and the poor state of the present cane-growing land.

CSO: 3400/373

SENEGAL

BRIEFS

BRIDGING EQUIPMENT--ACI will deliver to the armed forces bridging equipment costing 9,959,800FCFA. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English May 85 p 10]

CSO: 3400/345

SEYCHELLES

BRIEFS

SOVIET GIFT--On March 22 a Soviet tanker, the Alekseyevka, was pumping 4000t of marine diesel worth some \$600,000 into storage tanks in Victoria harbour as part of a Soviet gift. The gift agreement in 1984 was for 7500t of fuel and 130t of metal sheets, in all worth over \$2m. Under a previous agreement the Soviet Union delivered \$5m worth of more expensive fuel, heavy equipment and cement over the past two years, also as gifts. Earlier, an agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation was signed in Victoria by James Michek, the Minister of Education and Information, and Serafim Serafimov, the Bulgarian Ambassador to the Seychelles. Under the two-year agreement, scholarships will be granted to Seychelles students and visits as well as cultural exchanges will be organised. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English May 85 p 32]

MILITARY RAISE CROPS--Self-sufficiency is a goal involving soldiers, too, not just fishermen, farmers and manufacturers. The country's army camps are all producing as much of their own food as possible so as to reduce their reliance on the state, contribute to food production and economic development. To people travelling along the east coast road, the neat, well-stocked, vegetable garden of the Pointe Larue Army Camp (PLC) at the southern end of the airport runway has been a familiar sight for a long time. With all the soldiers taking their turn tending the vegetable beds, the 200m x 75m garden not only produces all the eggplants, cabbages, chilis, green beans and other crops the camp needs, but also turns out a surplus to be sold to the Marketing Board. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English May 85 p 32]

CSO: 3400/345

SOUTH AFRICA

ROLE OF FOREIGN BANKS EXAMINED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 27 May 85 p 9

[Article by Roger Gidlow, Professor of Business Economics at Witwatersrand]

[Text] **T**HE TIME has come for SA to reverse its past policy of discouraging the presence of foreign banks, says Roger Gidlow, Professor of Business Economics at the University of the Witwatersrand, writing in the May issue of the Bank of Lisbon's "Economic Focus".

The restrictions on the entry of foreign banks are out of step with the current policy of promoting foreign investment. What is more, says Gidlow, this policy has been out of step with the recent attitudes towards foreign banks of numerous industrial countries. The more liberal admission of foreign banks could improve the competitiveness of the local banking industry, while introducing new technical skills. The workings of the foreign exchange market could be enhanced, facilitating dealings in forward exchange, and so perhaps contributing to reduced exchange rate volatility.

The SA policy which virtually banned the entry of new banks into the Republic was based on the Third Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Fiscal and Monetary Policy (published in November 1970). The Report recommended various steps to reduce the influence of overseas banks over the South African banking system. It has provided the basis for the treatment of foreign banks ever since. No new foreign banks have been established since that time, while

overseas holdings in several banks, including Barclays and Standard, have been reduced.

The Commission argued that, because the deposits of a bank are supplied mainly by local residents, local investors should have a substantial equity stake, while the funds of domestic banks are "part of the national resources of a country". But if one carries these arguments to a logical conclusion, any foreign-controlled business might be deemed to be enjoying an unsuitable presence in this country. The presence of foreign banks in this country, argues Gidlow, can be attributed to the foreign investment of multinationals and other foreign firms, as well as to the economic growth which has been recorded by the economy over a long period of time.

Gidlow rejects another argument — that the contribution which new foreign banks can make to technical and organising knowledge and skills in the financial field should be regarded as relatively insignificant. The technical skills of foreign banks could, for instance, play a useful part in improving the workings of the foreign exchange market in this country. A large number of bank participants in this market

is desirable, and more foreign banks could help to alleviate the problem of credit lines among banks in respect of forward exchange business. It is similarly doubtful whether foreign banks would largely limit their activities

to the financing of international trade by taking advantage of their credit line facilitated with their parent foreign banks. This business is already very competitive.

The Commission relied also on the fact that countries such as Canada, Australia and the US had taken steps to restrict foreign control of local banks, emphasising that there was a high degree of foreign control over South African banking. But other countries' policies are not necessarily wise or appropriate. What is more, Canada, Australia and the United States have all modified their attitudes in the past decade.

What possible objections could there be to the entry of new foreign banks into SA? One factor which has encouraged some other countries to sanction the entry of foreign banks has been the desire to promote greater competition in the banking sector, and thereby improve the quality of banking services. It might be argued that stronger competitive forces in South Africa have already emerged without the entry of new foreign institutions — from such non-banking sources as building societies. And the banks themselves compete much more aggressively, using both the pricing and other marketing mix instruments.

Cartel-type arrangements between local banks, for such as fixing commission fees for accepting bankers' acceptances and fixing opening hours, have broken down. Interest bearing current accounts have also emerged. In addition, new technology has given the banks new opportunities to cut the cost of handling retail business and improve the quality of services. Such developments, however, do not necessarily mean that new foreign banks cannot aid this trend. The extent of competition can still vary among different segments of the banking industry. In any case, the presence of foreign banks cannot be judged solely on the basis of the degree of competition in banking. Such banks potentially confer other benefits.

It might be argued that existing banks are ably equipped to meet

domestic banking needs. The entry of new banks, therefore, could intensify shortages of skilled labour in the banking sector and create, in general, excess capacity in the industry. Overtrading in banking usually refers in particular to the retail end, but the objective measurement of this is difficult. The most usual method is to express the number of bank branches as a ratio of the number of residents in a country, but owing to the composition of the SA population such a ratio would be more difficult to interpret than in other Western countries. In this respect, SA may be underbanked, in the sense that large numbers of non-whites do not possess bank accounts.

Some evidence of overtrading has been the practice of some banks to close branches in rural areas. Any new foreign banks, however, would certainly not be interested in opening branches in rural areas or in becoming retail banks at all. They may well concentrate on wholesale banking, and some of their key staff would most probably be recruited from their head offices. Would foreign banks, in fact, judge it economically desirable to set up local operations? After all, some business can be conducted through correspondent banks.

But if a foreign bank — even a specialised one — wishes to conduct local banking business it needs to obtain local deposits. Active participation in the rand-dollar foreign exchange market similarly requires a presence in this country, because of the necessity of gaining customers and the inherent volatility in the market which renders trading from a foreign base hazardous. The fear may arise that a larger presence of foreign banks in SA would render the domestic banking industry less sensitive to official policy measures.

Tighter monetary policies and control over domestic interest rates might be circumvented to some extent through foreign banks raising deposits from their parent banks overseas. On the other hand, even domestic banks can raise short term funds from international banks. Any undermining of monetary policies would not appear to be relevant now that a floating rand exchange rate system exists, since any capital inflows or outflows do

not automatically influence the money supply.

Could the Reserve Bank's task of regulating the banking sector become more difficult if more banks operate? Not necessarily, because the greater recent emphasis upon market-related methods of control has eased the task of monitoring banking activities.

A recent OECD report has stated that the presence of foreign banks has greatly benefited the financial systems of the host countries, notably by introducing greater competition in the wholesale banking sector. In their search to gain a niche in the corporate loan market, foreign banks — according to the Report — have been catering

in particular for the most dynamic and innovating enterprises. In several countries this has exerted a marked impact on the degree of sophistication of domestic loan markets.

On the funding side, foreign banks have promoted the development of money market sources of funds, and deposit instruments, such as negotiable certificates of deposit, which are tailored for the requirements of large investors. In many countries they have also fostered the growth of international fund transfers, traveller's cheques, business consultancy, foreign exchange trading, corporate cash management and trading in international securities.

If SA exchange controls were to be abolished, foreign banks would be particularly suitable for developing the purchase of international securities by local investors as well as promoting the role of SA as a regional finance centre, and possibly improving the access of local parties to the Eurocurrency market. And removal of exchange controls could cause the authorities to view the entry of new foreign banks differently, probably leading to an acceleration in international investment by South African companies. This, in turn, could encourage local banks to seek outlets in overseas centres, and raise the issue of reciprocity. The local authorities could then face pressures

to relax the restrictions on foreign entry if they had not been relaxed earlier.

One of the major deficiencies of the local foreign exchange market is the very limited number of local dealing banks, perhaps a cause of that market's extreme volatility. The entry of new foreign banks could increase the number of participants and help to spread the burden of foreign exchange dealings more efficiently.

CSO: 3400/345

SOUTH AFRICA

ISCOR INTEREST IN EXPORT MARKET GROWS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 May 85 p 20

[Article by Daan de Kock]

[Text] ISCOR is looking more and more to the export market, particularly now that domestic demand for steel is decreasing further.

General manager of Iscor's steel division Nols Olivier, told journalists on Friday that he expected the consumption of raw steel in South Africa to fall as much as 20 percent this year.

On the other hand, steel exports seem to be booming. He said Iscor's steel exports during the current financial year would probably increase by 95 percent to Africa, 66 percent to the Far East and 72 percent to Europe.

He said the Middle East was at the moment one of the more exciting markets. It was expected that it would buy 0,69-million tons of steel this year from South Africa, an increase of about 93 percent on last year.

Mr Olivier said Iscor was exporting about 230 000 tons of steel a month, or 2,7-million tons on an annualised basis. This compared with

only half the figure in 1983/84.

Iscor's earnings out of this was about R700-million a year compared with only R449-million last year.

Referring to the local market, Mr Olivier said he expected sales to show a drop of about 13 percent this financial year compared with the previous financial year.

He expected local sales to be about 2,896-million tons this financial year, but for the calendar year sales could be down by about 20 percent.

For the two previous financial years local sales increased by 12 percent and 20 percent respectively.

Despite the growing export market, Iscor's revenue would probably show a drop this year. This was because the Corporation had to cut its prices to compete on the export market and also had to carry losses in transporting steel abroad.

Mr Olivier said Iscor was at present supplying about 75 percent of the country's needs. He did not expect the local market to grow to any significant extent before the end

of this year and before the prime interest rate, which was standing at 24 percent at the moment, dropped to about 20 percent.

Iscor's decision to boost exports in the light of the falling domestic markets would enable it to recoup quite a big portion of its operating expenses and supply work opportunities.

SOUTH AFRICA

NEW MACHAVIE: WORLD'S BIGGEST PRIVATELY OWNED MINE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 85 p 27

[Text] WHAT is said to be the world's biggest privately-owned gold mine will be opened in the Potchefstroom area within the next six weeks, the chairman of De Kaap Gold Mining Company, Peter de Jager, said at a Press conference yesterday.

"Work has already commenced on the re-opening of the shafts of the New Machavie gold mine to reach the stopes where about 370 000 tons of high-grade material is available immediately."

Mr De Jager said that the re-opening of the New Machavie, which closed in 1943, was one of the most exciting projects undertaken by De Kaap, which owns the mine.

The mine closed because of the low gold price at the time and serious flooding when power lines were sabotaged during the last war.

The last general manager's report, at the time of flooding, indicated that the completed development underground had exposed 170 000 tons of gold bearing reef material which was ready to be hauled to the surface, Mr De Jager said.

"An estimated 200 000 tons clean-up material is also available including sweepings in the stopes which on sampling have yielded in excess of 50 g/t. And at the closing of the mine there was also 3 million tons of reserves."

According to old mining reports the average grade at the time of closing the mine was about 5/gt. Because of today's better gold extraction methods the recovery grade would be much nearer to 7 g/t, Mr De Jager said.

"This means that the value of the material which can be treated immediately is worth about R50-million while the value of the reserves exceed R400-million when calculated at a gold price of R650 an ounce and a recovery grade of 7 g/t."

A rock dump estimated at 1-million tons and an overall headgrade of 2,8 g/t is being treated at the moment. With even a low recovery percentage of 40 percent, Mr De Jager feels that R1,2-million worth of gold could be recovered from the dump over a period of 12 months.

Re-opening of the New Machavie mine will be financed by a combination of own funds, from the

cash flow from gold recovered from material readily available for treatment and by issue of shares to the public.

"Although at this stage the De Kaap management feels that raising money direct from the public is more advantageous than applying for a listing on the developing capital market sector of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, our intention is to apply for a listing as soon as possible," Mr De Jager said.

SOUTH AFRICA

SUGAR MILLERS INTERESTED IN ETHANOL PRODUCTION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 30 May 85 p 31

[Text] **SUBSTANTIAL** increases in the price of motor fuel, coupled with low world sugar prices, had prompted South African sugar millers to look again at the feasibility of producing ethanol.

The chairman of the South African Sugar Millers' Association, Mr F R Jones, said yesterday at the association's annual general meeting that "there are no insurmountable problems from a technical standpoint as the necessary know-how is readily available."

Mr Jones acknowledged, however, that millers were conscious of the fact that South Africa had committed itself to the production of fuel from coal, and that such developments within the sugar industry would have to be discussed with the oil companies.

"Yet another problem is that there is no

shortage of petrol in the country and unless, therefore, our ethanol could be used as a diesel fuel extender we would only aggravate the existing surplus of light motor fuel.

"One positive aspect however is that ethanol could replace the highly toxic lead as an anti-knock additive in petrol — a concept that is attracting support from environmentalists the world over."

The question of ethanol as a product of the South African sugar industry was being evaluated, Mr Jones said, "so that we can determine whether or not it does present a business opportunity and one that would attract the sizeable capital investment required".

Turning to the world sugar market, Mr Jones said it remained extremely depressed with no prospect of a significant recovery in the short term. World sugar prices, he said, had now reached their lowest level in 15 years and, in real terms, were the lowest they had ever been.

Against this background of a depressed world sugar market Mr Jones said the widely held view of the sugar brokers, economists and statisticians was that there would be no price recovery before the second half of 1986.

There were increasing signs within the world market of a shift in demand from bulk raws to refined sugars.

SOUTH AFRICA

VILJOEN DISCUSSES KEY AREAS OF MINISTRY

Johannesburg LEADERSHIP SOUTH AFRICA in English First Quarter 1985 pp 10, 12, 14, 17

[Interview with Hugh Murray by Dr Gerrit Viljoen]

[Text]

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, is pivotal to government policy-making.

As former chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond and Rector of Rand Afrikaans University, he earned a reputation for keeping abreast of reality, and even before his entry to active politics four years ago was in the forefront of political reform.

Much of the change in the Broederbond's approach - from deeply conservative and secretive, to modern and more open - can be attributed to his years at the helm. It is said that he is having a similar effect on the government.

Leadership publisher and editor, Hugh Murray spent several hours with Dr Viljoen at his home in Pretoria during a weekend late in March. His impression was of a new minister trying to come to grips with reasons for the extraordinary disturbances and township violence raking the country.

Though any speculation about a successor to President Botha is clearly premature at this stage, Dr Viljoen must be one of those whose name will go into the ballot when the State President decides to retire.

Murray's wide-ranging interview with Dr Viljoen contains important thinking from government on key areas of his portfolio - especially with regard to urbanisation, influx control and re-settlement.

Murray: The government has moved a

long way away from its previous stand on urban blacks. It seems quite committed to having a straight look at urbanisation and making an honest attempt to come to grips with this problem. What are your priorities as far as urbanisation is concerned?

Viljoen: I think there are two pillars on which reform is to be built. The one is the revision of the present influx control system which depends largely on Section 10.1 of the Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act. According to this, the grounds on which a black person might rightfully be present in the urban areas are defined.

The government has realised two things. First of all, influx control legislation in many cases does not effectively bring about control. Secondly, it has been proven to have the negative effect of avoiding or obstructing the urbanisation of black people.

One important thing to which the government has committed itself is revision of the present influx control legislation and to reformulate it in keeping with the guidelines that were proposed by the Riekert Commission in the late Seventies. The settlement of blacks in urban areas should be based simply on two main precepts: whether there is a job for the person and whether there is acceptable housing. We are in the process of finalising this revision and I hope that by the middle of the year we will be able to submit a new Bill to the Standing Committee dealing with constitutional matters.

But in view of the demographic and economic realities, I do not believe that a completely free movement of people can be instituted. I think some degree of orderly settlement and orderly urbanisation will at this stage in the development of South Africa remain necessary. But much greater flexibility should be introduced than presently exists.

Murray: Are you saying that the pass laws in some form or another will have to stay?

Viljoen: The pass laws are again somewhat different. The pass laws are a form of implementing and controlling influx and that methodology might well be radically reviewed. We have already accepted and announced that the old system of identification documents in South Africa should be transferred to one department, namely, the Department of Home Affairs. I think much of the control of settlement of people will ultimately reside here. In this way a single policy for identification of individuals – in terms of controlling settlement – as in all other countries, will be the responsibility of one department. But then there is the other main problem, namely ultimately evolve into, is a matter for negotiation in the forum itself so that the people participating, who at present do not have formal decision-making rights, can be involved in.

Murray: Do you foresee that perhaps the forum could develop into something which has a constitutional base in terms of the revised Constitution?

Viljoen: Oh yes. I think the State President and the government accept the permanence of black communities outside the national states. We also accept that those communities consist largely of people who cannot and do not find satisfactory political expression through their contact with the national states. Alternative structures should be negotiated whereby black communities outside the national states can find political expression.

There should be self-determination in those areas which could be defined as *own* affairs, as well as negotiation and co-responsibility in those areas which are matters of joint interest between the blacks and the other population groups. So ob-

viously, from this concept of negotiating new structures for self-determination of our own affairs and co-operation and co-responsibility of common affairs, it is quite clear that new structures linking up with the existing structures will have to be devised.

Murray: It would seem to me that until such time as a dispensation is created which holds as much standing in law for the blacks as exists for coloureds and Indians, that the international and local criticism of the Constitution will continue unabated.

Viljoen: Yes. But as I see it, the government's move in the area of constitutional reform for blacks is not aimed at a result consisting of informal structures. It aims at new constitutional structures – in other words, structures that will be recognised as part of the constitutional law of the country.

Murray: At this stage, there is no natural line of progression from municipal to provincial affairs and then on to central government.

Viljoen: Yes. I think that is true. And this is also a point admitted by the State President when he talked about the need to negotiate new structures enabling the black communities outside the national states to find political expression. He added the words "higher than the local level", thereby admitting that where there are no structures there was a need for going higher than the local level – up to the highest level.

Within the national states, of course, freehold is already available. So when they move there, in principle, blacks can have freehold.

Murray: I am thinking particularly of freehold in the hugely concentrated black urban areas where 99-year leasehold is the only option.

Viljoen: Negotiations are proceeding on this point. The State President argues that freehold obviously brings a greater sense of belonging, a greater commitment to the community, and is a more effective basis

for community involvement at local government level. On the other hand, objections have been raised that the permanency of freehold would imply political rights. That argument can be countered by the fact that 99-year leasehold is in practice as permanent as freehold.

Murray: What about the Cabinet Committee which has been looking at political rights for urban blacks? How far down the road are you with your work?

Viljoen: I think the most important result of the Cabinet Committee's work and its consultations with black leaders has been the digest of guidelines and principles for reform formulated in the State President's address at the opening of Parliament. I think the emphasis will now move away from the Cabinet Committee to the negotiating forum which the State President has announced.

In order to broaden the participation of people and to embrace more points of view it is necessary to have a forum where all are participating on an equal level.

Murray: If the government is prepared to negotiate almost on a fourth chamber level, why does it stop short of taking a concrete step and recognising publicly the reality of what it is doing? The forum is a very significant body but it has no formal constitutional status. Your critics would ask why not.

Viljoen: If you decide beforehand that the forum is to have a formal constitutional status you are jumping the gun. You are again taking a one-sided decision that this is to be the case. I think one political lesson which has been taken to heart in recent years is that whatever change is being introduced or whatever reform steps are being taken, they are not likely to be accepted unless they are perceived by the people concerned to have been the result of negotiation. Therefore, what the status of the forum should be, and what it should be where the distance between the present site of such a township and the proposed site in the national state was not large.

I have decided that the whole question of the resettlement of people is to be revised thoroughly by the government. I am in the process of submitting an overview of the existing policy relating to cases

where townships have been transferred, to those cases where exceptions have been made and where permanency has been established. As far as the remaining cases are concerned I feel that we should reconsider whether the original policy should be applied rather than continuing with *ad hoc* decisions.

Murray: The question of removing people from one point to another is a very difficult one. There are some who acknowledge the most appalling circumstances in their homes but they would rather stay than be compelled to move. Apart from the other considerations, how are you going to get over the shocking publicity that will arise from such policy applications?

Viljoen: I think the government realises that whereas 10 or 15 years ago the resettlement of communities was a reasonably acceptable procedure – even where large parts of the community might not have been willing to co-operate – the climate within as well as outside the country is such that one can now implement resettlement only after very careful consideration.

First of all, is it really necessary? How many people are involved? Are the conditions under which people are presently living, really to be improved by the new settlement area? The State President has made it quite clear that resettlement of communities should be accompanied by a substantial improvement in their quality of living.

At the same time it is also true that where communities have, through their representatives, expressed agreement on resettlement, opposition groups within those set-ups have opposed this movement of people.

Murray: What about the advisability of 99-year leases as opposed to freehold? Speedy action on freehold would increase the credibility of the government enormously.

Viljoen: In all resettlements the principle followed is that people should have the same title to land in the new settlement area which they had previously. But one could go a step further and say that the availability of freehold where it had

not been available in the original area would obviously be an attractive plus.

Murray: How does the government take decisions and make policies in regard to your portfolio? There were a number of very important things implemented during February but they were done piecemeal. I refer particularly to Crossroads and to the question of 99-year leasehold in Guguletu, Nyanga, and so on. When one thinks of the package that came out over a period of a month almost on an *ad hoc* basis, one would think that the government was merely responding to pressure and that there was no overall plan.

Viljoen: Well, I think the first point to be made there is that the decisions regarding Crossroads were not in a sense new but were different applications of policy. The question as to whether a black township is permanent or not is an overall policy matter but its application to specific townships might differ – and the availability in principle of 99-year leasehold is a matter of principle whose application in different cases may differ. What was new in this regard was the decision that the black townships of Cape Town, Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu, whose inhabitants were expected to move to the new city of Khayalitsha, were declared to be permanent and that 99-year leasehold was to be made available in their case, as it was in many other townships.

This was a result of the State President's decision that the coloured labour preference policy with regard to the Western Cape was to be dispensed with and that 99-year leasehold, which was not previously made available because blacks were not really accepted as a permanent part of the population of the Western Cape, could in fact now become available.

It is unfortunate that the decision on that matter was finalised at the moment the trouble in Crossroads started. So, these were not really piecemeal decisions. The basic decision had been taken by the Cabinet in October and we then started working out to which townships this should apply. Obviously, the first important areas to be considered were the three Cape Town townships and a change in policy orientation had to be argued through and accepted with regard to them.

Murray: What is happening generally in regard to resettlement?

Viljoen: There was a policy decision in the early Sixties whereby black townships within a 50-kilometre radius of national states were to be phased out and transferred to sites within those national states.

In a number of cases this was implemented especially where the existing township was in need of upgrading – virtually in need of complete modernisation – and

the influx control legislation which has created the impression that urbanisation of blacks is being impeded or avoided. I think this is largely due to the over-simplified concept that urbanis-

ation can only take place in the present metropolitan areas.

In recent years, the government has come to realise that there is no question as to whether blacks will become urbanised. Urbanisation of blacks, as of all groups in the population, is inevitable. It is not only inevitable, it is desirable because urbanisation is a natural form of accommodating people as populations increase. You cannot go on settling people in a rural pattern. Urbanisation is also a form of accommodating people in terms of economic dynamics. Therefore, the question is not whether the blacks are being urbanised. They are and will continue being urbanised. It is only a question as to how and where.

Murray: How long will it take to convert from 99-year leasehold, where it exists in the urban areas, to freehold?

Viljoen: I don't foresee that it would take very long. The technicalities for registering a freehold title are rather more exacting and more complicated than those for registering a 99-year leasehold title. The main thing which held up the practical introduction and implementation of 99-year leasehold was that the sites were not surveyed in the fully accepted sense. If I am informed, though this is not part of my direct responsibility, the formal requirements with regard to freehold do not differ much from those for leasehold. So once leasehold is there, moving on to freehold would be less

time-consuming. The technicalities for registration of title will probably be more expensive, so leasehold will always be a somewhat cheaper alternative.

But in discussing this whole question of influx control and urbanisation and housing, I think one very important thing has come to be accepted, and where there has been a change in policy – the quality and the nature of housing should be within the financial means of the residents. There has been too much of an emphasis on conventional First World housing standards, however modest they may be. I think we must accept that a large part of the population is not able to pay for even a subsidised conventional type of housing structure. These people must be provided with a simple serviced site in a well planned township development with the necessary amenities like schools, clinics and shops, on which to set up a shack, even a squatter type of structure. They must then be left to their own devices as they progress financially to convert this gradually to a more conventional type of housing.

This is going to be very important – that a large part of urbanised housing will have to be unconventional but controlled – housing which one normally associates with a squatter settlement. But the squatter settlement, of course, is uncontrolled in terms of hygiene, in terms of service and in terms of congestion. Where it is a controlled unconventional housing scheme those disadvantages could be eliminated.

Murray: The government appears to have accepted the fact that Gatsha Buthelezi will never take independence and that kwaZulu will always operate on a different basis to the other homelands. What does it mean in regard to government's policy on the national states?

Viljoen: I think we must get the policy quite straight there. The State President has reaffirmed the government's commitment to self-governing national states and to the ideal that these states should develop to independence. But this is subject to their acceptance, and there will be no compulsion. In this regard the State President maintains that such obstructions as the question of citizenship should be negotiated and as far as possible removed.

I think that this is one of the biggest

obstacles to the further acceptance of independence by present self-governing homelands. They have made quite clear that more acceptable arrangements for retaining the essentials of South African citizenship should be made other than those that exist at present. Secondly the State President also says that insofar as national states or homelands which do not accept independence are concerned, further development toward self government must proceed and an enriched status of self-government could be negotiated. Also, those new structures for blacks outside the national states should not only link up constitutionally with the central governmental structures of South Africa, but could also in appropriate cases link up with structures in the national states. This could obviously bring about a new dispensation with regard to the role of the kwaZulu Government. These are all areas of negotiation that certainly will be explored.

Murray: This implies a very radical rethink on kwaZulu.

Viljoen: The position of kwaZulu is unusual in several respects. First of all, it concerns a very large nation. Secondly it is, by virtue of its geographic spread and present fragmentation, interwoven with the totality of Natal. And thirdly, in that area with which it is interwoven, there are virtually no other black groups. It is predominantly a Zulu area, and the economic interdependence of the kwaZulu and Natal elements is very strong.

Murray: Are you saying basically that the government is more sympathetic than was thought at first to the fundamental findings of the Buthelezi commission?

Viljoen: I personally believe that there are many areas in the Buthelezi Commission which we could well positively explore in negotiation and in consultation with the kwaZulu Government. There are, especially in the economic and social fields, several areas which I think merit further study – especially in view of the urgent need for further industrial development within kwaZulu, and the region's tremendous population pressures. In the context of discussing co-operation towards meaningful and dynamic industrial development in the appropriate areas of kwa-

Zulu, the studies that have been made in the context of the Buthelezi commission will also be of value and should be taken into consideration.

Murray: One of the things that business particularly is deeply concerned about is the kind of sceptical, almost cynical view that certain people in government and the Cabinet are taking towards the efforts and expenditure of the private sector on education and training. Many businessmen believe government is not giving the support it requires, in terms of tax benefits and so on.

Viljoen: Big business has been given many tax benefits. It has been abusing it in such a shocking way that the Minister of Finance had to revise the benefits for training because it had been using benefits which were really devised to encourage training of the lower echelon, to lay on lavish and expensive management courses for top management.

Murray: There are many major businesses that would strongly disagree with Barend Du Plessis and the Cabinet on that.

Viljoen: The fact is that a ceiling has been introduced as to the salary level of the people involved in such training courses. The goal of the government's financial and tax incentives for training is particularly to improve training for blacks.

Murray: As one of the leaders of Afrikanerdom going back to your chairmanship of the Afrikaner Broederbond, could you give us your analysis of what has happened to the Afrikaner people over the last couple of years?

Viljoen: I think the National Party, with its strong Afrikaner component, had become used to virtual unanimity among the Afrikaner people with regard to political policy and political innovation. Once you become accustomed to this almost unanimous support base, it has an inhibiting effect in the long run because you don't want to do anything that might spoil it. To a large extent, I

think this is what happened in the last years of the late Prime Minister, John Vorster.

P W Botha, in terms of his Afrikaner commitment, need not stand back for anybody. He has a very strong and highly respected record in this respect. He has come forward with an attitude that if, in your conscience you are convinced that in the interests of South Africa, and in the interest of all the people, a certain policy has to be followed, then every possible amount of political energy should be committed to promote that policy – even if it leads to a decrease in the unanimity that had previously been the case.

There are certain political reforms that have to be brought about in terms of a truly Christian national concept – in other words, a nationalism which grants for everybody else that which it demands for itself. If this involves a split among the Afrikaners, that is the price which unfortunately has to be paid. It is the duty of every politician who believes in this policy to convince his fellow citizens and, particularly if he is an Afrikaner, his fellow Afrikaners, that this political policy should be followed. He should not just sit back and say: "Well, if we can't get unanimity we are not going to move". This is an important change that was brought about. The other important basic change in the style of thinking involved the kind of theorising that was very prominent in the development of separate development. Then in the late Sixties and early Seventies, some people imagined that the coloureds could be structured in a separate political existence.

The realities in respect of the urban blacks, the realities in respect of the tempo and the extent to which homelands were willing to accept independence, all had their effect on the thinking of the people who were responsible for executing and implementing this theory. It was a theory which, in many ways, was rigid and almost absolute. A large part of the Conservative Party's support consists of right wing people who live and work according to theoretical concepts without regard to reality.

We had to realise that in several areas these adjustments of reality to meet with the ideal did not work out and therefore we had to find a new synthesis between ideal and reality. The right wing people simply clung to the ideal in a way which has no

relation whatsoever to the realities of the South African situation. I would say the modern Afrikaner is the Afrikaner who tries to find a balance between the ideal which he still strongly tries to implement but also the realities which have to be taken into account.

Murray: Isn't the reality which you talk about the breakdown of apartheid?

Viljoen: In the sense of an absolute ideology, namely that everything can be solved by complete separation of people. (though this was a concept propounded by a very few) yes. If there is a breakdown of anything, it is a breakdown of absolute, unqualified ideological commitment to separation as the total solution to the problem.

I think what we have come to realise is that while separation or differentiation still has an important part to play, is an important component of the solution, there are many areas in which togetherness and sharing of opportunities and power, play an important part. And this, of course, is at complete variance with the original and the ideological concept of apartheid.

Murray: On the spiritual side of people's lives, there appears to be another very important thing happening. Cardinal McCann has been succeeded as Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town by Stephen Naidoo, Bishop Buthelezi is the Bishop of Bloemfontein, Desmond Tutu is Bishop of Johannesburg. A lot of white people are finding, particularly among Catholics, Anglicans and Methodists, blacks as their elected spiritual leaders. This must also create an authority which is very different from the past. I wonder how that is going to work through the system?

Viljoen: I think it is going to work through on all levels. The fact is there are increasing numbers of interfaces between the different racial groups, starting on the more sophisticated levels but becoming more common on the lower levels, even on the shop floor. Many of the blacks on the production floor are people with an education, with a training, a sophistication and a broad interest. The interfaces between the racial groups are affected by the changing mutual perceptions of each other.

Murray: If you were asked to sum up the future of South Africa's black people, how would you do it?

Viljoen: I think their happiness and the quality of their life will depend very largely on the success with which they bridge the change from a traditional background to a modern urbanised, industrialised life-style.

Can they, in this process, succeed in accepting new values without completely being uprooted from their traditional values? But this is a matter I think for black communities themselves.

It is not a matter on which other people can pontificate or decide. The second issue involves the willingness of blacks and whites to find a moral and political self-expressionism.

In this respect, I cannot see that any meaningful, constitutional reform can be implemented unless it deals with the realities of population diversity, of national diversity in South Africa, and the undeniable commonality of interests.

I think another prerequisite for successful constitutional reform is that it should not imperil the continuation of those standards in law, in politics, and in the social and economic field which have been achieved in South Africa. I think that it is in the interest of all population groups that the power structures should be balanced in such a way that they do not impair the maintenance of those standards that we have achieved.

Murray: Let us say that a man moves through the academic world to the level that you achieved in your university career, and is prevented because of Group Areas from living in an area where he and his children will rub shoulders with people of similar professional status. What should happen to him?

Viljoen: In order to ensure white willingness to accept really meaningful reform, differentiation of residential areas and differentiation on the school level of education are vital. If in these two areas, the issue were to be forced I am quite convinced that there would be a complete standstill in reform. This is an area where realists have to accept the stated policy of P W Botha.

Murray: So you think that Group Areas is there for the foreseeable future.

Viljoen: Group Areas is a certain technique, and there may be adjustments. But I think the concept of different residential areas and the concept of different schools will remain. But, again, opportunities for interaction should be expanded and developed both in respect of social interaction and also of interaction in the education field.

CSO: 3400/284

SOUTH AFRICA

PROFESSOR DISCUSSES VIEWS ON FACING DISINVESTMENT THREAT

Johannesburg LEADERSHIP SOUTH AFRICA in English First Quarter 1985 pp 53, 54, 57, 59

[Article by David Welsh, professor of Southern African studies, University of Cape Town]

[Text]

In considering the disinvestment issue it is as well to begin by making a few concessions to the disinvestment lobby. It would be churlish to deny that the threat of disinvestment has been a spur to reform in commerce and industry. There can be little doubt that the unprecedentedly strong memorandum jointly presented to Senator Edward Kennedy early in January by national employer groups reflected a real concern that disinvestment threats might be translated into practice. What was striking about the memorandum was its unequivocal call for legislative goals that, if implemented, would spell the end of the old order of racial domination.

Let us also acknowledge that for far too long private enterprise has been insufficiently outspoken in its condemnation of racial discrimination. It is a perfectly valid argument against disinvestment to say that a disproportionate burden of its costs will be borne by blacks: but is there not just a grain of truth in the counter-observation that some of the people who make the argument have hardly been conspicuous in their previous championing of black welfare claims?

A further concession to the boycott brigade has to be made in the case of sport. It is surely inconceivable that the steps towards desegregating organised sport would have been taken without the pressure of the international drive to cut sporting links with South Africa. Those who have advocated this boycott, however, find themselves in something of a bind because, on the one hand, they are anxious to claim the effects of the boycott as a "success" with relevance for boycotts in the other spheres, while, on

the other hand, their refusal to acknowledge any significant change in South Africa, requires them to insist that the changes in sport are purely "cosmetic".

In my view it would be unwise to react to the threat of economic sanctions by confident assertions of South Africa's invulnerability to them. A good case can be made for the view that the impact of foreign pressure will not make much of a dent in the South African system, let alone topple it. Yet it remains true that disinvestment – the most likely kind of sanction for the foreseeable future – can damage the South African economy in direct and indirect ways. Indeed, it probably has already done considerable damage. Take the hypothetical case of the American corporation pondering the question of where to set up a foreign subsidiary. South Africa? Well, the likely rate of return on the investment might be good, but what about the "hassle factor" – having all those church, student and other disinvestment groups constantly on one's back? And what if a South African connection has adverse effects on sales in the domestic (i.e. American) market? The latter possibility is likely to be the most powerful consideration.

It is impossible to estimate how many potential investors have shied away from South Africa for these reasons, but it seems reasonable to assume that quite large capital injections must have been foregone.

The basic problem with disinvestment, as with all forms of economic sanctions, is that its advocates are unable to spell out a convincing scenario of anticipated consequences for the economy, let alone for the entire political set-up. A major unknown is the effect that disinvestment measures legislated by the

American Congress might have on other Western powers, most notably Britain. It seems highly likely that some form of economic sanctions will be enacted by Congress during 1985. Press speculation suggests that a ban on future American investment is possible, although, given the Reagan administration's views, the legislation may well be subject to a presidential veto – however, these can be over-ridden by Congress.

Some observers have suggested that an American initiative along these lines would make it difficult for other Western countries to resist applying their own sanctions. What might happen is completely unpredictable, but South Africans ought to be aware of a real threat that cannot be ignored. Nor should they underestimate the deleterious effect that the climate created by the disinvestment campaign is having on potential foreign and local investors. Moreover, the aggravation of an already unfavourable climate is very likely to have harmful effects on South African exports. As the disinvestment campaign gets into full swing the spotlight will tell on South African products to an increasing extent. Heightened consumer consciousness that there is some kind of moral issue surrounding the South African-made product which they contemplate buying could transform indifference into active reluctance. As A R Lumby has pointed out (*Financial Mail*, January 25 1985), "even a partially successful exports boycott would deliver a staggering blow to the SA economy."

There would be little purpose in my attempting to provide scenarios in quantitative terms of the estimated effects of particular sanctions. Several economists have already made brave attempts at this kind of calculation. At this stage, it seems to me, we do not know exactly what kind of sanctions are likely to be imposed nor how many countries will involve themselves in the campaign. The many imponderable and unquantifiable factors make the task of projection and prediction virtually impossible. Moreover, as the Swaziland government has pointed out recently, damage done to the South African economy would also have serious effects on all of South Africa's black-ruled neighbours and on Namibia.

THE DISINVESTMENT LOBBY

In debates with proponents of disinvestment I have repeatedly tried to extract from them just how they expect it to contribute to the process of change in South Africa. One might hope for some reasonably coherent account of anticipated consequences that would strengthen the forces of change. The responses to my probings, however, are invariably

evasive, leading me to conclude that no such account exists. It is, however, possible to isolate several strands of thought within the disinvestment lobby.

Many Americans are more concerned with American foreign policy interests than with what actually happens in South Africa, the reasoning being that America's business involvement is seen as complicity in injustice and that America, as the leader of the Western alliance, cannot afford the allegation that it is "propping up apartheid"; however misleading the argument may be.

This, of course, is a legitimate concern. Harold Macmillan made the point eloquently in his "Winds of Change" speech in 1960, saying: "We may sometimes be tempted to say to each other, 'Mind your own business', but in these days I would myself expand the old saying so that it runs: 'Mind your own business, but mind how it affects my business too'."

If one cannot effectively rebut the general proposition that a state is entitled to act in accordance with its own legitimate foreign policy interests, one has to try to show that the imposition of sanctions is likely to have worse implications – and I believe that this can be demonstrated.

Perhaps the majority of pro-disinvestment Americans is concerned to make a symbolic statement of repudiation to the South African government. As the Mayor of Boston put it in explaining the ordinance that prohibits the city from investing public funds in any institution that does business with South Africa, "it's important that Boston – as the cradle of liberty – send a message that it objects to human rights violations." It is of no avail to try to rebut this kind of argument by pointing out that many states have worse records of human rights abuses than South Africa: correctly or incorrectly, racial discrimination is seen as the worst offence in the human rights book, and South Africa, as the sole surviving upholder of a system of institutionalised discrimination, is consequently a prime target.

Other arguments for disinvestment are that foreign companies prolong the survival of racial domination by strengthening the economy that allegedly underpins it; and that by raising the costs of implementing apartheid you force the South African government into a cost/benefit analysis of its policy, thereby in turn forcing it to realise that a negotiated settlement is preferable to a draining and ultimately futile persistence in a disastrous system.

At one level these are logical arguments, even if they are wholly unpalatable to many South Africans. It would be a serious mistake to dismiss the disinvestment lobby, at least in the United States, as a

bunch of misguided radicals. True enough, there are radicals among them, but there are also many sober-minded and relatively moderate people who argue for some form of sanctions not as a means of destabilising South Africa into a revolutionary situation but rather as a means of inducing non-violent change. Apart from any other concerns, politicians are perceiving that disinvestment is an issue that will run and that they should exploit it for their own political purposes. Even significant numbers of Republicans are quite likely to line up in support of the imposition of some form of sanctions. Increasingly the debate is going to become less about whether or not sanctions are imposed, but over how far-reaching they ought to be.

How should we respond to the mounting threat? In my view the major thrust of the response ought to be to demonstrate that not only are sanctions unlikely to achieve any of the goals that their proponents claim, but that they are likely to hinder reform in South Africa. This has to be a subtle argument that relies on nice distinctions, because I have already conceded, as I think one must, that the threat of disinvestment has been one factor in spurring reform.

On the other hand, those who believe that damaging the South African economy, whether by threat or by deed (or both), have an obligation to show how this will induce change. Can they show that sanctions have played a significant part in promoting desired political change in other states against which they have been applied? Virtually all of the evidence suggests that the answer must be in the negative. In the most exhaustive historical and comparative survey of economic sanctions yet undertaken, the Canadian political scientist Margaret Doxey concluded that there was "little evidence that economic sanctions provide reliable means of inducing states to adhere to internationally acceptable codes of conduct." This study, and others as well, showed, however, that sanctions had inflicted varying degrees of damage on the economies of the targeted states.

Assuming that sanctions (of whatever scope) are applied and that damage is done to the South African economy, which, in principle is what is being sought, how will this aid the reform process? Is it supposed that the ruling whites will be jolted out of their complacent sense of invulnerability and forced to the negotiating table, whereupon they will proceed to dismantle apartheid? Alternatively, will the damage done to the economy increase black unemployment, destabilise the society and cause it to be engulfed in revolutionary violence?

Neither of these scenarios is very convincing. If they are actually believed I have yet to see a persuasive account of how the anticipated sequences are supposed to unfold, let alone an argument as to how change achieved in this way will produce a benign political outcome.

While it is true that threats of disinvestment have produced some results, notably the Sullivan Principles and pressures on American subsidiaries to conform to them, a more plausible scenario would rest on the argument that a contracting economy is far more likely to generate stronger anti-reformist sentiments among whites. A depressed economy and the strengthening of the siege mentality among whites will directly benefit the parties of the ultra-right, with even further paralysing effects on the ruling National Party. Reformist sentiment is far more likely to grow in times of prosperity.

Disinvestment, and the possibility that it may become divestment – the termination of all business by American subsidiaries – will undoubtedly increase unemployment among blacks, which is already running at the rate of at least 20 per cent and probably significantly higher in particular areas. It will also affect white employment, but since white employees are virtually all skilled their problems of relocation and being re-employed are unlikely to be serious.

It may be argued that the number of blacks employed by American firms is small – about 120 000 or approximately one per cent of the total black workforce – and that therefore divestment would not have much of an impact in numerical terms. This argument, however, overlooks the symbolic and psychological impact of sanctions to which I have already alluded: sanctions would be a major blow to investor confidence which is likely to have an impact that is out of all proportion to the scale of the sanctions that are being imposed. This is true not only for foreign investors but for local ones as well. The consequences are unpredictable because one does not know what the sanctions packages will look like, how the scope of the sanctions may be expanded, and which other countries will join in. Moreover, no clear guidelines have even been laid down as to what criteria of change would have to be satisfied before sanctions were lifted. Who decides, and will it be like the sports boycott where the criteria were never made explicit and in fact changed over time?

In my view the strongest argument against the sanctions turns on its possible impact on black employment and, in turn, on potential sources of black leverage in the system. I will try to show that sanctions, far from being a force for change, in fact are

more likely to disadvantage blacks in the one particular area where their bargaining power is potentially decisive.

POTENTIAL SOURCES OF CHANGE

As a preliminary it is necessary to review potential sources of change in general. There are those who assert that only violence can bring about black liberation. This is the orthodox view of many black radicals in South Africa, and it commands much support at the United Nations and in radical circles generally. Putting aside for the moment any moral questions about violence and the likely human costs of a violent, revolutionary uprising, is it likely that revolution could succeed in overthrowing the South African State?

On the basis of everything we know about revolution as a phenomenon in modern history the answer must be no. There is no recorded case of a modern state, with an efficient and loyal police and military at its disposal, that has been toppled by revolutionary force. Each case is unique, it may be contended, and South Africa, with its massive, alienated and impatient black population, might upset this proposition. I strongly doubt it. South Africa has made considerable strides in the sophistication of its counter-revolutionary techniques, and by means of the Nkomati Accord of 1984 and comparable agreements, formal and informal, with other neighbouring states, it has also succeeded in making the chances for successful guerrilla war more difficult. Modern guerrilla warfare usually requires the existence of sanctuaries in adjacent states if it is to have much chance of success. South Africa's position as the overwhelmingly dominant regional power has to a considerable extent eliminated this possibility, and its neighbours are only too well aware of the damaging consequences that might ensue from the use of their territories as launch-pads.

The apparently endemic violence that has marked South Africa since mid-1976 should not be confused with revolutionary violence. For all the horrifying loss of life and the destruction of property, most of this violence has been a relatively inchoate expression of anger and frustration rather than a planned, systematic attempt to overthrow the State. I fear that this pattern of random, unco-ordinated and spontaneous violence is likely to continue, but it hardly strains in any serious way the State's coercive capacity. Although it forces attention on the problem of urban black communities, its major impact is likely to be one of self-destruction.

The question of sanctions has an indirect though

real pertinence here. Imagine a hypothetical situation in which all of the real grievances of urban blacks (rentals, education, lack of effective local authorities, etc) were held constant but unemployment was very small. Would you have had the violence? One cannot be certain but I am inclined strongly to doubt it.

SANCTIONS NOT THE ANSWER

Now, if sanctions increase unemployment, as they are bound to do, there is consequently every chance of increasing violence in the already tense urban areas. Port Elizabeth is an unfortunate prospective case in point. Already it has a black unemployment rate of over 30 per cent, and with the contraction of its motor car industry, several thousand more unemployed people will swell the pool. Its black townships have been the scene of sporadic violence for nearly a decade, and this new development can only aggravate matters. Endemic violence reduced Port Elizabeth's locational attractiveness to entrepreneurs, so that its prospects of breaking out of the vicious circle are proportionately reduced.

Although the Ford Motor Company's merger with Amcar and the decision to close two of its Port Elizabeth plants is said not to be a response to the threat of disinvestment, the results are in several respects analogous to what might be expected if American firms were required to pull out of South Africa.

If applied, sanctions may well make it virtually impossible to cope with the massive problems of population growth and the provision of jobs for the burgeoning population. With its population likely to double in 29 years and with a need to create at least 250 000 jobs per annum (others project an even higher figure) just to provide employment for new entrants onto the labour market, South Africa needs a growth rate of seven to eight per cent. In recent years, however, the economy's performance has been poor: annual growth rates have been nowhere near even the targeted 5.5 per cent, investment has been declining, and unemployment has taken on alarming proportions. Far from creating 250 000 jobs annually, the number of black-occupied jobs may well have shrunk. Fears of disinvestment, among other factors, have made their contribution to this dismal picture.

An alternative view of change points to the leverage that blacks might acquire in an expanding economy. In making this argument the assumption is that the strategy of armed struggle or liberation through violence will not succeed. If this is so, blacks have to

look at alternative strategies, and none is more promising than seeking to maximise their economic bargaining power. With the steady abolition of statutory restrictions on black upward occupational mobility (only in the mining industry do restrictions remain) and the chronic shortage of skilled and other highly trained personnel, the next decades should see striking black advance. Indeed, a Human Sciences Research Council projection is that by the year 2000 eight out of 10 skilled jobs will be performed by blacks. Other projections suggest that blacks will constitute a sizeable minority in the managerial stratum by the same time. Black urbanisation will probably double in the next 20 years, despite efforts to curb it. Another important index is black consumer power, which is now roughly at the same level as white consumer power.

The unionisation of the black urban labour force has also proceeded apace over the past five years since the government's recognition of the right of blacks to participate in statutory industrial bargaining. Some 20 to 25 per cent of urban black workers (excluding domestic workers) belong to registered and unregistered trade unions. This figure is likely to grow quite rapidly.

To point to these indices of actual and potential

black economic advance is not to overlook the growth of unemployment and the deteriorating conditions in black rural areas. On balance, however, the indices suggest growing black economic muscle. It could not be argued that this growing muscle converts automatically into political power, but it is highly likely that the more economically advanced and better educated a population group becomes the more it will demand a share of political power and the less easily it will allow itself to be discriminated against.

If this argument is correct then it largely undermines whatever case might be made for sanctions as a source of change. More than this, indeed, it can be contended that sanctions run clean counter to the most hopeful strategy that blacks can pursue to secure their own liberation.

I believe that it is possible to demolish or seriously to discredit every single argument that has so far been advanced in support of the idea of sanctions. In the interests of all South Africans this must be done. But the most convincing answer of all would be to demonstrate that we are serious and sincere in our proclaimed desire to abolish racial discrimination and to create a decent and compassionate society firmly based on a respect for human freedom.

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SOUTH AFRICA

DESMOND TUTU GIVES VIEWS ON NATION'S BUSINESS DISENCHANTMENT

Johannesburg LEADERSHIP SOUTH AFRICA in English First Quarter 1985 pp 62, 64, 67

[Interview with Bishop Desmond Tutu, 1984 Nobel Peace Prize Winner, by Hugh Murray]

[Text] *There are few people in South Africa as controversial as the new Bishop of Johannesburg, Desmond Tutu. Among many whites - even members of his Anglican flock - he is regarded as a man who has caused untold damage to his country. To others, and particularly blacks, he is a symbol of hope - a worthy recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize.*

The difficulty, it seems, is to be recognised as a prophet in one's own country. While the political overtones of the Peace Prize can bring into question the justification of its award to several recipients, thinking South Africans have historically been full of admiration for the Lech Welesas, the Sakharovs, the Luthulis and others who have been so honoured.

There can be no doubt that Desmond Tutu is similarly admired by many world leaders, and he has certainly taken advantage of his lionisation to attack apartheid and its advocates with extraordinary vigour in very influential quarters.

The conviction of some that the Bishop has sold SA down the river on the disinvestment issue is hotly contested by the man himself. In this interview, Leadership publisher and editor, Hugh Murray, attempts to come to grips with the man widely tipped to become Archbishop of Cape Town within the next year or so.

Murray: The job of Bishop of Johannesburg with the emphasis on pastoral work is very different to your former position at the South African Council of Churches. What sort of adjustments are necessary?

Tutu: I was a bishop when I was general secretary of the SACC and had a pastoral

responsibility there, mainly towards my staff. I was also looking after a parish in Soweto, so I was able to exercise pastoral responsibility. Obviously there are differences and similarities. I was doing a lot of administration in the SACC and there is a lot of administration involved here. I used to see quite a lot of people in the SACC, I am still going to be seeing a lot of people.

An important difference is that I have decided to cut down very drastically on overseas travel. It was easier at the SACC to be away, because in order to raise funds you had to go abroad where the funds came from. But in Johannesburg an absent bishop is not much good to anybody and therefore I have decided I will turn down virtually every invitation that will take me out of South Africa - at least in 1985.

Murray: That must be a very difficult decision when one considers the demands on you as the Nobel Peace Prize winner? It gives you an internationality which is much wider than before.

Tutu: Well, yes. There are some things I would really have loved to do, but I think my priority is here. For instance, I was invited by the governments of El Salvador and Nicaragua to visit. This is something I would love to do - to help in whatever way I can to bring the warring factions in those countries together. But my place is here. Here are very, very many people, especially in the white community, who don't really know me and what they do know of me is what the media has presented to them. So there is a fair degree of

hostility and apprehension. The only way to handle that is to be with people and give them the chance to get to know me and for me to know them. As bishop, I have to get to know my diocese.

Murray: As much as you have a black community for whom you are responsible pastorally, you also now have a white community. Leading these groups together will present an enormous challenge.

Tutu: I think you should remember that the SACC has a multi-racial or a non-racial constituency. But I do agree that it is a much more intense situation here. Even the question of where the bishop lives takes on a far greater significance than where the general secretary of the SACC lives. But we will be living mainly in Soweto. We are in the fortunate position of having two residences – the other is in Westcliff.

Murray: Since you received the Nobel Peace Prize you have come face to face with world leaders, particularly President Reagan. With the wisdom of hindsight and having been able to reflect a bit on this meeting, how would you characterise your talks with him?

Tutu: I think he had to respond to several pressures which led to his inviting us to meet him. Up to that point he hadn't shown a great deal of enthusiasm. But when the demonstrations began and members of his own party started making sounds

that were somewhat unfamiliar in their sharp criticism of apartheid, with some of them even saying they were ready to support sanctions, he then felt under considerable pressure to meet with me.

I thought it was going to be a formal meeting of just 10 or 15 minutes – meet the President of the United States, shake hands, take pictures, that's that. Everybody was surprised that we spent about 40 minutes with him. He also brought a very significant entourage. There was the Vice-President, the Secretary of State, the

National Security Adviser and Chester Crocker. That in itself seemed to be saying something.

My wife, who was sitting opposite him, said she noted that there were very many occasions when he seemed to have been taken by surprise by the things I had said, and he listened. I had decided that there was no point in mincing our words; that it was far better to negotiate downwards than upwards. So, I just gave him our views as firmly and as courteously as I could. It was he who suggested that we have a further meeting with other members of his cabinet since he had already overrun his time for the next appointment. We therefore had a further hour with the Vice-President and Chester Crocker. So I would say that while he did not budge on his fundamental attitude towards constructive engagement, he certainly incorporated some of the things that we had said when he made his Human Rights speech.

And while he still claimed that he believed in what he called quiet diplomacy, he certainly escalated his criticism of apartheid in an unprecedented way. I think that for him the policy cost of constructive engagement has been significantly increased in the United States.

Murray: There are different emphases now if you take the disinvestment issue. The fact that there seems to be such a strong bi-partisan approach in this regard would seem to indicate that the US President's strong rejection of economic sanctions against South Africa may not be taken as seriously as in the past.

Tutu: When you have a President who cannot run for re-election then you have a lame-duck. There is no longer the same kind of pressure on people to try to please him, as would have been the case if they knew he would be up for re-election. This is one of the reasons he has that kind of problem. But the other side of it is that he can do virtually what he pleases since he is not trying to run for re-election and for another term.

Murray: In your enthronement speech you gave a timetable for the dismantling of apartheid. It has been seen by some as throwing down a gauntlet. What is the feasibility, the reality of dismantling apartheid within that two-year constraint?

Tutu: I think there are quite a few things that could happen which would be very good indicators that apartheid was being dismantled. We could get rid of influx control, we could have the pass laws abolished, even if there was a phasing out to avoid chaos. There is no reason whatsoever why forced population removals should continue. There is no reason why the government should not say firmly that we are all South Africans. You could, in one fell swoop, mow down some of the fundamental pillars of apartheid. Once we see that we are all South Africans, then the Bantustan policy has gone for a loop. If this has gone for a loop, you can't have forced population removals. Nor will you have the kind of things that have happened in the Cape. There is unrest, people are killed, and then piecemeal we get things. Why should these things come on an ad hoc basis?

Murray: But don't you think these things all contribute to the mood of change? Are they of no value – even on an ad hoc basis?

Tutu: I think they are counter-productive because people see that the only time they get movement out of the government is when there is unrest that precedes it. You will remember that in 1976 the government was told that Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was an irritant and told not to enforce it. Treurnicht, who was then responsible as a deputy minister, refused to listen to reason. So we had an outbreak of violence. After that, with the cost measurable in human lives and destroyed property, the government said it would not enforce Afrikaans. Therefore, people believe the government will not make concessions unless they are forced to do so by the outbreak of violence and unrest.

At the present time Dr Viljoen could just as well have explained when he said the government was not going to tolerate Crossroads, that it was planning to upgrade the area – which is what he came out with two weeks later. It would have been so much more statesmanlike if he had given the impression of someone who was in charge and knew what he was about; if he had said at the beginning of the year that he wanted to ensure that the health of people was not affected, and therefore government would not tolerate overcrowding, but would speed up the process of

upgrading Crossroads, giving the people a sense of security and permanence. Then there was the question of 99-year leases for the black people in the neighbouring areas. Well if 99-year leases, why not freehold? It seems that these changes are really begrudged, you know.

That is what is so distressing. Similarly with the things that the State President has said. If we didn't have a history of broken promises, some of the things that he has said would have been accepted as wonderful overtures preceding a time when maybe there would be a liberalisation from oppression. But no sooner had he made those statements and said the government was willing to give a conditional release to Nelson Mandela and others, when members of his administration went around and arrested the leaders of an organisation that everyone admits is a very effective opposition, but also an opposition that has been working above board and trying to use peaceful means.

Murray: If you look at all of these things, would you say that your two-year deadline is reasonable?

Tutu: It should come about. After all, I did not say that the whole system should be dismantled by then. I am saying that we should be well on the way to dismantling it. There are key things that would demonstrate that there was the intention and the will.

Murray: You have been very widely quoted on what to some people would seem to be an unrelenting commitment to disinvestment. I see in reading your enthronement charge that your view is a contrary one and that if there were positive signs you would advocate an increase in investment.

Tutu: It is very much the story of the boy who saw a flight of geese and said to his mother, "Look at those geese!" His mommy said, "No, those are not geese darling, we call them geese." And he says, "Oh well they still look like geese to me." So, you hear what you want to hear.

Murray: Are you worried about your image at the moment?

Tutu: I would like to be loved. But I think that I have one advantage over any white

person who would have been in my position, and who was rejected by the white community. I have a black community. There is no question at all of the warmth of their acceptance.

Murray: What was your guest, Senator Edward Kennedy, like? What is your assessment of that trip?

Tutu: I think it achieved what we wanted it to, which was to help concentrate more publicity on the squatting situation. That it did and more successfully than we ever

hoped . . . I mean he was never off the front page of any newspaper, the television or radio.

Murray: Are you not finding your regimen very tiring?

Tutu: I have thought some times that I was on the verge of collapse. I have high blood pressure. But when I had a check up in Amsterdam at the Medical School Training Hospital I was quite surprised, the results were very good. I am certainly helped by the prayers of many people in keeping my strength up.

Murray: Although you are a man of the cloth, and perhaps because of the political complexion that everything seems to take on in this country, a lot of people would be surprised to hear you talk about the power of prayer.

Tutu: I have a schedule that makes sure that I don't cut down on praying, the Eucharist and things of that kind. I have to, as a result, get up fairly early to try to have some time because I can't manage without that. On the political side I have no sense of contradiction. For me, as I pointed out to you on another occasion, the relationship with God, which is a personal relationship, is one that must also be corporate. You can never be a solitary Christian.

I am Christian because I have been incorporated into a body and that means that my relationship with God also has social, political and economic dimensions. My love of God must be authenticated and

expressed through my love of neighbour. That is what the scripture says. How can you say you know God, that you love God who you have not seen, when you hate your brother who you have. Our Lord said that the two great commandments are love God, love your neighbour, and that the two must be held together. I am really saying to people that if you don't want to be involved politically, economically and socially, then don't worship the Christian God.

He will not allow you to luxuriate in a kind of spiritual ghetto insulated against the realities of the harsh world out there. Our Lord has said when you feed the hungry, clothe the naked and visit the sick you are ministering not only to those people but, in fact, you are ministering to Him through them. I would find it very difficult, if not impossible to worship a God who did not care that people did not have rent, or were unemployed or were oppressed. Mercifully He is not that kind of God.

Murray: In Johannesburg – your diocese – some businessmen see you as someone who does not look after his shareholders. They see you as someone who involves himself in things that go beyond members of your diocese and interfere with the well-being of other corporate structures.

Tutu: Quite simply, again, the God that we worship is the Lord of all life, not of sections or aspects of it. All life belongs to Him. I care about the spiritual and material well-being of all of the people who are my responsibility. I am afraid there are no lines of demarcation. If you are a Christian businessman I am interested in the morality that you bring to bear on your business decisions. That is all I am trying to talk about. Those decisions have an impact on other human beings.

Murray: As a cleric how do you feel about the business community?

Tutu: They are wonderful people, many of them. But I believe that they have not exercised the kind of clout that they in fact have. This could influence positively the way things develop in this country. They showed a bit of this quality when ASSOCOM, the FCI and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut made their recent statements. Some of these people are outstanding Christians. I don't have any animus

against them. I don't have any animus against anybody.

Murray: You are seen by some members of the business community, and I would say a fair portion of them, as their enemy. Doesn't that sadden you?

Tutu: It does. They have obviously allowed themselves to be duped by SABC TV, and by some of the things the media say. I don't want to see the destruction of this land. I love this land very deeply and I know that they have a very positive contribution to make. My quarrel with them, if it is a quarrel, is that they have not played the kind of role that they could have. One is asking them to wake up to those responsibilities. It is a sad part of the history of this country that instead of dealing with problems, we are always wanting to look for enemies to blame. We have to have our scapegoats.

Murray: What does the Nobel Peace Prize mean to you personally? First of all it is the kind of thing that no man thinks he is going to get unless he is a man of tremendous vanity. It must have come as a great surprise.

Tutu: Not entirely. I have got to say so. You see there was a lot of speculation.

Nevertheless, you are a welter of emotions. You are thrilled, you are humbled, you are elated, you are saddened. Strangely you are saddened because in part when one thinks of South Africa one feels things have not moved much further forward since Chief Albert Luthuli received his prize. But you also have the joy of the vindication that it represented for the SACC – especially after it had been attacked by the government through the Eloff Commission. So it was a great thrill for us to have the verdict of the

world on our work also giving hope to our people that the world is watching and the world takes cognisance of what is happening. The world is saying that our cause is right and just and that we are instruments of peace. The focusing of attention on South Africa was also a good thing. It was important.

Murray: Have you decided what you are going to do with your prize?

Tutu: Oh yes, I have done it already. Part of it I am going to enjoy with my family and other people. But we have put the remainder into a family trust which we already had for scholarships.

Murray: What is your hope for the future?

Tutu: As a Christian you are a prisoner of hope not because you are able to gaze into a crystal ball but because of the death and resurrection of Jesus. Nothing could have been more hopeless than Jesus hanging on the Cross on a Good Friday. Easter happened and Christians forever have to know that there is no way in which injustice is going to prevail over justice, or evil prevail over goodness, or death over life – despite all appearances to the contrary.

It is God's world and His will for our country is that we are going to live amicably together as part of one family. I have no doubt that this is going to happen. How it is going to be accomplished is a matter of debate. Realistically we have to say that barring a miracle it may have to come about through means that we don't want to see. These things may happen because of the intransigence of the authorities, or because of the games they play in trying to retain power.

But I am as certain as one can be that we are going to have a glorious country.

SOUTH AFRICA

PROFESSOR ON REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS, OBSERVATIONS FOR FUTURE

Johannesburg LEADERSHIP SOUTH AFRICA in English First Quarter 1985, pp 71, 72, 73, 74, 77

[Article by Professor John Barratt, director general, South African Institute of International Affairs]

[Text]

A year ago, in early 1984, South Africa's foreign relations were in a decidedly upward phase, and the signs were good for a significant improvement in relationships within Southern Africa and even for some reduction in the wider international pressures on South Africa. Now, at the beginning of 1985, the positive expectations have largely evaporated, with problems in the region unresolved and international pressures, particularly from the United States, growing. Our foreign relations thus seem to be again in a downward phase, coinciding with the serious negative trend in the economy.

The fluctuating fortunes of the past year reflect a continuing roller-coaster pattern in South Africa's foreign relations, which can be traced back over the past three decades. Sometimes the ups and downs are more gradual, and sometimes they are sharper and closer together, as in 1984.

Another view might be that the pattern is even more irrational and less predictable, and that a more accurate image would be that of a snakes and ladders board on which South Africa's fortunes rise and fall erratically. The experience of the last year lends strength to the snakes-and-ladders analogy.

The year started with news of the negotiations between South Africa and Mozambique, which had in fact been proceeding almost unnoticed during the previous year. Discussions were also going on with Angola, and these soon culminated in the Lusaka Agreement of February 16, providing for the creation of a joint South African/Angolan Commission to monitor a disengagement process in southern

Angola, including the withdrawal of South African forces and a cessation of hostilities in that area.

In this process it was envisaged that the Angolan armed forces would take over the responsibility of ensuring that this area of southern Angola was not used by SWAPO for launching incursions into Namibia, which had been the reason for the South African military presence on Angolan territory. This agreement was seen, in the words of the official statement issued in Lusaka by the representatives of Angola, South Africa and the United States, as constituting "an important and constructive step towards the peaceful resolution of the problems of the region, including the question of the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 (on Namibian Independence)".

It was hoped at the time that the various stages of the South African withdrawal, plus the establishment of Angolan Government control over the area, would be completed within a few months. It was believed that this joint process would create the required basis of confidence and trust between South Africa and Angola, which would permit further steps to be taken towards a settlement of the Namibian issue and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. It was a very hopeful development in which the American negotiators, led by Dr Chester Crocker, played a prominent part. But it omitted an important player in the Angolan game, namely Dr Jonas Savimbi whose guerrilla movement, UNITA, has continued to haunt the bargaining process between South Africa, Angola and the United States.

SWAPO, too, was omitted from the Lusaka Agreement. Although, unlike UNITA, it has been included at other levels in the negotiations, SWAPO remains a wild card in the pack.

The dramatic development which attracted much wider public attention, was the Nkomati Accord of March 16 between South Africa and Mozambique. The two governments undertook "to respect each other's sovereignty and independence, and in fulfilment of this fundamental obligation, to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the other" (Article One). More specifically, they agreed not to allow their respective territories to be used in any way by organisations or individuals planning "to commit acts of violence, terrorism or aggression" against the other party. The Accord went on to specify in detail the various types of such acts which the two parties undertook to prevent or eliminate.

The signing of the Nkomati Accord on the border between the two countries drew world attention to what was a very significant change in the regional configuration. In 1983 the South African Government's regional policy had been widely typified as one of the destabilisation of its neighbours, and international criticism of the government was mounting, not only in Africa and the United Nations, but also in Western capitals. There was considerable evidence to support the view that South Africa was engaged in a policy of weakening its neighbours by economic and military strikes into Mozambique in January 1981 and May 1983 aimed at concentrations of the ANC (African National Congress), whose members were involved in an increasing number of violent incidents within South Africa. A similar raid was carried out in Lesotho in December 1982, and economic leverage had been used against both that country and Zimbabwe.

In addition, there were increasingly frequent reports of direct South African assistance to the rebel movement (the MNR or Renamo) in Mozambique and of South African assistance at a lower level to "dissidents" in Zimbabwe and to opponents of the government of Lesotho. Given South Africa's overwhelming military and economic strength in the region, as well as the economic dependence on South Africa of most of the other countries of Southern Africa, these forms of pressure – or even threats of pressure – no doubt had an effect on the neighbouring countries which they could not disregard.

In these circumstances there was a growing view internationally that the South African Government was engaged in an irrational policy of subverting and destabilising its neighbours, simply in order to create a band of weak and unstable countries around South

Africa and by this means to reduce the external threat posed not only by the ANC, but also by the Soviet Union. Public statements by South African political and military leaders referred frequently to the concept of a "total onslaught" on South Africa, promoted by Moscow, with the assistance *inter alia* of neighbouring "Marxist" governments. South African "aggressive" actions in the region were interpreted internationally as the government's response to this perceived threat.

Against this background, the Lusaka Agreement and the Nkomati Accord in early 1984 appeared to indicate that the South African Government had changed its policy, or had at least added the element of negotiation to the one of pressure which it had been using. This was referred to by the *Economist* as the "thump and talk" approach. From another viewpoint it could be said, in the case of Mozambique at least, that instead of trying to subvert or even overthrow the Marxist government, South Africa was now attempting to wean Mozambique away from the Soviet camp. This placed South Africa more in line with American policy in the region.

In any case, the South African Government showed its determination to make the Nkomati Accord work by ending whatever support it, or its agencies, had been giving to the MNR, while at the same time actively encouraging the development of economic links. In particular, the re-negotiation of the Cahora Bassa Agreement between South Africa, Portugal and Mozambique held out the promise (unfortunately not yet fulfilled) that not only would South Africa at last receive a regular supply of power from that source (long interrupted by MNR sabotage of the power lines), but that the Mozambique government would derive income from it.

GREATER STABILITY

It may have seemed that Mozambique was driven into this agreement by its desperate economic and security situation. But South Africa also had much to gain, and still has, from the Accord. Apart from the closing of Mozambican sanctuaries to the ANC (which was doubtless the crucial factor) and potential economic advantages, there was the international credibility to be gained by an agreement with a formerly hostile neighbour state and the example it might set for similar agreements with other states in the region. In fact, once the Nkomati Accord was signed, the Swazi government felt free to announce that it had already signed a security agreement with South Africa two years previously.

The way seemed open for similar arrangements, formal or informal, with Lesotho and Botswana,

while a more relaxed relationship even with Zimbabwe was becoming apparent. The trend was clearly towards greater stability in Southern Africa, which also happened to be the central aim of the American policy of constructive engagement. So these developments served to enhance the South African Government's credibility in the United States and also among West European governments.

At the same time, the South African Government could feel that it was achieving its aim of becoming recognised as the dominant regional power in Southern Africa – not only economically and militarily, but also diplomatically – whose interests had to be accepted as paramount in regional affairs. In a typical statement on this theme Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in a published interview in August 1974: "The fact of the matter is that we are a regional power in Southern Africa . . . Any country wishing to deal with us will have to take this reality, as well as our reasonable concerns, into account." Earlier, in February 1984, Prime Minister P W Botha, arguing in favour of co-operative relations in the region, had said in Parliament, "South Africa is a major force in the region and has no intention of apologising for its economic, industrial and military strength."

POSITIVE WESTERN VIEW

On August 31 1984, on the eve of becoming State President under the new Constitution, Prime Minister Botha addressed himself to the role of the superpowers in Southern Africa, and he acknowledged that they had "justifiable interests" in the region as global powers. South Africa, he said, would not exert itself against such interests, provided "they, in turn, would not endanger South Africa's essential regional interests". He then continued: "However, should the superpower involvement be conducted in a manner which the RSA perceives as threatening these essential regional interests . . . then the RSA will continue to safeguard and advance its essential and legitimate interests by all means at its disposal."

The mood of détente in Southern Africa encouraged the United States and other Western governments whose interests dictated that they should be primarily concerned with stability and development in the region. Their interests included a reduction of Soviet influence, which would be an important product of regional agreements, if successfully implemented. It was on the basis of this positive Western view of Southern African developments in the first half of 1984 that Mr Botha was able to arrange his important tour of West European capitals in June. Not since the days of General Smuts, before the National Party came to power in 1948, was a

South African leader able to undertake such an extensive series of official visits to countries overseas. It appeared to many that South Africa was at last beginning to emerge from political isolation.

There was, however, another factor which contributed to the willingness of these Western governments to meet the South African Prime Minister in their own capitals, and to accept the domestic political risks that it entailed for some of them. This was the process of domestic reform which Mr Botha was perceived to be pursuing with some success within South Africa. While Western leaders generally had been cautious in reaction to the new South African Constitution, they had indicated that they welcomed it as a step in the right direction, away from the rigid policy of apartheid. Moreover, they recognised the political cost that Mr Botha and his party had paid for this and other steps in the reform process. Their willingness that he should visit them was intended, at least partly, to encourage him to continue along the road of reform. But they also sought to take the opportunity of persuading him of the need for faster and more radical political changes in South Africa.

Herein lay the rub! While Mr Botha was prepared to discuss the changing relationships in Southern Africa and explain his constitutional plans and other reforms within his own country, he presumably did not wish to have the emphasis in the discussions placed on what still needed to be done to make South Africa's domestic political system more acceptable to the West. It seems, from reports, that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Chancellor Helmut Kohl tended to concentrate on South African domestic developments, rather than on the regional situation and South Africa's role as the major regional power, which was Mr Botha's main concern.

Thus, while the European tour was undoubtedly an important foreign policy achievement at the time, on looking back now, one can detect in those discussions the seeds of future problems. At the least one can say that, while the tour proved to be the high point of the upward phase in South Africa's foreign relations, it was also the turning point in the country's fortunes which went steadily downhill in the second half of 1984.

STRAINED RELATIONS

The hopes raised for the process of constitutional reform were greatly reduced by the disturbing election campaigns for the two new Houses of Parliament, and by the resulting low percentage polls in the coloured and Indian communities. The domestic unrest which grew out of those elections continued through the rest of the year. This period saw the

growth of the United Democratic Front (UDF) which articulated and demonstrated militant black opposition to the new Constitution and particularly to the exclusion of blacks from the national political system. The highly negative international reaction to these developments was aggravated by the government's eventual response to this unrest, namely the detention under security legislation of UDF leaders and, later in the year, the detention of black trade union leaders who were involved in the organising of a mass stay-away from work in the Witwatersrand area in November.

This surge of international attention to South Africa's disturbed domestic situation was considerably strengthened by two dramatic events which by their nature were highly newsworthy and therefore received wide publicity. The first was the case of the six UDF leaders who sought asylum in the British Consulate in Durban in mid-September in order to avoid detention and publicise their cause. The case dragged on for several months and strained relations between South Africa and Britain.

The strain was considerably aggravated by the South African decision in October to retaliate by refusing to allow four South Africans to return to Britain to stand trial in a Coventry court on charges relating to attempts to break the British arms embargo against South Africa. This decision to retaliate for the British refusal to eject the "Durban Six" from the Consulate was taken in spite of a previous undertaking that the "Coventry Four" would return for trial, and it was widely criticised in Britain, as well as in South Africa. Without going into the rights and wrongs of South African and British actions in the related cases of the Durban Six and Coventry Four, one must conclude that the whole matter was badly handled and allowed to develop into a *cause célèbre*. This not only left a deep scar on British-South African relations, but also harmed the South African Government's international credibility at a critical time.

The second highly publicised event was the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu in November. The South African Government, of course, had no control over the consequences of this event, but it led to a sharply heightened international anti-apartheid campaign, particularly in the United States where Bishop Tutu was at the time of the award. International attention was suddenly focused on him and his strong criticism of South African discriminatory policies affecting blacks. This served, in particular, to fuel the disinvestment campaign in the United States (although the Bishop himself has not explicitly supported disin-

vestment at this stage), and it increased the domestic American pressure on the Reagan Administration's policy of constructive engagement.

Protests against this policy, organised by the American lobbying group, TransAfrica, began outside the South African Embassy in Washington in mid-November. They have continued on an almost daily basis ever since, with well over 500 demonstrators arrested by early February (although no one has been charged in court).

The support for punitive legislation against South Africa in the Congress also increased dramatically, and the President himself has had to become more intimately involved with the issue than ever before. He has not only made carefully-worded, but critical, statements on South African domestic policies, but he has had personal discussions with two South African black leaders, Bishop Tutu and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. All this has been happening in Washington against the background of a growing campaign in state and city governments across the United States for disinvestment measures to be adopted against American corporations doing business in South Africa.

South Africa is thus faced in early 1985 with a more intense and concerted international campaign than ever before, particularly in the United States. The campaign is focused mainly on the internal political system, especially the exclusion of black South Africans from the national decision-making process, and less attention is paid to wider developments in Southern Africa. This provides a stark contrast with the outlook a year ago, when the government was gaining international credit from the Nkomati Accord and from the apparent progress in negotiations on the inter-linked Namibian and Angolan issues, as well as from the signs of domestic reform.

There has undoubtedly been a reduction of tension and conflict between South Africa and its neighbours, and this should be recognised. But this positive product of Nkomati and of other diplomatic efforts, including the American policy of constructive engagement in the region, has been largely overshadowed by recent domestic developments and the international reaction to them. Moreover, further demonstrable progress in regional relationships has been prevented, in the first place, by the continued deterioration of the internal security situation in Mozambique. Determined and persistent diplomatic efforts by South Africa to bring an end to the violence through some form of political settlement between the MNR and the Frelimo Government have so far been of no avail.

DIALOGUE AND FREEHOLD RIGHTS

Without an improvement in the security situation, the potential fruits of the Nkomati Accord in the economic field cannot develop and be reaped. The continuation of the Accord itself is threatened as a result, and if it were to collapse, a return to the former confrontational relationship with Mozambique would be a serious setback for South Africa's regional policy.

Secondly, the promise of the Lusaka Agreement with Angola has not been fulfilled. The withdrawal of South African forces has taken very much longer than envisaged, and the momentum has been lost. But even when that step has been completed, further complex and intractable problems still remain to be resolved in the American-sponsored negotiations, before there can be any prospect of a settlement within Angola and independence for Namibia.

The other superpower also has a greater interest in these developments than in any other Southern African issue. The commitment of the Soviet Union to Angola and the defence of the MPLA Government has been much greater than its commitment to the government of Mozambique. It may have been prepared, because it had little choice, to accept a loss of influence in the latter case, with a corresponding increase, at least for the time being, in American and even South African influence. But Angola is the only country in Southern Africa where the Soviet Union has a sizeable military commitment, in regional terms, and it is not clear how it will move in future to protect its interests there.

Therefore, in spite of the expectations aroused by the agreements of early 1984 and the reduction of tension which has so far ensued, the outlook for Southern Africa still contains many imponderables. However, the public image of South Africa internationally, and even the attitudes of other governments, will inevitably be determined more by what happens *inside* the country than by any changes in regional relationships.

If there is to be an improvement in South Africa's international position and a reduction in the current external pressures, much will thus depend on the progress of reform and the degree to which this meets the aspirations of blacks in both the political and the economic spheres. Indications at the beginning of the current session of the new Parliament, particularly in the opening speech of the State President, are that the government is well aware of critical areas in which black aspirations cannot be ignored. There has, for instance, been the promise of an informal national "forum", where some form of dialogue on the political future can take place between

leaders from all sections of society. There has also been the promise, at last, of granting freehold rights to blacks in urban areas, as well as undertakings to review the contentious matters of influx control, forced removals, resettlement, mixed marriages and the racial clause of the Immorality Act.

In addition, the Group Areas Act is to be amended, at least as far as business districts are concerned. Some of these promises are still vague and need to be transformed into policy and legislation, but they are undoubtedly significant, as they deal with the basic features of the apartheid structure so painstakingly built up in past years. If these features are radically altered (and this still remains an "if"), the whole structure will not last for long.

INTERNAL PRESSURES

To what extent are these indications of a more radical approach to reform the result of external pressures? There is little doubt that, if reform does lead through an evolutionary process to a transformation of Southern African society, it will be due mainly to accommodations made to *internal* pressures – pressures that the government itself may often not foresee. Even now, there are signs of the governing National Party wriggling on the hook of its own constitutional changes, as it tries to meet the demands of its new partners in Parliament. These demands are bound to increase and some, at least, will have to be met if the new system is to work. But as important will be domestic pressures from outside the new parliamentary system, which can no longer be ignored. So, barring any unforeseen developments leading to massive external intervention, South Africa's political future will be determined substantially by its own people.

However, wider pressures from the region and internationally also have to be accommodated, because of the realities of South Africa's position in Southern Africa and in the world. It is not simply a question of being dictated to by the United States or other states, and then deciding whether to accept or resist such external demands. The internal and external pressures on the system are not divisible. The various pressures are inter-related, because South Africa is not isolated in a vacuum and able to divorce its own political and economic life from the life of the rest of the world. For instance, South Africa is highly dependent on international trade, and the government cannot therefore lightly dismiss the implications of the disinvestment campaign in the United States or of any other threats of economic measures.

PROTECTIVE POWER

Security factors also have to be taken into account when relations with the United States are considered. A co-operative relationship is not required only for economic reasons, or for psychological reassurance. South Africa may no longer be militarily dependent on any other country, but its security is nevertheless related to the protective power which the United States is able to offer, both in a general sense, as the Western superpower, and in regard to more specific threats facing South Africa. For instance, in the UN Security Council the United States, together with the United Kingdom, has used its veto power to prevent the adoption of mandatory economic and other measures against South Africa.

The one exception, which allowed the mandatory arms embargo to be adopted in November 1977, serves to demonstrate the importance of this protective power and the implications if the protection were removed. Moreover, within Southern Africa the American commitment in the region serves as the

strongest deterrent against more aggressive adventures by the Soviet Union which is unwilling to risk confrontation with the United States in this region. It would not be in South Africa's interests, therefore, to see the United States disengage itself from Southern Africa, economically or politically.

The critical intensity of the current international campaign on South Africa may not be sustained for more than a few months. There may again be a relative upswing in the country's international position during 1985 and 1986, if there is some progress in stabilising Mozambique, in the negotiations with Angola and on Namibia, as well as concrete evidence of further political reform through legislation in the new Parliament.

An improvement in the economic condition of the country will also make it easier to manage the domestic and regional problems more confidently. But neither the internal nor the external pressures will go away, and some of these pressures will have to be accommodated if the next downswing is not to be longer and deeper.

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SOUTH AFRICA

BARCLAY'S NATIONAL BANK CHAIRMAN DISCUSSES OPERATIONS

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[Interview with Sir Timothy Bevan, chairman of Barclay's Bank, by Hugh Murray]

[Text]

Tim Bevan is a regular visitor to South Africa – at least two weeks a year – because he is a director of Barclays National and “it is one helluva important investment to us.” His visits have the further purpose of keeping him abreast of political developments. He needs to be able to deal authoritatively with regular shareholder queries about the bank's investment in this country, particularly at the group's annual general meetings.

His involvement is more than passing. Sir Timothy was one of those present at the March meeting at Leeds Castle, where leading South African, American and European businessmen met the Philadelphian firebrand, Leon Sullivan, to discuss critical corporate advances in SA's industrial relations.

An articulate, urbane Briton with a considerable sense of humour, Sir Timothy was interviewed by Hugh Murray.

Murray: How do you read the current South African situation?

Bevan: There must be a great improvement in the situation in that the government for the first time is showing signs of flexibility which it certainly hasn't shown before. If one takes something like the Constitution, I would have thought it was a watershed. It seems to an outsider that the Constitution is rather like a camel – a horse designed by a committee. I wouldn't have thought it is actually a very good one – but presumably it has meant that the National Party has depended for the first time on the

English-speaking vote. In this sense it represents a watershed.

Then, the fact that the President has been abroad in Europe and has actually talked and heard first hand what people think is very important. I think there are signs of the desirability of South Africa explaining herself abroad much more. The South African Ambassador in London, Mr Denis Worrall, is extremely good news. He is a highly intelligent, highly articulate man who can actually explain a lot of the difficulties that are being faced by South Africa much more intelligently.

Although I would agree that the current difficulties in the townships must be a worrying factor, if one goes a stage back the fact that the government is worried, and

is showing itself more open to change, is a very good thing. The average South African is much more conscious of world opinion. This must be good. South Africa tends to regard itself as being more harshly judged by the rest of the world than is fair, just or reasonable. I suppose that is because it is also regarded as basically a good country. This, again, sounds derogatory but is not meant to be, if you take a place like Chile. You almost expect the Chileans to behave badly. You don't expect South Africans to do so.

Murray: When Mrs Thatcher justified her meeting with our Prime Minister she, in the defensive mode she found herself, said, "Well, we also talk to the Soviet Union." To any South African that is an offensive remark. Yet the common perception, which is very important, is that we are in that sort of category.

Bevan: I would put it down as a political exaggeration. I think it makes our point: how can one not talk to a friendly country when you talk to one which is apparently unfriendly? But it would be wrong to read into that any kind of correlation between the Soviet Union and South Africa. This is clearly ridiculous.

Murray: Many South Africans, who may be hypersensitive at this stage, took the remark at face value.

Bevan: It was a bit of a political hyperbole. You are probably right that South Africans are hypersensitive. There is a very curious side to this because Sir Michael Edwardes, who is regarded very widely as being the saviour of British Leyland and a great man, is a South African. There has never been a hint of criticism against him or the fact that he is a South African.

Murray: South African businessmen rightly plead for international support against foreign disinvestment. Wouldn't it do some good for South Africa to use its own capital – and lots of it – to invest abroad? Wouldn't it help if government relaxed exchange control and allowed big companies to invest a percentage of their annual turnover abroad – particularly the institutions?

Bevan: I just don't know enough about the economics of the situation. I would have thought it would be difficult to have a completely free foreign exchange market given the large component of gold. I suppose it is arguable that the UK was only able to abolish exchange control because of North Sea oil. If we had a situation where North Sea oil varied from say, five to 50 dollars a barrel, it would make the management of the economy exceptionally difficult. So I would have thought those enormous fluctuations in the gold price are a very special factor.

I suppose, too, there are signs of it happening. By this I mean that the purchase

of Bibby by Barlows was a step in the right direction. But what is extremely important is that the disinvestment lobby does not gather strength.

Justifying the argument for or against disinvestment sounds very much like interference in the affairs of another nation. It would annoy me if it was said in America that American investment in England helped the Americans control the policy of the UK Government. One would feel like raising two fingers at them. That is, in a sense, the kind of case we are expected to make and is the sort I think we have to be careful about. We can provide fine examples of good employment and other things which must be helpful in the long run. That is perhaps the right approach.

Murray: I get the impression that Barclays as an institution favours risk investment of the kind that is going to bolster the small business sector – seen by many people as the only long-range answer to our economic ills.

Bevan: I know there is a close liaison between the bank in South Africa and the clearing bank in the UK, which is going for that small business sector. Clearly this is absolutely critical and there are various schemes in SA which are designed to promote just that, including the black areas. So I think your impression is correct.

Murray: The disinvestment lobby has been largely limited, in a formal sense, to activities in the United States. Barclays has for quite a long time, however, had to live with an element of demonstration at its annual meetings together with protests on a fairly low key, but nonetheless regular basis. How do you see Britain's trade and financial links with South Africa continuing?

Bevan: They are very important. Our export trade from the UK to South Africa is quite a significant element in employment, certainly with our unemployment levels. We have been dealing with a measure of "aggro" and have been trying to be low key about it, calmly letting the brickbats fly over our shoulders. This has an internal disadvantage. Patiently letting the brickbats fly can affect the morale of your own staff in the end. This is why, at our last annual general meeting, I made

the case for investment.

It seems to me as an observer that most of those who are concerned and are pro-disinvestment don't actually stand to lose personally if disinvestment occurs. It is much easier to say suffering is a good thing if it isn't you who will suffer.

Murray: In domestic Barclays terms do you find the pressures that are brought to bear in relation to your involvement with this part of the world embarrassing or difficult?

Bevan: They are difficult and a bit tedious but I look at the thing in reverse – that I am very proud of the bank's record in South Africa. I think it has done a great deal. If you take a simple example like the number of black staff that serve in this bank compared to some of the others, we are helping to create a black middle class which can only benefit South Africa. The bank's employment practice is generally enlightened and most of the Barclays staff would share my view.

Murray: What do you see as the main role of the financial institutions – particularly banks – in a country like South Africa?

Bevan: A bank is always the mirror of the society it serves. Very generally, it must try to conduct itself as a proper, prudent organisation. It has to oil the wheels of commerce and promote it. I don't think it is the job of the bank to make an enormous number of risk investments *per se*. The continental banks' large holdings in industrial companies are a result of the Thirties and they would rather be without them. What we can do is to try to facilitate the development of business. This is indirectly in our own interest as small acorns grow into big oak trees and we can play a useful role in this.

Murray: I have asked this particularly against the background of the way the American banks have burned their fingers in Third World Countries. Some categorise SA as part of the Third World, others say it is part of the sophisticated, industrialised West. Where is South Africa in your view?

Bevan: I think there is no classification. To put South Africa among the LDCs is

ludicrous. The reason Americans burned their fingers there was that they went about like crazy looking for business abroad because of restrictions at home. They let the marketeers get too far ahead of the bankers with the consequences following like night follows day.

I don't think you can draw any kind of parallel with South Africa because it is so totally different. For example, when Brazil made its agreement with IMF a couple of years ago, it had to reduce inflation from 200 per cent to 75 per cent. To put South Africa in that camp is clearly ludicrous. Equally, it is a country that depends on commodities. I would have thought Australia would be a much better analogy.

Murray: There is, however, an inextricable trade link that SA has with the SADCC countries up north. For example, Mozambican currency is not even international tender in the accepted sense of the word, yet many experts see our long-term economic future integrated with the rest of the region. Is there not value in creating a currency area dominated by the rand?

Bevan: If you're saying you have to be linked to the rand to show you're respectable, I would have thought the argument was false. People can form an impression of the credit worthiness of a country. It doesn't have to be done through that sort of link. I can see it would be extremely convenient if the Mozambique currency was linked with the rand, because the Mozambican economy in a sense would be controlled from Pretoria.

Clearly that would make it a more stable proposition and therefore easier for a bank. However, if the Mozambican Government adopted the right policies, that argument would be invalid.

Murray: You have other investments in Southern Africa – Zambia, for example. It appears you enjoy very good relations with that part of the world.

Bevan: Yes. I think we were lucky because we have been around in Africa for a long time. After a while an institution instinc-

tively understands what is going on and how to deal with it. On the whole the bank has done much better in black Africa for longer than a lot of us thought was possible.

Murray: Yet many of these countries are fundamentally bankrupt in the national sense. What benefit is there for big institutions like Barclays doing business in these territories?

Bevan: There is a great difference between going in somewhere *ab initio* and continuing where you are. A lot of things we do wouldn't be done if we were starting from scratch. But the fact is that you have operations there, you have a responsibility to the community. Things ebb and flow. Sometimes you get an ebb tide, which is later balanced by the flood tide. Not a very good example I suppose would be Uganda which was a good thing, a bad thing under Idi Amin, and now a better thing.

Murray: Does a bank with a 250-year history like Barclays take a long view on most things?

Bevan: No, I don't think we do. Moreover, anyone who takes a short-term view of anything is a fool. You always have to take a medium-term view. Few institutions can afford to take a long-term view because you must have a return for shareholders. Also, I am not sure that the accumulated experience that you get really goes on for more than one generation. A minor example: About six months ago Mrs Thatcher said to me that she presumed the banks would never again make fools of themselves over property. I said I thought they would, in about 20 years' time. She asked me why. I replied that anyone who had been an executive would have gone by then.

Other people would come in thinking that they knew the lot and would make exactly the same mistakes. So I don't think that history necessarily provides wisdom.

Murray: How does your international management arm regard South Africa in the sense of its right to run its own affairs?

Bevan: I see it perfectly simply. If any institution has the word Barclays with its name we have a large measure of responsibility. If Barclays Bank in Australia gets into trouble say (not that it will), we would

have to stand by it. So in a sense our credibility is on the line in South Africa. But we must let Barclays National do its own thing. Our job is limited to seeing it does that prudently and sensibly and keeps the Barclays name in good esteem.

We have to keep communications between the group as good as possible, firstly so that the general Barclays spirit – if you can call it that – stays the same and secondly to stop people from reinventing the wheel. Clearly you can learn a great deal when institutions with similar problems do the same things. We are currently launching a customer service campaign in the clearing bank in the UK. It so happens that the SA bank is slightly more advanced in that. But any attempt to run Barclays National from abroad would be wrong.

I think it is absolutely right and proper that Barclays National is run by South Africans for South Africans.

Murray: The bank clearly has lost a lot of the "foreign bank" feeling. There was a time when the government was very concerned as regards foreign control. It was a sensitive issue. Is there any thought in the back of the Barclays corporate mind that perhaps this is not the kind of operation in which it should, or need have, a majority stake?

Bevan: If you don't have a majority stake, you have to rule out the name Barclays.

If Barclays National did not have the name Barclays in it I think the bank would lose a great deal of its efficiency. The Barclays group is represented in 84 countries throughout the world and this gives it a lot of its synergy. As soon as you remove this it would lose a very great deal. Having said that, however, the bank must be as South African as possible. We have to pursue the identity of the country in which we operate.

Murray: The one thing that has been concerning South African businessmen is the question of the country's appalling interest rate structure. As somebody who is dealing across a wide spectrum of interest rates, how do you see the situation?

Bevan: Well, I see it very simply because I am very opposed to high interest rates. Some people say that high interest rates are good for banks. Up to a certain point this must be true but actually what they do is

slow down economic activity and usually they are a reflection of the fact that monetary policy has been asked to bear too big a burden which fiscal policy hasn't. It seems to me that a 25 per cent interest rate against a 12 per cent inflation rate must have a very depressing effect on the economy.

Murray: What is the effect of high interest rates on business, particularly small business, which is thought to be so crucial to the development of this country?

Bevan: It makes the fulfilment of everything the government wants to do that much harder.

There is only one redeeming factor. South Africa is unique in that the economy is controlled by a comparatively small number of very large institutions which give a stability to the South African scene that is unique.

Those institutions have a great responsibility to behave in a socially responsible manner and I would think they do just that.

CSO: 3400/285

SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT ANXIOUS TO AVOID LINK WITH RENAMO

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 18 May 85 p 8

[Article by David Braun]

[Text] CAPE TOWN — That the Government is now going to extraordinary lengths to avoid the suspicion of contact and support for the Mozambique rebel movement MNR is an indication of the bizarre relationship South Africa has with its neighbours.

It also shows that when it comes to double standards South Africa is itself an accomplished grandmaster of the art of this kind of diplomacy.

This week, in answer to questions in Parliament, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, revealed that possible supporters of the Mozambique National Resistance were being sacked from the Defence Force or transferred away from the Mozambique border.

He confirmed that individuals in the SADF could be sympathetic to the rebels who were trying to topple the Government of President Samora Machel.

General Malan said that the Government's standpoint was that no support whatsoever be given to the MNR since the signing of the Nkomati Accord in March last year.

A constant stream of accusations by Mozambique that either the South African Government or elements in South Africa continued to assist the MNR apparently prompted the SADF to probe for any MNR sympathisers within its ranks.

As a result of this inquiry, General Malan said this week, the assurance could be given that no evidence could be found of any direct or indirect support by the Defence Force to the MNR since the signing of the accord.

"However, as a result of the re-organisation of certain units it will be possible to transfer a number of Portuguese-speaking members to another station to prevent any suspicion of contact with Mozambique," General Malan said.

OWN ADMISSION

The Government found itself in this delicate position this week because it did, by its own admission, train and support the MNR prior to the Nkomati Accord. This happened in spite of its long-standing foreign policy that it does not interfere in the domestic affairs of another country.

The non-interference in a sovereign state's internal affairs is actually an international principle enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations (as South Africa has so often pointed out).

One has only to consider the numerous examples of super power interference in the affairs of countries around the globe to appreciate that this principle of sovereignty is, of course, flagrantly violated.

It would seem that only the strongest countries can prevent foreign powers from mixing in their domestic matters.

South Africa was furious when the world started condemning its domestic racial policies, arguing that what happened within its borders was of concern only to its own people and that the world had no right to interfere.

The South African Government has also frequently been at pains to refrain from criticising the domestic policies of other countries, demanding the same attitude and respect for its own sovereignty in return.

It was, therefore, surprising to hear Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha admit last month that there was "naturally" a time when South Africa had aided the MNR and that it would do so again in similar circumstances.

CREDIBILITY

Mr Botha justified South Africa's aid to the rebel group in the past by saying that Mozambique had become "the chief canal of ANC terrorists".

His forceful admission, alas, lends a certain credibility to the reports that the MNR got a massive supply drop from Pretoria around the time of the signing of the Nkomati Accord last year.

It also tends to make one more cynical about South Africa's role in the abortive coup on the Seychelles a few years ago.

Pragmatists may argue that this is how *realpolitik* is conducted in the world. In order to survive you must destroy your foes, they would say.

Others would say that it destroys the remnants of South Africa's case that its internal politics are exclusively its own affairs. An irony for South Africa is that having boosted the civil war in Mozambique by meddling in that country's affairs, it now finds it is unable to stop the fighting.

The working relationship being built with its Marxist neighbour is in jeopardy because of the deteriorating security situation in Mozambique.

A grim prospect for the region is massive Cuban or Soviet intervention.

Such a development could escalate the cycle of violence to the point that the entire region is plunged into a conflagration that, as in Lebanon and Northern Ireland, may continue for a very long time.

27 June 1985

SOUTH AFRICA

NIC EXECUTIVE MEMBER EXAMINES POSSIBILITIES OF RECONCILIATION

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 19 May 85 p 28

[Article by H M Coovadia]

[Text]

IN THE quest for peace, what steps should be taken by South Africans who stand bristling with hostility on opposite banks of a great divide?

Those who seek freedom and an end to conflict watch with dismay as the State ensnares itself further in the tangled web of racism which conspires to turn innocence into guilt, misrepresent opposition as crime, erode the rand — which makes food, shelter and clothing attainable — fray the tolerance of ordinary people and drive democrats to the edge of despair.

Before the first hesitant moves to bridge this gulf can be taken, there needs to be a clear understanding of the causes of the current unrest.

At the centre of all the death and destruction is the baneful influence of the doctrine of apartheid, which is far too gross and much too malignant to be disguised by the cosmetic polish of freehold rights for urban blacks, acceptance of their permanent position in the metropolitan areas of this country, a moratorium on forced removals and the condoning of marriage and sex between whites and people of colour.

The fundamental policy of President Botha and his party has the effect of deepening the divisions rather than healing the rift between the races.

These changes, which are said to require the exercise of significant political effort by the National Party, produce insignificant effects on the majority of the black population.

This government cannot solve their problems.

Apartheid is not only monstrous and evil, but wasteful as well. It is the cause of structural contradictions in the economy which aggravate inflation and massive unemployment.

Basic rights become the focus of a desperate struggle — for food, homes-at-affordable-rents and employment.

Attempts at extricating their families from this vicious trap are frustrated by inferior education and poor training for their children.

The residential environment of black areas is bleak and unfulfilling.

The arid landscape of black existence is rooted in the collapse of family life and social structures which leads to community upheaval and terror in the townships.

The need to determine their own destinies is thwarted by a system which compounds the denial of political rights with the imposition of false leaders.

Therefore any prelude to peace must self-evidently require a serious attempt by the Government to remove the factors responsible for such severe social and political dislocations; and no matter how un-

imaginably complicated the remedies are made out to be by the apologists of apartheid, the answer is simply an elimination of race discrimination and exploitation.

Pragmatism in this context must not be used as an escape from harsh reality and a pallid alternative to radical solutions which demand the prodigious energy, sensitivity and creativity of all South Africans.

Before an engagement for peace can take place, the State needs to give a lead by addressing the real causes of unrest.

It must stop being a prisoner of its own propaganda by first admitting its responsibilities for the nadir that has been reached in the life of this nation.

It is not the UDF, nor the NIC, RMD or TIC, not the progressive trade unions, not Azapo or Cosas, not the ANC nor the SACP, but this

government which must bear the burden of liability.

In the final analysis it is the State's use of repressive machinery — the police, the Defence Force, the Security Branch — which maintains apartheid.

It must recognise that in its obsession to emulate so-

called Western norms it has built a country which emphasises form rather than content.

So it is that we have a constitution and government without democracy, schools without education, hospitals without health, law without justice, wealth without equity, defence without security and police without protection.

They have lurched from blind arrogance to blunder to mismanagement. It is time to return the country to the people.

Accordingly, as a prelude to any engagement between the State and extra-parliamentary organisations of the people (which has as its express purpose the establishment of democracy) the following steps have to be undertaken by President Botha and the National Party:

- An immediate end to the damaging police presence in black townships; severe restrictions on the political role of the SAP; an impartial inquiry into deaths in detention and appropriate punishment for the guilty; disbanding Koevoet and the Security Branch.

- Withdrawal of the SA Defence Force from black townships and an immediate end to police activity by them.

- Scrapping harsh and unjust "security laws" which violate fundamental freedoms. Release of all political, community and trade-union activists arrested under these laws.

- Release of all political prisoners, return of exiles, unbanning of banned organisations and individuals,

lifting all restriction on freedom of speech and assembly.

- Repeal of all laws pertaining to the migratory labour system and forced removals, including pass laws.

- Recognition of the

rights of workers to organise freely in trade unions, to bargain collectively and to strike without penalty;

- Dissolution of the tri-cameral system, community councils and other bodies created under the Black Local Authorities Act and the Bantustan system, and scrapping the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts and Group Areas Acts.

There has been a sustained campaign to imply that the UDF is a violent organisation and a front for the ANC and the SACP.

The epidemic of violence in this country is the result of the brutality of racial oppression. If 17-million blacks have been arrested for pass laws, if 3.5-million have been forcibly removed, if men die in detention, if they rule with the sword is it surprising some take to violence?

We do not glorify, romanticise or oversimplify violence; it is a reality. Violence will always be used by some to lance the abscesses of those societies where few means exist to prevent or treat contagion.

If the Government creates democratic conditions, violence will diminish, if not disappear.

Despite all this, we in the UDF, NIC and all our affiliates are committed to peaceful change.

In fact, we bear the mantle of all those organisations which have peacefully resisted and confronted apartheid throughout our history.

In the face of extreme provocation, our people have challenged racial oppression non-violently, through worker and industrial trade unions, in the Passive Resistance Campaign against the forerunner of the Group

Areas Act in 1946, in the Defiance Campaign against the unjust laws, in numerous community struggles during the late '70s and '80s, and in the anti-SAIC and

anti-Constitution campaigns of the '80s.

We in the Congress have mobilised people of all persuasions to present an alternative formula to apartheid and a prescription for peace in the Freedom Charter.

We said 30 years ago that we were not racists, as we spoke for "the people of South Africa both black and white" — and we declared our aims when we said "there shall be peace and friendship".

Now we stand once again accused of violence, because, although we have decided for peace, we do not condemn the armed struggle conducted by the ANC.

This is the illogic which says that a vegetarian who does not revile non-vegetarianism is himself a flesh-eater.

This is the absurd projection of the National Party, which sees life only at its polarised and extreme edges, ignoring the middle ground.

They do not appreciate that in a democracy there are gentle nuances between "yes" and "no" and infinite shades of grey between black and white.

We recognise that the ANC, for most of its life, used peaceful methods for change and took up armed struggle when nearly all avenues of non-violent struggle became blocked by white intransigence.

What steps have we taken for peace so far? It is best if I let some close observers of the NIC, UDF and its affiliates speak for us:

We have worked "to unite, mobilise and politicise the masses; to propagate the unconditional release of all political prisoners and revolutionary leaders in jails inside

the Republic; to popularise the Freedom Charter; to campaign for the ending of bannings, banishments, detentions and all ... repressive legislation, and finally the return of all exiles, all culminating in a National Convention for the creation of a ... true, nonracial, democratic society, where all people, including their revolutionary leaders in exile and in prison, can have a conference to work on a new constitution".

Admirable, non-violent, peaceful, all part of the democratic process, you say? We agree! Yet these are the actual words from the indictment of the NIC, UDF 16 on charges of treason!

No bombs, limpet-mines, sabotage or AK47s, but "uniting, mobilising, politicising ...". This is the perversion of politics.

The minimum path to engagement between opposing South Africans lies in a withdrawal by the State from such absurdities and in establishing meaningful conditions for opposition.

If it fails to do so, it will be a tragic recurrence of intolerance, a narrowing of the terrain for non-violent resistance and an unstoppable descent into disorder and bloodletting.

SOUTH AFRICA

ANC SIGNALS MAJOR SHIFT IN TACTICS

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 22 May 85 p 2

[Text]

The ANC, which is soon to hold its first full congress in 16 years, has signalled a major shift in tactics. Faced with an effective severing of its supply-lines from the north and a sustained escalation of internal black resistance, the ANC is shifting its energy and resources from the 25-year-old armed struggle to promoting general insurrection and an Iranian-style popular uprising. Since the signing of the Nkomati accord between South Africa and Mozambique in March last year the ANC has been under pressure to review its strategy. Early this year the ANC leadership called for the townships to be rendered "ungovernable" and turned into no-go areas or "liberated zones".

Flushed by the success of this strategy in the past four months, the ANC executive committee issued a further statement at the end of last month in which it spoke of the "astonishing speed" of events inside the country, preparing the way for a "revolutionary leap" towards popular power.

The statement called for:-

- workers to work towards a "long-lasting" work stoppage.
- black communities to replace "stooge councils" with people's communities.
- youth crime prevention units to curb "anti-social elements" in the townships.
- blacks participating in government platforms to resign.
- black policemen and soldiers to refuse to carry out orders and "secretly turn their guns against their masters".
- sympathetic whites to refuse national service and join the liberation struggle.

The only reference to armed struggle was a call on *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, the ANC's military wing - to intensify its struggle and concentrate its action against defence and police targets and to strengthen the "internal political revolutionary bases." Collectively the statement represents a dramatic swing away from the armed struggle and towards a popular uprising through civil disobedience, revolutionary tactics and industrial action - a policy envisaged by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Mozambique's President Samora Machel after Nkomati. In the new strategy the indiscriminate killing of civilians is not on the agenda, though black collaborators would continue to be the targets of mob violence until mass resignations were achieved.

After debate about the conflict between advocating disinvestment and economic sanctions against South Africa on the one hand and a worker-led revolution on the other, the ANC has finally decided strongly to re-affirm its advocacy of sanctions

and the total isolation of the South African economy. The prospect of contacts between leading South Africa businessmen and the ANC leadership - something progressive businessmen such as Premier Milling's Tony Bloom and others have been advocating - is thus implicitly rejected for the time being.

With the situation inside South Africa providing a rallying point for its membership, potentially divisive decisions about the admission of whites to the ANC executive and what to do about members such as Dennis Goldberg who have agreed to renounce violence, are not expected to be so difficult.

Another significant development in the anti-apartheid ranks is the "creeping truce" between the *United Democratic Front*, a non-violent anti-apartheid front loosely aligned with the ANC, and the *Azanian Peoples Organisation* (Azapo), an offshoot of black consciousness, which advocates a more radical vision of a socialist Azania. Bishop Tutu has been instrumental in bringing the two groups together following infighting which has led to a number of deaths. Attempts to include Chief Buthelezi's *Inkatha* organisation in the black unity talks have been less successful.

SOUTH AFRICA

NEW URBANIZATION PLAN LAID BEFORE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 24 May 85 p 5

[Text]

Organised commerce and the Urban Foundation yesterday called for the removal of influx control and proposed that a new and positive urbanisation strategy be negotiated between the State, the private sector and a broad spectrum of black leadership.

The Foundation, Asso-com, the SA Federated Chamber of Industries and the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce and Industry were giving evidence in Johannesburg before the President's Council com-

mittee for constitutional affairs. The committee is compiling a report on a new urbanisation strategy with specific reference to blacks.

PRESSURES

The evidence said the pressures driving the urbanisation process, strengthened by the failure of rural areas to create adequate food and jobs, were impossible to stop.

Official attempts to halt migration to the cities had not worked elsewhere in the capital-

ist world. In South Africa, the attempts had created considerable human hardship and given rise to legitimate grievances and international condemnation.

The organisations proposed a new approach to urbanisation, which would include:

● A vigorous, positive urban development policy aimed at improving the life of people already living in urban areas and designed to accommodate future population growth.

● An economically sound decentralisation policy.

● A regional economic development programme focussing on rural development.

● The removal of influx control.

"Experience throughout the world indicates that urbanisation is closely linked with economic growth and releases potential within the cities that make them able to absorb many more migrants than was originally imagined," the evidence said.

27 June 1985

SOUTH AFRICA

COLORED COMMITTEES' WIDER POWERS EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 23 May 85 p 13

[Article by Frans Esterhuyse]

[Text] CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet's decision to grant management committees wider executive powers is regarded by some politicians as a major concession to meet demands of coloured leaders for effective participation in local government. Last night's announcement by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, that such powers are to be granted came after repeated demands in the House of Representatives for effective power-sharing at local government level. On several occasions during the present session of Parliament coloured politicians warned that unless the Government opened the way for effective coloured participation in local government, there would be increasing instability and unrest in coloured areas. One of the most serious warnings on these lines was given by Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government and Housing in the House of

Representatives. He told the House earlier this year that under the present system local authorities were turning middle-of-the-road people into radicals. Mr Curry warned that the attitudes of some white local authorities resisting coloured participation in decision-making would wreck the country. "Under such conditions," he said, "the left-wing radicals in the coloured community would say that the white community only understood violence, not negotiation politics, not the process of talking across the conference table, not the process of talking in a committee of councils, not the process of good relationships." It was Mr Curry who took the lead in bringing these urgent problems to the attention of the Government. As chairman of a parliamentary select committee which investigated aspects of housing in the coloured community, he pressed for a system under which

coloured people would have an effective say in decision-making at local government level.

His committee, which reported to Parliament earlier this week recommended that management, local affairs and consultative committees be granted definite and wider executive powers and that these powers be binding and mandatory. These are the proposals now accepted by the Government.

Mr Heunis, announcing this in the House of Representatives yesterday, said: "I find myself in full agreement with these recommendations.

"I therefore wish to announce that the Cabinet decided to agree to these proposals."

Behind Mr Curry's pleas for a better deal for coloured people in local government were stories of frustration and despair among coloured communities in towns and cities throughout South Africa.

In debates in the House of Representatives there have been floods of complaints about attitudes of certain white

local authorities who refused to listen to requests or recommendations from coloured management committees.

Labour Party MP Mr Desmond Lockey told of an incident in his home town, Vryburg, where there was a sports stadium with eight rugby fields and 18 tennis courts 300 m from his house.

"There are over 400 active sportsmen in that particular community," he said.

"We have never had sports facilities."

He then told of his attempts to seek better facilities for the local coloured community.

Mr Lockey said he went to the local authority and asked whether it would not be possible to share the facilities, even if the coloured community had to pay a fee.

The local authority referred him to the MPC, although the coloured people were not represented in the Provincial Council.

Mr Lockey then had talks with the MPC in Vryburg and after a few weeks he received a letter saying: "I think you should settle

the matter with your own Minister, since this constitutes own affairs."

Said Mr Lockey: "Own affairs has just become another word the whites in this country can use to continue with apartheid and what is more they want to be in charge of housing in our communities as well." Numerous other incidents on such lines were described by coloured MPs.

In some cases white local authorities were reported even to have refused to talk to local coloured leaders.

In other cases municipalities were said to have joked with one another about what they did for coloured housing.

And coloured people were said to be living in matchboxes provided by white local authorities.

One of the main complaints was that white local authorities fixed rents for coloured houses which the people could not afford.

The rents were determined without consultation with the coloured communities, and those who failed to pay were threatened with eviction.

SOUTH AFRICA

WHITE FEARS ALLAYED BY COLORED MINISTER

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 24 May 85 p 4

[Text]

PARLIAMENT — The Minister of the Budget in the House of Representatives, Mr Andrew Julies, has given an assurance that no person in the coloured "own affairs" administration need fear any form of discrimination on the grounds of race or colour.

He said the rights of white officials would be protected and they need not fear for their careers ahead.

Coloured people in the service of the State and particularly those in the coloured affairs administration could be assured that "everything possible will be done to satisfy their own aspirations towards a rewarding career".

Speaking in the Own Affairs budget debate, Mr Julies said he was aware of "a measure of disquiet" in the ranks of officials.

There were whites in the administration who felt threatened because they believed their rightful interests would not be seen to under a "coloured" set-up.

Some coloured officials, on the other hand, had high expectations and were becoming impatient.

Mr Julies said he wished to dispel this uneasiness. It was his desire to contribute to the creation of a happy and efficient public service.

The accepted policy was that "own affairs" administrations should ideally be manned by per-

sons of the population group served by the administration concerned.

It had therefore been written into the new personnel policy of the administration of the House of Representatives that coloured persons should get preference in appointments, promotions and placements.

"But not preference at any price, not preference because of the colour of a man's skin, and not preference if it means a lowering of standards," Mr Julies added.

"We cannot ignore the principles of merit and efficiency if we wish to create and develop a public service which will best serve our people."

CSO: 3400/365

27 June 1985

SOUTH AFRICA

REGIONAL TOWNS FOR FAMILIES OF BLACK CITY WORKERS PROPOSED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 24 May 85 p 5

[Text]

Large regional towns should be created to house the families of blacks living and working in cities, Mr John Knoetze, chairman of the West Rand Development Board, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He was giving evidence to the President Council's Constitutional Committee, which is compiling a report on a new urbanisation strategy — with specific reference to blacks.

Mr Knoetze said half the expected nine million blacks who will become urbanised by the year 2000

could be accommodated in cities, but regional towns should be developed to cater for the rest.

He said many towns had large black populations and facilities which could be improved. Building towns created many job opportunities, and some blacks working in cities could find jobs in the new towns and live with their families.

Mr Knoetze said many black men preferred to live in hostels on their own — and send money back to their families, rather than live with them.

"Blacks from independent states should be accepted as guest workers into the cities and have passports."

Mr Dries Niemandt, chairman of the East Rand Development Board, said improved orderly movement of blacks could be achieved if urbanisation happened according to the supply of jobs and housing.

"People from the homelands should be allowed to work in South Africa, but under no circumstances should they be allowed to bring their families with

them. If they did so it would lead to chaos and unemployment."

Existing urbanised blacks should not be forced out of cities by the masses from outside.

Housing should be provided by employers and not the Government, said Mr Niemandt.

Many urban blacks wanted hostel-dwellers in their townships because they helped pay for local amenities. "Most hostel-dwellers don't want housing in the townships with their families."

SOUTH AFRICA

MIXED WORSHIP DILEMMA OF AFRIKAANS CHURCHES

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 19 May 85 p 4

[Article by Hans Pienaar]

[Text] **CONSERVATIVES** in Afrikaans churches — who still flourish at grass roots, congregational level — are intent on dragging their feet over the question of mixed marriages.

While the reformist movement in the churches has received great impetus from the imminent scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act by the Government, reform will continue to be a slow process bogged down by resistance.

This is the view of clergymen and theologians after the latest round of defiant statements by far-right ministers on mixed marriages and mixed worship.

Several ministers declared that they would refuse in principle to marry mixed couples, and in conservative Pietersburg, a minister warned from the pulpit that services would be cancelled if black visitors refused to leave when asked to do so.

The dilemma of the Afrikaans churches — caught between increasing pressure from daughter churches and within its own ranks for reform, and the almost sacrosanct autonomy of local church councils — is preparing the way for probably the most heated Nederduitse Gereformeerde General Synod yet in 1986.

And the Government is not making it easier by creating new moral questions.

The scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act — which is all but fact — has transformed

the hypothetical morality of the past to a simple practical question: will individual ministers marry mixed couples or not?

Obstacles

"My estimate is that the majority of NG ministers will not refuse to wed mixed couples — if they comply with the same requirements as white couples," says Dr Willem Nicol, NG minister from Pretoria and one of the most vocal in reformist ranks.

The Rev Tappies Moller, Moderator of the Western Cape Synod of the NG, agrees.

Dr Nicol expects the 1982 Synod that mixed marriages were undesirable to be scrapped, but this would hardly affect the pressure, especially from the NG Sendingkerk (for coloureds).

The Sendingkerk has been giving "pastoral confirmation" — which stopped short of the actual filling out of marriage certificates — to several mixed couples since 1983 after its General Synod had advised ministers on this course.

Likewise mixed worship, hotly debated in white congregations, is "no longer the issue" in the Sendingkerk, according to its Secretary, Dr A J C Erwee from Paarl.

For the past three years mixed worship has been common in many NGK congregations in the Western Cape.

The demand now is for "open membership" of all congregations in the NG family of churches — with the ultimate aim of unity.

Open membership has been accepted in principle by the NGK General Synod, but a web of procedural obstacles were drawn up to scuttle any attempted enrolment by blacks or coloureds.

Ambiguous

An investigation would have to be done first to determine whether a candidate "could not be accommodated" better in one of the ethnic churches; the regional council of congregations ("Ring") would have to be consulted

and the possibility that the candidate's membership would be "disruptive" to the congregation concerned would have to be disproved.

Fear of a rift in the NGK was the main motivation behind this strategy, which left the issue to be dealt with at local level and upheld the

jealously guarded autonomy of church councils.

The same strategy has led to the doubly ambiguous ruling that no bona fide visitors could be refused participation in an NGK service, but that it would be left to church councils to decide.

Professor Johan Heyns, Moderator of the Northern Transvaal Synod, says the ruling means that nobody should be refused, and that church councils actually have to decide only how visitors should be accommodated.

Amok

But many ministers believe the ruling means that the councils have the last say on admission to services — like the Rev Cassie Carstens of the Pietersburg North congregation who warned last Sunday that services would be terminated if blacks refused to leave.

Apart from the possible deliberate misinterpretation of the ruling, what might be more disconcerting for the NG reformists are the remarks of a minister of the Pietersburg congregation, which hosted four black students two Sundays ago.

While he believes that "church councils" should not overreact, he agrees with Mr Carstens that the possibility exists that blacks would try to "run amok" and "demonstrate" and that church councils should decide on the course of action when groups of blacks arrive.

There is no way of knowing how representative this attitude is, but it does not seem to take account of the "great desire" among blacks to worship with whites and "establish contact and understanding" as the Rev G H Crause of the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa says.

Joint

His church, the Sendingkerk and the Reformed Church of Africa (for Indians) have regular services together, arranged by a joint committee.

Initially the services were held with a white congregation in Pretoria, but later in Eersterus and Mamelodi outside Pretoria for practical reasons and because the whites lost interest.

Mixed services attended by white congregations do take place on Ascension Day and Whitsun.

It is clear, however, that many obstacles still remain in the way of reconciliation between the largest Afrikaans church and its daughter churches.

SOUTH AFRICA

SECRET BODY CONTROLS STELLENBOSCH CAMPUS NEWSPAPER POLITICS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 25 May 85 p 26

[Text] Cape Town--Claims that the secret, Broederbond-controlled organisation, the Ruiterwag, manipulates student affairs at Stellenbosch University to further its aims are contained in the latest issue of the campus newspaper, Die Matie.

In a front-page report the newspaper names alleged members of the exclusively male organisation--including six lecturers and several student leaders.

Students named include serving members of the Students' Representative Council (SRC), the Student Parliament (SP), the National Party's student branch, other student organisations and residence house committees.

Of the lecturers named, two are residence wardens.

Basing its disclosures on information from an unnamed Ruiterwag member, who "decided to break his oath of secrecy because he can no longer reconcile the aims of the organisation with his Christian convictions", Die Matie backs its claims with references to minutes of Ruiterwag meetings on campus.

According to the report the "10 or 11" Ruiterwag cells on campus called Watchposts (Wagposte) are each headed by a Chief Guard (Hoofwag)--"usually a lecturer who is also a member of the Broederbond".

Each Watchpost has a student chairman, who together form a central committee.

Annual meetings of Watchposts are usually addressed by "a lecturer or another senior Broederbonder".

Minutes showed that the Ruiterwag was "regularly used" to push specific people into leadership positions and to manipulate student affairs.

It also appeared that the Ruiterwag provided financial aid to front organisations, including the Voortrekkers (created to counter the Boy Scout movement) and for SRC elections.

"The Ruiterwag's most important period of activity is just before SRC and SP elections," the report states.

Members or students who support the Ruiterwag's aims are vetted before being asked to stand for elections and voters are influenced to vote for them, it says.

According to Die Matie's informant, Ruiterwag-selected candidates are rehearsed before facing the traditional SRC "circus" when students quiz candidates on their manifestos.

Candidates are asked pre-arranged questions by Ruiterwag members, the report says.

The Rector, Professor Mike de Vries, said last night he had not seen the report but was aware the Ruiterwag was active "on every Afrikaans-speaking campus".

He was not informed of local Ruiterwag activities as they were private matters in which he would not interfere.

He said he found it "difficult to believe" that 100 students--the number Die Matie claims are Ruiterwag members--could influence Stellenbosch's student population of 13 000.

Die Matie says the Ruiterwag was founded in Floemfontein in 1956 by a former rector of Stellenbosch University, Professor H B Thom, then chairman of the Broederbond.

CSO: 3400/366

SOUTH AFRICA

LENASIA'S POLICE STATION OPENED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 24 May 85 p 6

[Text] Lenasia's population of more than 100 000 won their long battle for more security when the new Lenasia police station was officially opened yesterday by the Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr Ernie Fabel.

Members of the South African Police Band of Soweto entertained 100 guests who attended the function.

Among the guests were city councillors, police officials, members of the House of Delegates, Lenasia's MP Mr Faiz Khan, Mr S Collakoppen of Central Rand, and Lenasia Management Committee

(LMC) officials.

Mr Khan said Lenasia had waited nine years for a police station.

"It is a much needed facility here," he said, adding that plans were also under way for Lenasia to have its own Magistrate's Court.

Mr Fabel said the increasing crime in Lenasia had prompted investigations into the need for such a facility and it should contribute towards bringing stability in the community.

CSO: 3400/365

27 June 1985

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

SISHEN-SALDANHA PROJECT--Government has again refused to release the report of the commission of inquiry into the future of the controversial Sishen-Saldanah Project, which has already cost R814m. Trade and Industry Minister Dawie de Villiers said the report would not be released because it "contains information which can be detrimental to Iscor's commercial interests if ... made public". [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 22 May 85 p 2]

LABOR PREFERENCE POLICY--The coloured labour preference policy in the Western Cape has effectively ended with the announcement that all applications by employers for the employment of additional black workers will be granted without exception. Mr Frank Lighton, director of the Cape Employment Bureau, said yesterday the decision had been reached after several months of negotiation with the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning. The announcement applies to all employees, including domestic servants. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 23 May 85 p 1]

DURBAN, TRANSVAAL RAIL LINK--Transport Affairs Minister Hendrik Schoeman yesterday opened a R346m extension to the Johannesburg-Durban rail line. The line has been doubled between Glenroy and Vooruitsig and Newcastle. This will ease single line congestion compounded in recent years by the increasing tonnage of steel being railed from Newcastle. Iscor steel movements from Vanderbijlpark and Newcastle are up to more than 30 000 tons a day. Other improvements include the installation of a centralised traffic control function for the whole system. The extension will allow SA Transport Services to increase the line's capacity. With the improved line allowing the use of longer trains with a shorter running time, the present 32,5-million tons a year could be raised substantially. According to Sats assistant general manager for operations Japie Radyn, the improvements will reduce the average Johannesburg-Durban journey for express goods from three days to 14 hours. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 21 May 85 p 8]

BELTEL INFORMATION SERVICE--Beltel, the Post Office's electronic information system, comes closer to home with the news that home computer users will be able to connect to the service for the payment of a monthly R3 fee. Users will also need to buy a modem for their computer and a Sapo-approved interconnector which can be obtained at a relatively low cost. At the moment, two different brands of Beltel inter-connectors are already on the market, and the Post Office is appealing for suppliers to submit other types for testing and possible licensing. Subscribers to Beltel can access the latest news

(provided by the major South African newspaper groups, including SAAN), weather reports and consumer goods prices. They will also be able to order goods and pay for them by credit card, book theatre and cinema tickets, obtain travel information, access art gallery and museum schedules, and play electronic games. In addition, users will be able to communicate directly with a number of corporate computers, in particular those of banks, building societies and retail stores. Nearly 200 000 pages or screens of information will be available on Beltel. Another useful facility is that of electronic mail between the Beltel user terminals. Each registered user has an electronic mail box available which will hold up to 23 electronic letters which can be stored or scrapped as required. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 23 May 85 p 7]

DIRECT FLIGHT--A new direct flight between Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg, which will cater especially for businessmen, is to be introduced on July 1. The flight will leave PE at 7.45am and arrive in Johannesburg at 9.10am. The return flight leaves Johannesburg at 5.55pm and arrives in PE at 7.30pm. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 27 May 85 p 1]

ESTATES SEQUESTERED AND COMPANIES LIQUIDATED--The Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, says the estates of 1 657 people were sequestered and 2 715 companies were liquidated last year. His figures indicate that the number of sequestrations was 38% higher than in 1983. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 27 May 85 p 1]

SMUTS UPGRADING--Details of a large new domestic departure terminal and a R20m plan to upgrade existing buildings at Jan Smuts Airport were given yesterday by the Minister of Transport Affairs, Hendrik Schoeman. The new terminal complex, scheduled for completion in 1995, will be built between parallel runways and will consist of a new terminal building, operations complex, access roads, parking and other facilities. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 28 May 85 p 1]

TUTU POPULARITY POLL--The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, is well liked in the townships according to a recent survey. Of the 780 black urban women interviewed, 55 percent of those who knew the Bishop liked him very much, while only nine percent said they did not like him at all. About 31 percent of the women liked the Bishop "a little". The 32 percent who had never heard of Bishop Tutu were mainly low-income earners, poorly educated and those over 50. The Markinor Gallup Poll found that support for the Bishop was greater among more affluent and better educated blacks. In contrast to the Bishop's popularity in the townships, a survey of urban whites earlier this year found that one in 10 believed Bishop Tutu deserved the Nobel Peace Prize, or supported his appointment as the Bishop of Johannesburg. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 20 May 85 p 6]

PROPAGANDA CONFERENCE--At an unusually lively media workshop on South African propaganda, held at the Commonwealth Secretariat in London this week, Zimbabwe's minister for information, Nathan Shamuyarira, and the editor of the OBSERVER, Donald Trelford, sat on the same platform, carefully not looking at each other. It was the first time they had publicly met since the April 1984 row when Trelford wrote a long feature in the OBSERVER about the Zimbabwean government's clampdown in Matabeleland. The most controversial part of the conference was the background paper produced by the exiled South African journalist, Donald Woods, on countering South African propaganda. It was attacked by the ANC, SWAPO and others for failing to give enough credit to the liberation movements. The paper was a blow by blow rebuttal of South Africa's most common propaganda points--arguments which have already appeared in the liberal British press. (The appendices to Wood's original script included a selection of his own work published in British and American papers, and a somewhat selective list of 'organisations to contact' which featured him at the Lincoln Trust in London, but included the ANC and SWAPO only at their New York addresses. Though the appendices were omitted from the printed text, his critics were not mollified). The political importance of the seminar was evident in the ructions it caused in the Commonwealth Secretariat itself. The information department (which tends to be very cautious and unwilling to offend interests in Britain) was not allowed to organise the seminar. Instead the political department took charge, to the annoyance of a part of the secretariat. (The result was less stuffy). Set up after the last Commonwealth Heads of State meeting two years ago, the results of the seminar will be reported back to this year's summit in the Bahamas. An interesting aspect of this week's events is the prominence of the assistant Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku, from Nigeria, who was the prime mover behind the workshop. Maj-Gen. Joseph Garba, Nigeria's UN representative and chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, went out of his way to praise Anyaoku and to stress his 20-year-long fight against apartheid within the UN and outside it, even quoting what Anyaoku had said on the subject in 1965 at the UN. Briefly a minister in the Shagari government, Anyaoku still has the confidence of his country's military rulers. The media workshop itself produced an apparent retreat by the leader of the British Liberal Party, David Steel, from his support for sanctions against South Africa, though he still favours selective sanctions--with a lot of provisos. He also announced that the South African Progressive Federal Party (PFP) had been admitted to membership of the international grouping of liberal parties. He was sharply criticised for his approval of the PFP's admission. [Text] [London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 22 May 85 p 3]

CSO: 3400/371

SWAZILAND

BRIEFS

INFLUX OF MOZAMBICANS--Mbabane.--The influx of Mozambicans into the Swazi capital, Mbabane, has been blamed for the alarming increase in crimes in the country's largest and most crime ridden township, Msunduzi, on the outskirts of Mbabane. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 23 Apr 85 p 11]

SUGAR INDUSTRY EXPERIENCES DIFFICULTIES--Mbabane--Swaziland's sugar industry, the country's largest employer, may have to change to other crops if the ongoing world sugar market problems continue much longer. This warning was contained in an address by the general manager of the Swaziland Sugar Association, Mr Derek Johnson, at a media conference held at the association's head office in Mbabane. Mr Johnson said Swaziland's sugar export problems of record low sugar prices had been made worse by the world-wide recession, inroads made by artificial sweeteners and the additional problem suffered by Swaziland of exporting sugar via Mozambique. Swaziland exports about 4 million tons of sugar annually which accounts for more than 40 percent of the country's total exports.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 May 85 p 23]

HIGH TREASON CHARGE--Mbabane.--The 60-day detention orders served on the former Swazi army and police chiefs and the former Swazi Minister of Finance have been renewed for a third time. This has been confirmed by a member of Swaziland's Supreme Council of State, Prince Mfanasibile. They are the former Commissioner of Police, Mr Titus Msibi, the former Deputy Commissioner, Mr Edgar Hillary, the former Army Commander, Colonel Mangomeni Ndzimandze, Major Abedaigo Dlamini, and the former Minister of Finance, Dr Sishayi Nxumalo. The first four were arrested at the beginning of the year on charges of holding an illegal meeting at Matsapha police college last year, during which they allegedly planned to arrest certain members of the Supreme Council of State and the Prime Minister, Prince Bhekimpi. The charges, under the country's Subversive Activities Act, were dropped in March and a more serious charge of High Treason is currently being prepared against them. Dr Nxumalo, who was arrested last November, has not yet been charged with any offence.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 May 85 p 9]

MORE MOZAMBICANS ARRESTED--Mbabane.--More Mozambican nationals were rounded up and arrested by Swaziland's Civil Guard over the weekend in the sprawling, crime-ridden township of Mzimduza in Mbabane. The chairman of the Mzimduza

Township Council, Mr Pertus Shongwe, said the clean-up operation--which began last Friday and continued throughout the weekend--was aimed at checking all Mozambicans living in the township to see if they are legally resident in Swaziland.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 85 p 13]

CSO: 3400/336

ZIMBABWE

ISLAM REPORTEDLY GAINING STRENGTH AMONG PEOPLE

Harare THE SUNDAY MAIL in English 5 May 85 p 1

[Text] Moslems have made tremendous strides in converting Zimbabweans to Islam. They now have membership in eight of Zimbabwe's major urban areas.

Islam was introduced into Zimbabwe by the Asian community and was propagated among the country's black population by the Yao from Malawi and Mozambique. Interest in Islam seemed to have been on the wane until after independence.

The secretary-general of the Zimbabwe Moslem Youth Organisation, Mr Abdullah Mahomed, said last week that the advent of independence had allowed greater movement and association of Zimbabweans with people from north and central Africa. This was why more Zimbabweans were turning to Islam.

His organisation, he told THE SUNDAY MAIL, was now recruiting converts and emphasis was being placed on education and leading by example.

He said there had been spectacular gains in membership in the Gutu area, for example. In Harare, which includes Zimbabwe's third largest urban area, Chitungwiza, a number of mosques had gone up, indicating an increase in membership.

"There are now three mosques in Seke and St Mary's. Two are already completed and one is under construction and is expected to be completed at the end of this year.

"There is a project to build mosques in Epworth and Mufakose and we have just completed one in Karoi. There are four mosques in Kwekwe, where we also have the largest mosque in the country and where the organisation's main meetings are held." Kwekwe is the centre of the Islamic Mission in Zimbabwe--the umbrella body of all the Moslems in this country.

So far, Mr Mahomed said, the Zimbabwe Moslem Youth Organisation had a membership of 154, slightly more than double the number of organisation had at its formation in 1983.

He was not immediately certain of the exact number of Moslems in this country.

Asked about the source of funding for the mosques that are being built, he said: "The money for the construction has come from collections from Moslems of Asian origin and Africans.

There are now Moslems in Chitungwiza, Harare, Kwekwe, Bulawayo, Mutare, Kadoma and Karoi and more blacks going to the high-density areas of Chitungwiza and Harare can be seen wearing robes and the Islamic kofia (cap).

There were no links with any other outside Islamic organisations, he said; establishment of links was a long-term plan. But at a five-day Islamic youth conference held in Harare towards the end of last year Moslem youths from "various countries in Southern Africa alongside some from as far as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait attended".

On their stand on the Iran-Iraq war--a war between Moslem countries--Mr Mahomed said his organisation had no answer to such a question. "We pray that the war will come to an end."

There are schools in Harare's Waterfalls where children are taught Arabic by the imams (teachers). There was another school in Seke with about 50 children and in the centre of the city there were five schools.

Asked about what Moslems did to ensure they were supplied with halaal meat (meat slaughtered according to Moslem laws), he said that an arrangement had been reached with the Cold Storage Commission and the Islamic Council of Elders (majlis ulamah) and it had been agreed that meat destined for the Moslem community should be handled by Moslems.

CSO: 3400/364

ZIMBABWE

MUGABE DRAWS UP LIST OF POLITICAL TARGETS

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 8 May 85 pp 3-5

[Text]

Whether or not the general election takes place in June (AC Vol 26 No 7), Robert Mugabe appears to have drawn up a list of political targets. He will aim to destroy some and co-opt others. These days, however, the prime minister's most noticeable characteristic is that he tends to identify potential friends increasingly as potential enemies.

It is understandable that he should reckon the Ndebele/Kalanga people - about a fifth of the total population - to be hostile to him and his Shona-speaking majority, who make up three-quarters of Zimbabweans. His Zanu party planners make extravagant predictions of voting inroads in the two Matabeleland provinces, North and South, but in their hearts they know that if the election is truly representative that they will get thoroughly beaten in that part of the country. They regard the two predominantly Ndebele provinces fundamentally as enemy territory.

Municipal and district elections in these areas last year gave Joshua Nkomo's now predominantly Ndebele-oriented Zapu landslide victory. He also won the black areas of Bulawayo overwhelmingly. The government was so embarrassed by the results that it revealed them only early this year after some persistent questioning in parliament.

It is in Midlands province, whose population is about a third Ndebele against two-thirds Shona, and in Mashonaland West, which is even more heavily Shona, that Mugabe is hoping for large advances. Maurice Nyagumbo, minister of state for political affairs in the prime minister's office and head of provincial development co-ordination (i.e. Mugabe's chief election strategist), is predicting that Zanu will win 11 out of 12 seats in the Midlands (as opposed to eight out of 12 in the independence election

of 1980), seven in the Matabeleland provinces (as opposed to just one in 1980), and all of the rest.

Even the slavishly pro-government *Herald* admits that Nyagumbo's figures are optimistic. But the decision to work hardest at the Midlands province is sensible and could reap rewards. Yet even here, the behaviour of the army's Fifth Brigade and, more recently, of Zanu's youth brigades has made it hard for Mugabe to win many converts, except as a result for instance, of the widespread forcing of people to buy Zanu party cards. And even the success of getting people to buy the cards can be deceptive: last year in Tsholotsho (Matabeleland North), for instance, large numbers of women bought Zanu cards as an insurance policy, then voted en masse for Nkomo.

The Ndebele factor

Zanu's attempt to build up an Ndebele party has centred on three people: Nyagumbo, who is a Shona of the Manyika group; Callistus Ndlovu, minister of mines, who defected from Zapu a year ago when still a central committee member; and Enos Nkala, Zanu's treasurer-general and the leading Ndebele in the party. Last year at the party congress they engineered a coup against a Shona-speaking group from Masvingo, the heartland of the Karanga, the largest of the five main Shona sections. The Karanga group had taken over Matabeleland North's Zanu leadership. Instead, Ndlovu was installed as chairman of the province. He then tried to cultivate a more genuinely Ndebele leadership. In particular he has tried to tackle the problem of dissidents, the anti-government guerrillas loyal to Nkomo, politically. He has been claiming that Zapu will not win

a single seat in Matabeleland. But we believe his predictions are likely to be as wildly inaccurate as Nyagumbo's.

Zanu's hopes for the Midlands province are pinned on the governor, Benson Ndemera, who was so successful as chairman of Gokwe district council, where, according to the *Herald*, he "managed within a year to change the council membership from 50% Zapu to 100% Zanu and organised the people into an effective campaign that set Gokwe free from the dissident menace". In the Midlands, Ndemera has brought locally-born dignitaries, such as Richard Hove, minister of trade and commerce, and Emmer-son Munangagwa, head of security in Mugabe's office, to bang the Zanu drum at rallies.

Ndemera has produced a rash of "converts" to Zanu, thanks to the people's militia and to Zanu youth brigades deployed through the province selling party cards since last July. Back payments are sometimes demanded from 1980. Recruits are not completely trusted and serve a probationary period before they can be elected to the local leadership. So leaders, many of them Shona, have been drafted in from other areas. Ndemera insists that they be fluent in Chishona, the Shona language, by election-time. Many Ndebeles in the Midlands area have changed their names to the Shona version, Hungwe - for instance - turning into Nyoni, and so on.

Any hint of connivance with dissidence is treated ferociously. When the Nkayi chairman of Zanu, Michael Sibanda, was killed by dissidents early this year, the local people's militia and youth brigades reacted with a vengeance. A whole ward of Mpilo hospital, the main one in Bulawayo, was soon full of their victims. Midlands areas like Zhombe, Nkayi, Silobela, all of them close to Matabeleland, are particularly tense. A typical incident was the killing in mid-April of a Zapu supporter shot dead by two armed men the evening after he had told the police about their previous visit. His wife was forced at gun-point to cut off his head, hands and feet; a young relative was made to deliver them to the police with a report that a "sell-out" (the term used to describe alleged quislings during the Smith era) had been killed. The wife later committed suicide. Though the incident had the hallmarks of a killing by dissidents, locals suspect elements of the pro-Zanu security forces. Just as villagers during the *chimurenga* (the independence war) were often terrified by not knowing whether visitors were genuine guerrillas or Ian Smith's Selous Scouts masquerading as guerrillas, people in Matabeleland and the Midlands have the same fears.

From the point of view of a united Zimbabwe this is particularly sad because the traditional divisions between the Shona and the Ndebele have indeed often been exaggerated in the western media. There has been considerable miscegenation and general social mingling between the groups in central Zimbabwe. A Shona-Ndebele conflict after independence was not inevitable. Towards the end of the guerrilla war Zanu's guerrillas had managed to spread politically into the eastern areas of Matabeleland. Conversely, Zapu was far from wholly Ndebele, particularly at the top level, where Nkomo's national executive was in fact mainly Shona. Some of the blame for the current polarisation must fall on Zanu's leadership, which, since the *chimurenga*, has become less responsive to the people in the rural areas.

One rural worker recently said there was a "cloud" between Zanu and the people - all over the country. Power struggles for control of the provincial party apparatus in Manicaland and in Matabeleland North suggest that the party headquarters in Harare is trying to impose its decisions from the top downwards; in the provinces and on the ground there

is some resistance. Mugabe is adopting a suspicious attitude to a number of groups who might have been expected to support him:

- The chiefs;
- the trade unions;
- foreign aid workers and teachers attached to leftwing parties abroad;
- the cooperative movement;
- the churches.

In April Mugabe called in more than 200 traditional chiefs for a meeting in the senate. The chiefs' power has steadily declined. During the Smith period, many were manipulated by government and were targets of the guerrillas. At independence their jurisdiction over land and traditional law was handed over to "primary village courts". Village committees were set up to distribute land. But now the chiefs have begun to come back into their own. They, and much of the older rural generation, dislike the Legal Age of Majority Act, which removes parental rights over people over 18, and forbids parents from extracting a bride price (*roora*) for their daughters. So Mugabe decided to talk to the chiefs for the first time together since independence - and backed down. He promised to maintain *roora* and make chiefs chairmen of the village courts.

The climbdown was just in time. Bishop Abel Muzorewa, leader of the opposition United African National Council, has produced a 10-point manifesto which feeds on rural fears of - among other things - collectivisation.

One government minister had to reassure voters that Zanu had no intention of "stealing their chickens". Muzorewa is supporting the chiefs' lobby, opposes the one-party state and the Legal Age of Majority Act, and promises both to abolish sales tax, and to raise the minimum tax threshold to \$Z500. Muzorewa, though his support might hold up in a free and fair election, especially in Manicaland, would in any case probably score little more than the 8% he won in 1980. But even that, to Mugabe, would be an unacceptable slap in the face.

Mugabe has also fallen out with the trade union movement. At the beginning of March, a coup in the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) led to the suspension of four leading officials. They were Alfred Makwarimba, ZCTU president, Abisha Kupfuma, acting secretary-general, Paul Mashavira, vice-president, and Elphegio Soko, publicity secretary. They were favourable to the government after allegations of corruption and chicken-heartedness in face of the government's Labour Relations Bill, which is due to complete its final stage this week. The bill will ban strikes by essential workers and severely restrict the remaining workers' right to strike. The four ousted officials were promptly reinstated by the labour minister, Fred Shava, who complained that a "technicality" in the ZCTU constitution had been breached. But again the government has partially backed down. The ZCTU regained some autonomy. Two of the ousted officers resigned last month "for personal reasons" and Jeffrey Mutandare, president of the mineworkers' union,

who believes in trade union independence, has been allowed to head a seven-man steering committee. The long delayed national congress of the ZCTU is due at the end of July. By then, the government hopes to have constructed a pliable trade union movement.

Mugabe has placed a number of non-governmental agencies working in the rural areas under surveillance. The Organization of Collective Cooperatives, (OCCZIM) which represents farming collectives mainly run by ex-guerrillas is also treated with great suspicion. Founded nearly two years ago under Cephass Muropa the government delayed its launching conference for eight months. Moven Mahachi, the minister responsible, pointedly did not attend the inauguration. The fact that many of the leadership are former Nkomo guerrillas has not endeared OCCZIM to Mugabe.

The churches have had to be very cautious too. The Catholics have adopted a subtle strategy. Long

the scourge - and to some extent the victim of the Smith government - they continue to criticise the government for human rights violations, particularly in Matabeleland, but the bishops have been careful to keep their detailed reports to the government private. After the Catholics' Commission for Justice and Peace sent documentary evidence to Mugabe about the activities of the Zanu youth wing, no journalist managed to produce more than a broad sketch of the report's contents. The Catholic church reckons that threatening postures would be counter-productive.

Mugabe is probably more suspicious of the Protestant churches. Bishop Peter Hatendi, who has been generally friendly to the government, has been lampooned in the Zanu-oriented press for criticising traditional religion. The Methodists, especially Muzorewa's American-based wing, are seen as a threat. African breakaway sects and evangelical churches, especially if they have American or South African connections, are frowned on and watched.

Zanu is already looking boxed in by promises to hold the election in June. The idea of single-member constituencies may have to be dropped if the election is to go ahead on time. A question mark hangs over the election's secrecy. We hear the government may consider having voters line up publicly behind favoured candidate, as happened in the district council elections. That, of course, is a recipe for intimidation. Mugabe has said that no observers will be invited, but will be "welcome". Legally, Mugabe could invoke an emergency clause to prolong his government's term of office by a year - without flouting the Lancaster Home agreement.

The other big question is whether Nkomo will succeed in luring Muzorewa's UANC and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole's Zanu into joining him in an opposition front. Nkomo says he will. But the junior politicians are wary. For Muzorewa to join Nkomo could damage the bishop's prospects in Shona country, where distrust of Nkomo is paramount.

It is ironical that the whites, in general, are no headache for Mugabe. Most of their 20 designated seats may be won by the newly-formed Independent Zimbabwe Group (IZG). Made up of business elite, it includes 11 independent MPs, although Chris Andersen, a minister of state in Mugabe's office, has not joined. It includes John Landau, deputy minister of trade and commerce, and its spokesman is Bill Irvine, MP for Malborough. The IZG faces the rump of Ian Smith's Rhodesia Front, now known as the Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe, which includes Smith himself. But it is not Smith and the whites who feel the cold wind of Mugabe's authoritarianism ●

ZIMBABWE

MUGABE PRAISES MALAWI LEADERSHIP

Harare THE HERALD in English 17 May 85 p 1

[Text] The Prime Minister, Cde Mugabe, yesterday expressed respect and esteem for the inspiration and the manner in which Dr Kamuzu Banda had led his people and consolidated Malawi's independence.

In a congratulatory message on the occasion of Dr Banda's 79th birthday, Cde Mugabe said: "Under your outstanding and wise leadership, the people of Malawi have enjoyed a high level of prosperity in a climate of real peace and stability."

He commended the Malawian president for transforming his country into a "veritable breadbasket" in the region.

The Prime Minister expressed gratitude for the sacrifices and contributions made by Dr Banda towards the removal of racist minority rule in Central Africa--the then Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland--which denied the people of the region genuine freedom.

"I continue to treasure the memories of the direct and substantial assistance which you personally rendered to my party in that difficult, but significant early phase of the history of our war of liberation."

Cde Mugabe also thanked Dr Banda for the assistance given Zimbabwe by Malawi during the drought. "The assistance you gave us, together with the recent good rainy season, have combined to give our people hope."

He hoped the two countries would continue to cement the already strong ties between them.

CSO: 3400/370

ZIMBABWE

ZNCC CONGRESS DEFENDS BUSINESS

Harare THE HERALD in English 16 May 85 pp 1, 7

[Text] All Zimbabweans, in both the private and public sectors, are key participants in fostering and shaping the growth of the economy, the Deputy Prime Minister, Cde Simon Muzenda, said in Bulawayo yesterday evening.

He told the official opening of the annual congress of the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce that the decision to bring in Government officers and other experts to take part in committee deliberations was significant.

"The new co-operation between experts will forge healthy functional relations and remove mutual suspicions that normally inhibit progress.

"When you add to these the potency of informal interchange of ideas and experiences the picture that emerges is that of patriotic nationals working to promote their country's prosperity.

"This is the more so because fruitless confrontations, counter-accusations and frayed tempers will have been replaced by mutual trust and a common purpose."

Cde Muzenda said the Government would "look seriously at the enlightened recommendations" the congress came up with and if necessary there could be further consultations "so that the country and its people will stand to gain from the resultant courses of action".

Cde Muzenda said that business sector needed each other. "Governments depend of business to create the wealth needed for high living standards, worthwhile jobs and better lives; we who run businesses in turn depend on Government to create an environment that ensures business success... Each needs the other's success and each must understand the other's tasks and peculiar problems."

Mr Chiweshe said the ZNCC had never regarded the easy path of simply commenting on Government proposals as adequate and believed it should be more involved in the larger role of innovation.

Development opportunities had been lost since independence. Some businessmen had adopted a wait-and-see attitude which had "inhibited them from recognising the virtues and strong points of the new socio-economic and political dispensation".

On the Government side, "the businessmen's desire to create wealth, to invest, and to provide jobs has been confused with the exploitative tendencies of capitalism".

Businessmen could no longer afford a mere commentator role: the Government also needed to help businessmen create wealth needed by the country. "Both parties should be actively involved in undertaking those initiatives which improve the economic well-being of our economy."

CSO: 3400/370

ZIMBABWE

ZAPU DOCUMENT ARGUES FOR UNITED FRONT

Harare THE SUNDAY MAIL in English 26 May 85 p 3

[Text] The solution to problems requiring broader national approaches could be achieved through the formation of a united front at which participants contribute freely, says a Zapu document that has been circulated to all political parties in Zimbabwe.

Entitled A Case for a United Front, the Zapu proposal is in a five-page document which says it is aimed at "uniting all Zimbabweans". The document was first circulated at the beginning of last month.

The party's information and publicity secretary, Cde John Nkomo, has said that the proposals had also been sent to representatives of commerce and agriculture and trade unionists.

"At its congress in 1984 Zapu made a proposal for the formation of a united front of all progressive forces in Zimbabwe. The congress subsequently charged the central committee of Zapu to pursue the proposal. It is the pursuance of that resolution that we now forward to you a brief elucidation on the proposal and would welcome any views and/or contributions from you in the name of harmony and stability," the document adds.

Both Mr Ian Smith, the Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe leader, and Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the UANC have indicated that they are prepared to consider taking part in the proposed united front. Zanu (PF) has condemned it, saying "it is not a front of any progressive forces".

But Cde Nkomo has said that his party does not expect the people to whom the document has been sent to "rush their responses as we hope they will take their time and digest and then see if there is anything they can contribute".

The document says that "comparison of opinions, the search for the best alternatives, freedom of discussion and criticism are the only democratic ways of achieving unity. The rejection of those who think differently is counter-productive. The accumulation of diverse opinion and experience is the firm basis of achieving real unity and progress".

"The individualistic approach and the development of a feeling that loyalty and patriotism are synonymous with a political party, make other progressive forces see such a posture as being unpatriotic."

The document lists 17 points in its case for a united front. "We believe that there are many Zimbabweans who are concerned at the way things have gone since independence. These Zimbabweans have constructive views to express on these goings on. They need a platform.

"In reaffirming our loyalty and patriotism to Zimbabwe and in our rededication to the defence and consolidation of our hard-won independence and in the preservation of our sovereignty, we Zimbabweans must understand that although there may be political contradictions we all must ensure that all that we do contributes to the betterment of us all."

CSO: 3400/370

27 June 1985

ZIMBABWE

LARGEST NUMBER OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS GRADUATE

Harare THE SUNDAY MAIL in English 19 May 85 p 1

[Text] The largest number of university students to be capped at any one ceremony in the country's history graduated at the University of Zimbabwe yesterday.

And there was a record turnout of witnesses: more than 8 000 people thronged the campus to watch 883 friends, fellow students and relatives receiving their degrees from University Chancellor and State President Cde Canaan Banana.

It was a colourful occasion marked in parts by thunderous applause and ululation. Highlights of the ceremony were the graduation of a quadraplegic, Barney Greenland, who completed studies for a BL degree, and three blind students--Christopher Hales, who completed an LLB degree, Rudo Moyo and Timothy Mudarikwa, both of whom completed BA degree studies.

There was ringing applause when the Chancellor, President Banana, stepped down from the rostrum to cap Mr Greenland in his wheelchair. Mr Greenland uses his mouth to write.

Air Vice-Marshal Josiah Tungamirai received a BA honours degree in history after having taken a part-time course.

Diplomas and certificates were also received by 2 223 students. The diplomas included for the first time, 12 awards for War and Strategic Studies.

The record numbers of graduates were "not for their own sake" but a "sign of the times", Vice-Chancellor Professor Walter Kamba said.

In an address before the presentation of the degrees, Professor Kamba said record numbers of graduates would continue for some time.

"The rapid increase in student population is for a purpose," he said. "It is our response to the national call for highly-trained manpower. Zimbabwe has invested so much in education and Zimbabwe expects to get some returns from its investment."

Increase

Yesterday's graduands marked an increase of 52 students over last year. In 1983 there were 419 graduands. The medical students who graduated yesterday were 1978's intake whose graduation was delayed by a year.

Professor Kamba explained that this was because in 1983 the country had a problem whereby medical students left for other countries immediately after graduation. Graduates were now required to serve in Zimbabwe for one year before receiving their degrees.

"The 1984 class will not graduate until 1985 after serving their one-year housemanship as required by the Emergency Powers (Medical Students) Regulations of 1983," he said.

Turning to the development of the university, Professor Kamba said the increase in student numbers had resulted in the need for expansion in halls of residence, the library, lecture theatres, offices and staff numbers.

The university had embarked on a staff development programme into which more than 70 staff development fellows had been appointed. That programme was now beginning to yield fruit, he said.

"Some five staff development fellows have now returned and have joined the ranks of the academic staff. But I would be failing in my duty if I did not emphasise that this is a programme that requires a lot of money if it is to be effective."

A university worth its salt must pursue the ideals of relevance and excellence relentlessly, Professor Kamba said.

"This is our task. This is our goal. In every discipline that we offer, the knowledge that we transmit, the truth we pursue and the public service we render will be guided by our diligent commitment to knowledge and our total commitment to integrity."

Congratulating the students, he said their service to the nation would be a trial not only for themselves but for the UZ as well and "it is my hope and prayer that these graduates will not let the university down".

He added: "Always remember that a student who graduates today and stops learning tomorrow is uneducated the day after. You will of course agree that Zimbabwe cannot afford uneducated graduates."

Yesterday's graduation was also attended by several Government ministers and members of the diplomatic corps, among them Bulgarian Ambassador Cde Christo Kolev, whose son Boyko graduated with a BA honours degree in French.

The university's Faculty of Commerce and Law had the highest number of graduates, with 100 receiving Bachelor of Accountancy degrees.

CSO: 3400/364

ZIMBABWE

LENIN'S CLASSIC NOW IN SHONA LANGUAGE

Harare THE HERALD in English 24 May 85 p 9

[Text] The first translations into Shona and Ndebele of Vladimir Lenin's classic, The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism, were officially launched last night by the Zanu (PF) secretary for the commissariat and culture, Dr Herbert Ushewokunze.

Speaking at the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies Cde Ushewokunze, who is also the Minister of Transport and a member of the Zanu (PF) Politburo, said the translations which were the culmination of 18 months of hard work was a milestone in Zimbabwean publishing and represented "a small but significant step ahead in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism on the African continent".

He said the importance of the work could be expressed as a breakthrough in linguistic barriers and a notable academic achievement.

He said the translated book was a "brief article in which Lenin shows how Marx revolutionised philosophy, political economy and socialism".

It showed that the economic organisation in society was the basis upon which all political ideological ideas and practice depended.

Cde Ushewokunze said the booklet elaborated the doctrine of class struggle, "showing that the working class created by capitalism was also the only social force capable of destroying capitalism and creating a new society based on equality".

The translations were made by Cde Arnold Sabanda, Cde Magiga Cabi, Cde Edgar Tati Chiguda, Cde Mongosuthu Chartes Halinnana, Cde Cain Ginyilitshe Mathema and Cde David Kaulemn. Published by Star Press the translations were printed by Memorial Co-operative and distributed by Grass roots.

CSO: 3400/368

ZIMBABWE

CHINESE VISITORS TOUR LOCAL FACTORIES

Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 17 May 85 p 2

[Text]

A GROUP of Chinese government officials toured several factories in and around Harare last week, and were impressed by the level of industrial development they saw.

Mr Bob Scott, a local business consultant who arranged and conducted the tour at the request of the Chinese embassy in Harare, told *The Gazette* this week that the group visited factories at Cone Textiles, Metal Box, Serco, Eagle Tanning and Capri.

"They were all government

people", said Mr Scott. "Some were from the embassy and some were from Peking — economists, engineers and so on".

"They were very impressed with everything they saw. All the factories we visited were very accommodating. It was a most interesting tour because they saw things they didn't think we had, such as the big extrusion plant at Metal Box. They asked a lot of questions".

Mr Scott said that while the group expressed an interest in

increasing bilateral trade between the two countries it was basically a "look-see" visit: "They just wanted to look around, to see what we make and how we make it — and to pick our brains".

A spokesman at the Chinese embassy said that the visitors, consisting of people "in the field of light industry", were in transit through Zimbabwe. "They are very interested in light industry in Zimbabwe", he said, "and so they wanted to visit factories in that field".

CSO: 3400/367

27 June 1985

ZIMBABWE

RURAL HEALTH PROGRAM GETS BOOST FROM SWEDISH AID

Harare THE HERALD in English 27 May 85 p 7

[Text] ZIMBABWE'S rural health programme won a \$9 million boost following the signing in Harare on Friday of a two-year aid agreement in which Sweden gave more than \$45 million, most of it for rural development.

Giving a breakdown of the aid grant which he said totalled \$45.5 million at the present exchange rate, \$1.5 million more than the \$44 million figure given at the signing ceremony, Swedish International Development Authority's outgoing head in Zimbabwe, Mr Dag Ehrenpreis, said among the major recipients would be health, education (\$11.6 million); commodity import programme (\$9 million); personnel consultancy (\$8 million); emergency relief (\$1 million); and public service training programme (\$7 million).

Under the expanded rural immunisation programme the country will get \$1.2 million for vaccines, vehicles and refrigerators "for the drugs to reach all villages", said Mr Ehrenpreis.

A nutrition programme for supplementary food production would include a scheme for communal vegetable gardens.

Mr Ehrenpreis said the village health scheme would receive \$2.9 million that will provide for the training of village health workers and the supply of materials such as pit latrines and shallow wells.

"Also \$1.2 million will be available for staff housing for rural health personnel comprising 40 houses for nurses and another 24 for rehabilitation for the disabled.

"There will be an additional \$700 000 to build houses for rehabilitation at provincial hospitals to take care of the disabled in the districts," said Mr Ehrenpreis.

The Swedes will pump a further \$500 000 over the \$4 million they have used in the past two years on two training centres for rural health workers; one in Bindura and the other in Gwanda.

The Ministry of Health will also be provided with a consultancy service that will strengthen the planning and evaluation sectors at a cost of \$700 000.

A public services training scheme is envisaged in a \$7 million grant in which there will be training courses and exchange in consultancy personnel between institutions and the management bureau of the Ministry of Public Service and its Swedish counterpart, said Mr Ehrenpreis.

Sweden has also provided \$1.2 million under which it will, among other things, supply staff to fill posts in the public sector in Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe will also get road engineers for the Ministry of Transport for \$3.6 million and air traffic controllers for another \$700 000.

"The education grant will be for the construction of schools in the deprived rural areas. The Ministry of Local Government and Town Planning will define which districts and areas within those districts the schools will be built under the \$3 million that will be part of the self-help project," Mr Ehrenpreis said.

A further \$1.3 million will be spent on Zintec training mainly for primary school teachers in rural areas.

The Marymount College in Mutare and Andre Louw in Masvingo will benefit from this scheme.

Another \$350 000 will cover the training of teachers in technical subjects and an exchange scheme between the two countries of such teachers.

Zimsci, a project providing kits for the teaching of science subjects, will take up \$2.7 million while the Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production (Zimfep) will be covered under a \$1.8 million deal. In the latter 9 000 former refugee children would benefit from eight schools, one in each province, said Mr Ehrenpreis.

Special support and education scholarships will be provided for returned refugee children and former combatants in another \$2 million grant. All in all, the education grant comes to \$11.6 million.

Zimbabwe will also gain from a deal under which the Ministry of Local

Government and Town Planning will receive training, exchange visits and consultancy. The consultancy will help mainly in Zimbabwe's current effort to amalgamate rural and urban councils.

The Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs will have its training of village and ward development staff boosted.

The central statistical department will have help in consultancy personnel and training in statistics, especially with a rural bias.

Mr Ehrenpreis said the import support programme will be split 40 percent and 60 percent between private and public sectors respectively.

"In this programme, \$3,5 million will be for the private sector and \$5,5 million for the public sector.

"The Ministry of Trade and Commerce will provide ad hoc foreign exchange allocations to private firms wanting to import from Sweden," he said, adding that there would also be provisions for those who wanted to import from countries other than Sweden under this scheme.

CSO: 3400/367

ZIMBABWE

TRADE WITH LIBYA TO GROW

Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 17 May 85 p 8

[Text]

TRADE between Zimbabwe and Libya may gain momentum this year if moves by the Libyan government to buy Zimbabwe's beef and furniture products go ahead without a hitch.

The cultural attache at the Libyan Embassy, Mr Ahmed S Najem, told *The Gazette* this week that his country was interested in buying beef. Discussions in that direction may start soon if the people in Tripoli give the green light.

"We are interested in a number of things from Zimbabwe" he said. "For example, you have good quality furniture. We are going to send some samples to Libya so that they can decide whether to take it."

Generally, trade between the two countries has been low, he said. Since Independence, Libya has been importing tobacco and asbestos. "To date, we have imported about 10 906 tonnes of asbestos."

Mr Ahmed said that since 1980 Libya had supported emergent businessmen and had given financial backing to about 20 so far.

He is optimistic that trade between the two countries will increase despite the distance factor. "We are trying our best to connect more between Zimbabwean and Libyan companies and between the two governments, both politically, culturally and economically," he said.

ZIMBABWE

CHANCE TO EXPORT FRESH FRUIT, FLOWERS

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 16 May 85 p 7

[Text] HARARE — The Government has developed contacts with leading European importers of fresh vegetables, fruit and flowers through the international trade centre in Geneva, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Cde Richard Hove, said here yesterday.

Opening the first Commercial Farmers' Union horticultural seminar, Cde Hove said this made it possible for Zimbabwe to receive regular briefing on market prices which would benefit local farmers.

"Government has also decided this year to participate in a large international food fair in Cologne, West Germany, which has a strong emphasis on fruit and vegetable products," he said.

This would help open more markets for the country's goods, boost foreign exchange earnings and encourage farmers to increase production.

CFU president, Mr John Laurie, emphasised the need for quality among the products earmarked for export because this would enhance the country's reputation and open new markets for Zimbabwe's goods.

"In addition, Zimbabwe's foreign exchange earnings

and employment opportunities will benefit materially, which is among our objectives," said Mr Laurie. — Ziana.

ZIMBABWE

WANKIE COLLIERY MAKES RECORD PROFIT THROUGH EXPORT SALES

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 21 May 85 p 2

[Text]

WANKIE Colliery made a record profit of more than \$4 million last year mainly through export sales.

In a statement released yesterday, the chairman of Zimbabwe's premier coal mining company, Cde Douglas Kadenhe, said the profit of \$4,527 million was achieved partly because Wankie Colliery was able to export more coal than expected.

Other factors, he said, were cost savings and improved productivity both at No. 3 colliery and in the opencast dragline pit.

"It is significant that about \$4 million was derived from our export business," said Cde Kadenhe.

The statement, dated April, 1985, said operations at the colliery during the past year were dominated by the lower than forecast offtake of coal for the Hwange power station, coupled with the need to meet a better than expected demand for standard coal products and continuing difficulties in maintaining coke output.

Cde Kadenhe said sales of standard grades of coal to Zimbabwean customers amounted to 1 985 000 tonnes which was 10 percent above the estimate, and six percent above last year's actual.

Exports of coal were 29 percent above estimate and 16 percent up on last year.

"We have been exploring the opportunities for coal exports to other SADCC

countries," he said. Shipments to Tanzania had already started.

Coke sales in Zimbabwe amounted to 67 600 tonnes which was 23 percent above estimate, compared with 35 500 tonnes last year.

This improvement, he noted, was largely due to an increase in demand from the ferro-alloy industry.

About 65 percent of coke was exported and the revenue from this and coal exports was \$17,7 million an increase of 8 percent on the previous year.

Total turnover was \$74,384 million compared to \$56,937 million the previous year.

Cde Kadenhe also reported that the shortage of skilled manpower at Wankie colliery was no longer as critical as last year.

"This is due partly to the continuing emphasis placed on training and manpower development," he said. "The year under review saw a consolidation in the field of industrial relations.

"There were no work stoppages and dialogue between management and workers' committees and trade unions was mature and constructive."

He also said the company had applied to the Government for price increases based on the 1985/86 estimates.

He stressed that it was important to the company that the Hwange power station be restored to full generation so that HPS coal deliveries reach the levels originally contemplated. —

27 June 1985

ZIMBABWE

EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURED GOODS TO JAPAN INCREASES

Harare THE HERALD in English 23 May 85 p 8

[Text] Zimbabwe's exports of manufactured products to Japan amounted to more than \$50,5 million last year compared to about \$24 million in 1982, making manufactured goods the biggest single Zimbabwean export to that country.

This figure is about \$5 million more than Zimbabwe's total 1982 exports to Japan of about \$45 million and about \$15 million more than Zimbabwe's total imports of about \$35,5 million from Japan last year.

Zimbabwe's manufactured goods exported to Japan were mainly iron and steel products, processed minerals and metallic products, ferro alloys, asbestos, copper and copper-related mineral products, while Japan exported trucks, passenger cars, telecommunications equipment and plant and machinery to Zimbabwe.

The counsellor at the Japanese Embassy in Harare, Mr Koji Tsujita, said Japanese exports to this country had fallen from their 1982 boom of about \$54,5 million to \$35,5 million last year because of the drought and foreign exchange shortages.

"For example, in 1983 we bought maize from Zimbabwe worth about \$26 million. Last year our figures show about \$423 000 worth of maize," said Mr Tsujita.

Foreign exchange shortages on Zimbabwe's part also explained the fall in Japanese products on the local market from \$54,5 million in 1982 to \$43 million in 1983 and the lowly \$35,5 million last year.

"If, as it seems, the drought has been overcome and this country becomes prosperous in agricultural production once again, then trade will increase between our two countries."

Another interesting aspect of Japanese-Zimbabwean trade statistics is that while the value of two-way trade seemed to have peaked at the 1983 figure of \$120 million, this figure has fluctuated around \$110 million since 1982.

Japan is Zimbabwe's fifth largest trading partner.

The Ministry of Trade and Commerce ended its eight-day exhibition at the Tokyo International Trade Fair on April 30 and the CZI-Jetro single country exhibition started last Wednesday in the Japanese capital and is expected to end on July 17.

CSO: 3400/368

ZIMBABWE

SAUDI PRINCE PLANNING MASSIVE INVESTMENT

Harare THE HERALD in English 21 May 85 p 1

[Text] Saudi Arabian Prince al Waleed bin Talal bin Abdulaziz Alsaud has plans for massive investments in Zimbabwe's agriculture, mining and other industries, his adviser and co-ordinator for African investments, Mr Faissal Fahad, said yesterday.

He told THE HERALD the prince's company, Kingdom Establishment, was finalising plans for joint projects with the Government. "The total amount involved would be determined by the prince and the Zimbabwe Government."

Zimbabwe will be the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa where the prince will invest in joint ventures. His company will also provide funds for the construction of 25 four-roomed low-cost houses in Bindura and another 25 in Gwanda. "This grant has no ties and it is up to the Government of Zimbabwe to give it to the needy," Mr Fahad said.

The prince, who is the nephew of King Fahd, was expected to visit Zimbabwe to hand the 50 houses over to the Government when they are completed before the end of the year. Mr Fahad arrived in the country on Friday to deliver a cheque for an undisclosed amount for the construction of the houses this week.

He said the planned investments in Zimbabwe were a result of the Saudi kingdom's respect for the Prime Minister, Cde Mugabe, and his Government. When the prince visited Zimbabwe last year he had been impressed by the efforts the Government was making to develop the country in spite of the three-year drought and world economic recession.

During his visit, the prince, considered to be one of the most astute businessmen in the Arab world, held talks with Cde Mugabe and President Banana and said he would like to improve relations between the Saudis and Zimbabweans.

Mr Fahad said there were many areas in which Zimbabwe and Saudi Arabia could help each other for the benefit of the two peoples. "They can do a lot for each other," he said.

The prince's representative is due to hold talks with Government officials and present the cheque before his return on Friday.

CSO: 3400/369

ZIMBABWE

SMALL-SCALE TOBACCO FARMERS SHOW SUCCESSES

Harare THE HERALD in English 17 May 85 p 11

[Text] Small-scale commercial farmers who pioneered Virginia tobacco growing this season under the umbrella of the Zimbabwe National Farmers' Union have successfully set the pace for others.

Last week the union organised a field day in Vuti, Karoi, which was connected with the unveiling of the first barns constructed with Agricultural Finance Corporations loans.

At the festive occasion was the Deputy Prime Minister, Cde Simon Muzenda; the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Cde Richard Hove; the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Cde Swithun Mombeshora, and members of the diplomatic corps.

Guests were shown barns in Vuti east at Farm 53 of Cde George Njovana--one of the youngest professional farmers in the country--and in Vuti west at Farm 9 of Cde Tommy Charehwa, a Karoi Rural Council official.

Also visited was Farm 39 of Cde Jeffrey Chiputi in Vuti west where there was a typical sample of the staggering maize crop to come from the small-scale sector.

Cde Chiputi expects 3 000 bags from a section of his 92 ha farm set aside for maize production. He has five permanent employees and has 18 casuals this season.

Cde Muzenda unveiled a plaque at Farm 9 commemorating the launching of the barn construction programme by small-scale commercial farmers. He presented a similar plaque to Cde Njovana.

Cde Magadzire said the barn construction programme which started this season has gathered steam and Hurungwe with 14 participants is leading the field.

Three weeks ago some of the tobacco delivered by small-scale farmers to the Harare auction floor fetched up to \$2,66 a kg, which was almost double last season's national average.

Cde Magadzire expressed concern that the silo construction programme launched by Government has been devised without the interests of his 12 000 members being taken into account.

"Rural development, he said, "should not be discriminatory when executed by Government."

The resettlement programme, Cde Magadzire suggested, should now be refined to enable agricultural graduates at all levels to take up practical farming to revamp the industry plagued with the dearth of young blood.

He took some chemical companies to task for dumping their products on farms early in the season without imparting correct cultural practices--only to return after harvest to exact their loot from scandalised farmers.

CSO: 3400/369

27 June 1985

ZIMBABWE

BULAWAYO FIRM TO SHIP FARMING IMPLEMENTS TO AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Bulawayo BUSINESS CHRONICLE Supplement in English 23 May 85 p 2

[Text] **ZIMFLOW** Ltd this week started shipping more than \$800 000 worth of farming implements to four African countries.

The managing director, Mr Francois Viljoen said this week inquiries for further supplies valued at nearly \$2 million had been received during the Trade Fair and were being followed up.

Export shipments that started leaving the Steelworks Road factory of the company this week are hoes and machine parts with a total value of \$550 000 for Tanzania, a mixture of implements, hoes and hand tools worth \$143 000 for Mozambique and \$14 500 worth of cultivators for South Africa.

"In addition we have ready for dispatch \$137 782 worth of a mixture of ploughs, spares and hoes for Uganda," said Mr Viljoen.

Mr Viljoen said the Tanzanian order was for a contract period of six months and the company had had to employ 61 more people to boost production.

The South African market was expected to grow to about \$700 000 - \$1 million

Further inquiries had been received from Uganda, Burundi, Mozambique, Zambia and Swaziland which were expected to result in earnings of \$1.7 million in foreign exchange, he said.

"In addition to these five

we have received an interesting inquiry from Ethiopia with a value of \$100 000," said Mr Viljoen.

All inquiries were being followed up, he said.

"We are very delighted with these orders, especially after two lean years because of the drought, and we are looking forward to working with SADCC countries in terms of the PTA," said Mr Viljoen.

His only complaint was whether his company would get the necessary foreign currency to import raw materials for the domestic market.

"We anticipate that domestic orders will be up 33% this year," said Mr Viljoen.

Imports accounted for 14% of the company's total manufacturing needs with the rest made up of local materials.

"We need foreign currency to import high carbon steel which Zisco cannot supply."

Mr Viljoen said he was worried that without the foreign exchange necessary for imported inputs the company will not be able to cope with the domestic upturn of trade.

ZIMBABWE

MOST PRODUCER PRICES INCREASED

Harare THE HERALD in English 23 May 85 pp 1, 13

[Text] Producer prices for most agricultural products were increased yesterday--by as much as 50 percent in one case.

The price of \$180 a tonne for Class A naked maize, announced last August, was confirmed.

Prices for mhunga at \$250 a tonne, rapoko (\$300) and edible beans (\$450)--all for Class A naked deliveries--were frozen.

The Minister of Agriculture, Senator Denis Norman, announced that the price of Class A1 shelled groundnuts had been increased by 50 percent from \$500 to \$750 a tonne.

Other increases were:

--Class A naked sorghum--by \$40 to \$180 a tonne.

--Class A naked wheat--from \$250 to \$285 a tonne.

--Class A seed cotton--57c a kg to 67c.

--Grade A naked sunflower seed--\$285 to \$320 a tonne.

--Class B naked soyabeans--\$287 to \$320 a tonne.

On milk. Senator Norman said the seasonal producer price would be adjusted to give an average increase of 2c per litre in 1985-86.

"There will be no increased in the price of the beef schedule owing to difficulties being experienced in marketing," he said.

"In recognition of the reduced viability facing cattle farmers the Government will, however, increase the schedule from March 1 next year."

Senator Norman told newsmen that the Cabinet yesterday morning approved the increases which were intended to encourage Zimbabwe's self-sufficiency in food production, a good balance among crops and an increase in potential export products.

He said the Government was confident enough of the coming season's crops not to announce pre-planting prices as he had done as an incentive to maize farmers in August last year.

Pre-planting prices were abolished three years ago and would be used only when a crop needed stimulation, he said.

At the minister's Press conference was the chairman of the Agricultural Marketing Authority, Mr Paddy Millar, who announced the recommendations of the task force set up this season to smooth delivery of crops from communal areas to marketing depots.

He said 28 permanent depots had been established in areas which had qualified to produce more than 20 000 tonnes of agricultural commodities. Temporary depots would be operating on an on-and-off basis this season in areas which had been assessed to have a capacity of an offtake of up to about 100 000 tonnes.

The chairman of the AMA grain committee, Mr Mike Butler, told newsmen that it had been calculated that communal farmers would pay \$1 extra in transport charges to sited depots from which the Government would take over responsibility for the crop.

It had been decided that government trucks would not be used in the transport exercise contrary to the case with Crop Tran in 1981-82 when emergency measures could not be instituted in time to cope with the then bumper crop.

Swift Transport had been appointed co-ordinator of private operations in the exercise.

Mr Butler said communal farmers would qualify for stop orders for grain bags which would cost \$2,48 each.

There were 250 000 registered communal farmers of whom 125 000 represented cotton growers.

Mr Butler said: "Details about the movement of the crop should be finalised by the end of June. We hope to handle 1 million tonnes from communal areas and we expect most of the crop from the southern half of the country.

"The transport rates will have to be negotiated by farmers and operators registered with the Ministry of Transport.

Senator Norman announced that \$5 million had so far been released by the Treasury for the revolving farm irrigation fund.

Turning to Zimbabwe's surplus food the minister said: "We will try to reserve our exports for Africa where there is the biggest food deficit problem. We will be selling at world market prices through the World Food Programme to Zambia and probably to Botswana, Reunion, Mozambique, Tanzania and Lesotho."

CSO: 3400/368

ZIMBABWE

FARMING LEADERS WELCOME NEW PRICES

Harare THE HERALD in English 24 May 85 p 1

[Text] FARMERS' leaders yesterday hailed the producer price package announced on Wednesday, describing it as a positive indication of the Government's commitment to agriculture.

Commercial Farmers' Union president Mr John Laurie said the package, announced by the Minister of Agriculture, Senator Denis Norman, was "balanced" particularly in view of the good season the country has had.

The president of the National Farmers' Association of Zimbabwe, Cde Robinson Gapare, said the package was encouraging to communal farmers, adding that confirmation of the \$180-a-tonne maize price "is welcome".

"The cotton price is a sign that the Government is heading in the right direction. We hope the new groundnuts price will be the foundation on which to start bringing it to its feet again," he said.

In his capacity as Agricultural Marketing Authority, oilseeds committee chairman, Cde Gapare said: "I am happy that the price of the three oilseed commodities — soyabeans, groundnuts and sunflower — was increased.

"Any government that looks after the interests of its farming sector de-

serves support because it is building a sound base for rural development."

The president of the Zimbabwe National Farmers' Union, Cde Gary Magadzire, said: "We are very pleased with the new prices. We only appeal to the Government that any pre-planting price review initiatives should be in the best interests of the nation."

Leaders of commodity associations also welcomed the producer price package, describing it as a "step in the right direction".

Chairman of the Commercial Grain Producers' Association Mr Bud Whitaker said that while he had sought an increase

over the \$180 a tonne for maize, "producers will manage to use the fat to pay off the three years of debts created by drought".

Producers would be looking for a price in pace with inflation to safeguard the production hectareage vital for Zimbabwe and SADC needs.

Mr Whitaker said: "We are pleased the minister has moved the sorghum price to a parallel position with maize. It is now clearly a viable proposition for drought-prone areas."

The president of the Commercial Cotton Growers' Association, Mr Peter Flanagan, said the increase in A grade price

of cotton to 87c per kg "is a very positive step".

He added: "I believe the Government is correct to encourage cotton production by means of price mechanism."

The chairman of the winter cereals sub-committee of CGPA, Mr Bob Rutherford, said: "The Government's awareness to the producers' plight is welcomed and well illustrated by the overall package announcement.

"With a price of \$285 per tonne for wheat, producers must maximise yield to give them a fair return on their investment."

The chairman of the Commercial Oilseeds Pro-

ducers' Association, Mr Warwick Hale, said: "The improved soyabean price should ensure a healthy increase in the area under production and will afford the farmer an opportunity to rotate crops and minimise his risk."

Of groundnuts Mr Hale said: "The increase is a positive move to re-establish production. However, when viewed against existing black market prices, it is unlikely to attract substantial deliveries back into the orderly marketing channels."

The sunflower price, he said, should make this an attractive alternative crop for the communal farmer.

ZIMBABWE

TASK FORCE TO MONITOR CROP TRANSPORT FEES

Harare THE HERALD in English 24 May 85 p 1

[Text] A TASK FORCE to monitor the transportation of agricultural produce from communal and commercial farmers to the marketing depots has been established. It will come into effect this season.

The chairman of the grain committee of the Agricultural Marketing Authority, Mr Mike Butler, told a news conference on Wednesday that the task force had been asked to look into the problems of overcharging previously experienced in communal and resettlement areas.

The issue of costs would be particularly crucial this season because it had been estimated that about one million tonnes of crops would be delivered to both the grain and cotton marketing boards, particularly from the south of the country, he said.

Deliveries were expected to start from June 1 and details about transport should be available from Swift Transport, which had been appointed co-ordinator, by the end of June.

The chairman of the task force, Mr Paddy Millar, said there would be 42 permanent collection points chosen by Agritex in conjunction with the GMB and the National Farmers' Association of Zimbabwe.

The sites were based on crop production estimates and priority was given to areas which would produce about 20 000 tonnes. The need for rural development was also borne in mind. The AMA has already established 28 depots in communal areas.

Mr Millar, who is also chairman of AMA, said there would be a number of semi-permanent depots to cater for areas expecting a couple of hundred tonnes. They would be operational on a day or two basis when required.

The depots would be maintained by GMB staff and farmers would be expected to pay a nominal handling fee.

CSO: 3400/367

ZIMBABWE

BIG OIL PALM PROJECT FOR MWENEZI

Harare THE HERALD in English 17 May 85 p 10

[Text] A decision by the Government about a proposed \$180 million oil palm development in the Mwenezi district, Masvingo, province, is expected soon, reports GMHL Investments Ltd.

This was confirmed this week by GMHL's managing director, Mr Brian Igoe. The project was first announced over a year ago and has since been discussed with a wide range of Government officials and committees.

Expected to provide employment for over 10 000 people, the development would, said Mr Igoe, not only have a direct impact on Masvingo province, but would also "represent the first major vote of confidence in Zimbabwe by a consortium of leading international investors, and must act as a catalyst for further investment both in agriculture and other fields".

GMHL is a joint venture between locally-owned Masimba Investments (Pvt) Ltd and Aberfoyle Holdings, the UK company which established the tea industry in the Honde Valley.

The development will, if given the go-ahead, be operated by a GMHL subsidiary, the Mwenezi Development Corporation, and be backed by Aberfoyle's major shareholders, including four large City of London investment groups.

"It is hoped that the Government and other local interests will also participate and ARDA has been offered the right to acquire 25 percent of equity," said Mr Igoe.

The development is destined for land near Rutenga, which will be irrigated from the proposed Manyuchi dam on the Mwenezi River to be built by the developers at a cost of more than \$30 million.

The principal end-product of oil palms is palm oil, while by-products include cattle concentrates. The plant takes about seven years to reach maturity when, estimated Mr Igoe, they would yield oil worth \$50 million a year at present values. The scheme involves the construction of two 35 tonne per hour oil mills.

CSO: 3400/369

ZIMBABWE

MINING CO-OP PLANNED

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 22 May 85 p 2

[Text] THE "madobadoba" type of mining, whereby people randomly search for and pick minerals, is to be phased out by forming co-operatives through the agency of the Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation, the Deputy Minister of Mines, Cde Chimbidzai Sanyangare, said yesterday.

Speaking at the official opening of the 17th annual joint conference of the Mining Affairs Board and the District Advisory Boards in Bulawayo, Cde Sanyangare said agreement to phase this system out had been reached between mining companies, the Ministries of Mines and Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, the Associated Mineworkers' Union, the Chamber of Mines and mine owners.

The Ministry of Mines in consultation with the Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development were considering ways of introducing a new special loan scheme to help co-operatives, he said.

Cde Sanyangare praised mining companies for their "resilience and resolution to maintain operations at their optimum" in the face of cash flow problems emanating from low international mineral prices and sharp increases in electricity tariffs.

In the past year, he said, major mineral products like

gold, ferrochrome, asbestos, coal, nickel and copper had shown a moderate upswing which was coupled with an increase in the value of mining output and slightly improved mineral prices on international markets.

Looking to the future, Cde Sanyangare said the production of gold was increasing. Key producers also showed confidence in the future by expanding production and investing in new projects.

Cde Sanyangare said the position of the producer of asbestos had now improved. Stockpiles accumulated during the period of recession had now been depleted.

CSO: 3400/363

ZIMBABWE

MINING INDUSTRY EFFORTS PRAISED

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 23 May 85 p 3

[Text] THE Government and the mining industry should continue to exert efforts to control production costs so that the industry can remain competitive, the Deputy Prime Minister, Cde Simon Muzenda, said in Bulawayo yesterday.

Speaking at the official opening of the 46th annual meeting of the Chamber of Mines, Cde Muzenda said this was of vital importance because none of the nearly 40 minerals Zimbabwe produced was sufficiently dominant on the world market to significantly influence pricing and demand.

Cde Muzenda said some of the producers had so far survived because of the devaluation of the dollar rather than through any notable improvement in unit prices.

At the same time, not much foreign currency was locally available because of increased external payments for loans and interests.

"Our hope, therefore, is to

control local costs so as to enable the establishment of new mining projects which are essential if we are to carry the mining industry into the 21st century," Cde Muzenda said.

He commended the mining industry for its resilience during the period of recession saying it had increased its contribution to the gross domestic product from \$285 million at Independence to nearly \$547 million last year.

"The uncertainties and doubts experienced in the early years of Independence within the industry appear to have been overcome and replaced by what I believe to be an air of mutual confidence between the Government and the mining industry. Hence, today, we have an industry of which we are all proud," he said.

Speaking at the same meeting the Minister of Mines, Cde Callistus Ndlovu, called for more ex-

ploration and investment in the mining industry.

He said the Lome III between ACP countries and the EEC countries concluded last year contained wider provisions that could help the country's mining sector in, among other things, prospecting, exploration and provision of funds for research.

He urged delegates to improve the linkage between mining and manufacturing.

Cde Ndlovu said while the Government acknowledged the strides made by several companies in training technicians, a lot remained to be done in the training of high level mining management personnel.

He expressed disappointment at the high level of fatal accidents in the industry. During the year 35 people were killed in 33 accidents mainly due to ground falls, tripping and hoist failures. — Chronicle Reporter-Ziana.

ZIMBABWE

MINING INDUSTRY RECORDS INCREASE IN VOLUME

Harare THE HERALD in English 23 May 85 p 13

[Text] Bulawayo. The mining industry recorded an overall increase of 4 per cent in volume in 1984 over the previous year, the first time this had happened since independence.

This was said yesterday by Mr Leo Kimble, president of the Chamber of Mines, when he addressed the organisation's annual meeting at a hotel here.

Substantial increases were recorded in the production volume of gold (15,8 percent), chrome ore (10,6), lithium (17,5) and emeralds (35), Mr Kimble told the meeting.

Reviewing the activities of the mining industry in 1984, Mr Kimble said it was pleasing that electricity and rail tariffs were not increased again in mid-year; that a realistic exchange rate policy in relation to the United States dollar and other hard currencies was pursued; that a gold price support scheme was introduced when the price continued to decline; and that discipline among the workforce and therefore productivity was maintained at a relatively high level.

"The revenues of local mining companies have increased to the extent that they are now able to make a start on the repayment of borrowings that were necessary to keep them afloat during the recession, and restore worn-out plant and equipment."

The value of mining production, said Mr Kimble, was \$546 million, an increase of \$76 million over that of 1983, and results so far this year indicated that the value of mining production for 1985 was likely to be \$600 million.

Fortunately, he said, emergency action by the Ministry of Mines had prevented actual closures caused by lack of foreign exchange. But delays and equipment resulted in production losses which could never be recouped.--Ziana.

CSO: 3400/368

ZIMBABWE

HARARE CHAIRS EAST AFRICAN HIGHWAY BODY

Harare THE HERALD in English 16 May 85 p 1

[Text] Zimbabwe was yesterday elected to chair the Trans-East African Highway Authority which starts meeting in Harare today to explore ways of abolishing regulations that hinder the free flow of traffic between member countries.

The authority has nine full members--Ethiopia, Zambia, Malawi, Kenya, Egypt, Botswana, Tanzania, Swaziland and Zimbabwe--with Burundi, Djibouti, Libya, Mozambique, Rwanda, Somalia and Uganda as associate members.

Three working groups were set up yesterday to look into three non-physical factors--immigration, customs and restrictions in road use--which inhibit free inter-state flow of traffic which is the main subject at this session.

The four-day meeting will be officially opened by the Deputy Prime Minister, Cde Simon Muzenda, today.

The director of Teaha's transport, communications and tourism division, Professor Bongoy Mpekesa, said the meeting would aim at linking African countries within the framework of the Lagos Plan of Action.

Communication through road transport would be the major item at the present session. "As far back as the time of Cecil Rhodes people talked about linking Africa from Cairo to Cape, but it was only in 1971 in Tunis that it was decided that African countries should endeavour to link Cairo in Egypt and Gaborone in Botswana," said Prof. Mpekesa.

But road links alone were not enough if they could not be used because of laws inhibiting the free movement of people and other traffic.

Outside financial help for Teaha has come from the Canadian government through an organisation, Delcanda, that donated C\$250 000 for the study.

As chairman Zimbabwe yesterday convened the three-group meeting and will chair the facilitation committee meeting that starts today, Zimbabwe took over the chair from Egypt.

CSO: 3400/370

ZIMBABWE

INTERSTATE ROAD NETWORK STUDY TO BE COMPLETED SOON

Harare THE HERALD in English 17 May 85 pp 1, 9

[Text] Zimbabwe will soon complete a transport study on a co-ordinated inter-state road network that will promote trade and travel, the Deputy Prime Minister, Cde Simon Muzenda, said yesterday.

In an official opening address Cde Muzenda told delegates to the Trans-East African Highway Authority meeting in Harare that this was one of the strategies designed to link fragmented national networks.

The meeting is seeking ways of abolishing regulations that inhibit the free flow of traffic between member states.

Cde Muzenda said the development of a sound road network was essential, particularly in Africa. This was why the United Nations transport and communications decade for Africa was considered as an effective means of pulling the continent out of underdevelopment and poverty.

"Because we are facing numerous obstacles to our economic development the immediate objective and task of the inter-state facilitation commission of Teaha is to identify and document those legal and administrative barriers which have hitherto impeded the smooth flow of traffic and trade along the Cairo to Gaborone highway," said Cde Muzenda.

Following the acceptance of this crucial objective, Teaha countries had set out to determine the non-physical barriers to the freedom of travel and trade along this highway.

"You, who are leaders in your field within the African region, should take advantage of this aspect if the full benefits of this and similar conferences are to be realised by your respective governments."

The meeting, said Cde Muzenda, was to:

- Review the progress of the pre-investment study of the highway.
- Consider the work of the inter-state facilitation commission and its subsidiary bodies.
- Examine pertinent administrative matters.

Cde Muzenda reminded the delegates: "Your deliberations and work in general should prove crucial to Africa's socio-economic growth. The long-lasting effects of the decisions you make this week will produce an impact that will spill well into the next century. You therefore cannot afford to go wrong."

He noted that the tourist potential of the highway was not being overlooked at the conference. This was an aspect of particular interest to Zimbabwe as to other states and would promote better understanding, friendship and co-operation.

Zimbabwe, he said, was still making progress in developing its road infrastructure, particularly in the rural and communal areas to serve peasants who had been neglected by colonial regimes.

The Government was also maintaining existing roads and extending some to link with its sister states.

He said 2 968 km of the existing Zimbabwean road system had been included in Teaha's main and feeder network. Of this, 2 871 km were two-lane, tar-surfaced roads which satisfied all the engineering standards proposed for Teaha and its feeder routes.

Zimbabwe had also embarked on a programme of rehabilitating sections of its international road network which had outlived its economic life and was deteriorating to unacceptable and unserviceable condition.

Rehabilitation on roads included in Teaha's network comprised:

--Reconstruction near Harare of 9 km of the Harare to Mutare road which was already completed.

--Reconstruction of the Bulawayo to Beitbridge road, built over expansive soils over 20 years ago and now failing, due for completion next year;

--Reconstruction near Chirundu necessitated by the collapse of the sodic soils originally used in building road embankments, now complete.

--Upgrading of the 88 km of the Masvingo to Beitbridge road from a narrow to a wide mat standard.

But Cde Muzenda emphasised: "Zimbabwe's efforts in development will yield limited value if Teaha member states do not work as tirelessly within the spirit of co-operation under the guidance of the Economic Commission for Africa."

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ZIMBABWE

SWEDISH AGENCY TO PROVIDE TRUCKS FOR RAILWAYS

Harare THE HERALD in English 23 May 85 p 4

[Text] The Road Motor Services of the railways will receive 38 Scania trucks worth about \$3 million from Sweden under a grant aid programme of the Swedish International Development Authority.

Under the same programme the District Development Fund will receive 30 vehicles for its rural development programmes.

The RMS trucks will be shipped to Zimbabwe this month and the DDF vehicles are expected in about three months.

At a Press briefing this week on the development co-operation talks being held in Harare between Sweden and Zimbabwe it was announced that Sweden would make available \$9 million for a commodity import programme for the private and public sectors.

The \$9 million will come from a \$43 million aid agreement that will be signed between the two countries tomorrow.

The outgoing head of Sida in Zimbabwe, Mr Dag Ehrenpreis, said \$5 million would be for the public sector and \$4 million for the private sector.

Mr Borje Ljunggren, who is heading the Swedish delegation to the aid talks, said his country's aid programme for the two-year period July 1 this year to June 30 1987 would be spent on health, education and transport and in public administration sectors.

CSO: 3400/368

ZIMBABWE

INCENTIVES EXIST FOR RURAL INVESTMENT

Harare THE HERALD in English 17 May 85 p 9

[Text] Bulawayo. Although the Ministry of Industry and Technology was working on a package that would provide further incentives for local businessmen to invest in the rural areas, there are already a number of incentives businessmen could use.

Answering questions at the annual congress of the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce on Wednesday, the Deputy Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Cde Moton Malianga, said there was already a 15 percent allowance on additional capital invested in the rural areas as well as a number of administrative incentives.

"It is really up to the local businessmen to take up these incentives," he said.

The Minister of State (Industry and Technology), Cde Kumbirai Kangai, said his ministry was working on a package that had still to be discussed with the Ministry of Finance. This package included suggestions from the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries on what could be done to attract industry in the rural areas.

The Harare branch of the ZNCC had asked Government to consider inducements to business operators to attract them to the rural areas.

These incentives, the chamber said, could be in the form of investment allowance, exemption from levies and provision of infrastructure like transport, water and power.

Delegates devoted yesterday morning to a debate of issues raised in two papers dealing with investment and employment in Zimbabwe, with both Government and ANCC representatives arguing their cases.

The symposium in the morning was followed in the afternoon by a closed session where delegates were expected to discuss in more detail the major issues of contention expected, as one delegate expressed it, to provoke "a no-holds-barred" discussion.

On Wednesday the open business session dealt with Government expenditure and how to control it and the development of small-scale industries in rural areas.

The two motions were tabled by the Harare branch and provoked an outburst of protest from the Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Cde Eddison Zvobgo, who described the motion on the need to control Government spending as, at best, a mischievous and one-sided presentation.

The paper, he said, isolated Zimbabwe from the rest of the developing Third World in similar situations.

Earlier, Cde Malianga replied to criticisms that Government spending left little else for the productive sectors of the economy.

The Government, Cde Malianga said, had inherited a system that had neglected vital areas of public life in the fundamental spheres of education and health which it now sought to correct.

The Government also had a duty to improve economic infrastructure, such as roads, to attract investors to the vital, but undeveloped, rural areas.

Cde Malianga said that while promoting development needing large investment, his ministry kept the expenditure monitored to ensure it posed no threat to the economy as a whole.

The Deputy Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, Cde Jane Ngwenya, opened yesterday's business by presenting the paper on employment creation in Zimbabwe, saying that of the 74 000 school leavers who entered the labour market in January, 32 857 had been sent to training, vocational or technical colleges to learn skills or to university.

CSO: 3400/370

ZIMBABWE

BUSINESS MEN HAIL CURRENCY MOVE

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 22 May 85 p 2

[Text] HARARE — Private sector representatives have welcomed the review of exchange control restrictions as a "morale booster" and a sure sign that the economy is on the road to recovery.

The chairman of the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange, Mr Bill Burdett-Coutts, said the change announced yesterday were most gratifying, particularly as they justified his predictions late last year that "the tide was turning, and this will make it turn even more".

Although some people might be disappointed that suspended dividends and profits would only be released through six-year 4% bonds, this was "a step in the right direction" and the fact that the original dividend policy, which allowed a remittance of 50% of after-tax profits, would be reinstated next year would restore investor confidence, he said.

"The Government must be congratulated on fulfilling its obligations to review the remittance issue and this should give a great boost to the economy."

Mr John Mkushi, vice-president of the Confedera-

tion of Zimbabwe Industries said the review was "very good news".

The lifting of restrictions on dividends had been necessary because the country had made an undertaking to review the situation. The move would enhance Zimbabwe's international credibility with investors, he said.

Some industrialists contacted yesterday said a 30 percent increase in foreign currency allocation would, in the face of drastic cuts in regular allocations over the last three years, not be enough to meet their needs and they would continue to rely on their allocation being topped up by aid funds or special allocations.

"But the fact that it has been increased at all is a real morale booster," said one, adding that it indicated a real improvement in foreign exchange reserves.

Meanwhile, Ziana reports that the president of the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce, Mr Ernest Chiweshe has also welcomed the easing of restrictions and said he hoped that the 30 percent increase would apply to all sectors of the business community. — Own Corr.

27 June 1985

ZIMBABWE

CHIDZERO EASES FREEZE ON REMITTANCES

Harare THE HERALD in English 22 May 85 p 1

[Text] The Government has increased foreign exchange allocations for the second half of this year by 30 percent and has lifted the suspension on the remittance of dividends and of branch and partnership profits.

The Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Dr Bernard Chidzero, told a news conference yesterday that the Government had completed an extensive review of the balance of payments and had decided to ease exchange control restrictions.

"It is the Government's view that in the light of the improving balance of payments situation, resulting mainly from a strong expansion in exports, the first priority is to increase the global foreign exchange allocation in order to sustain the economic recovery that is now beginning to take place in the economy."

The 30 percent increase on the first half of the year "should certainly provide for significant increases in imports in real terms, which are needed if production and employment are to expand and the economic upturn is to be sustained".

All dividends, branch and partnership profits declared since April 1 1984 and paid into the special suspended dividends accounts with the banks and any dividends declared between now and December 31 1985 will be released from January 1 1986.

They will be released through the already established procedure of 4 percent interest with the capital amounts released over six years in equal annual instalments.

The original dividend policy before the March 1984 suspension would be reinstated in January 1986, with remittability on the basis of a maximum 50 percent of after-tax profits.

Cde Chidzero said the remittability of incomes other than dividends, branch and partnership profits were still being reviewed by the Government.

The Government had honoured its pledge to review the exchange control restrictions when they were announced in March 1984.

"These measures should certainly enable the current economic recovery to be sustained over the medium term, and it is certainly hoped that the restoration of dividend remittability will encourage a significantly higher level of foreign investment which will also assist in bringing about the higher levels of production and employment that the economy needs during the second half of the 1980s."

Cde Chidzero was flanked by his deputy, Cde Moton Malianga, the secretary, Cde Elisha Mushayakarara, and the Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank, Mr Richard Parke.

When he announced the exchange control restrictions, Cde Chidzero said they were aimed at saving \$20 million a month in foreign exchange and would help the country import food and service external debts.

CSO: 3400/369

ZIMBABWE

BRIEFS

DEPENDENCE ON FARMING--About 88 percent of the 1,2 million people living in the Midlands Province depend on farming for their livelihood. Commerce and industry in the province has been unable to absorb more than 10 percent of the provincial population and this is unlikely to change soon. The province's Governor, Cde Benson Ndemera, said this when officially opening a two-day provincial Agritex officers' conference in Gweru on Tuesday. He said statistics showed that the ever-growing population of the Midlands and other provinces would remain dependent on the agricultural sector. More than 20 Agritex officials drawn from all the eight provinces are attending the course. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 17 May 85 p 3]

CZECHS READY TO TRADE--Czechoslovakia is prepared to increase trade with Zimbabwe on a cash basis and business between the two countries this year will reflect this desire. The commercial counsellor at the Czech embassy in Harare, Cde Milan Krchma, said since a trade agreement was concluded between the two countries in 1982, trade had mainly been through barter. He said that it had been decided to do much of the trade on a cash basis as this also suited Zimbabwe. Total trade turnover in 1984 amounted to US \$3,42 million. "In 1985 we anticipate that Zimbabwe will export to Czechoslovakia goods exceeding US\$4 million and Czechoslovakian exports to Zimbabwe will be of the same value." Zimbabwe imports ball and roller bearings, synthetic rubber, textile machines, bicycle and motor vehicle spare parts, glassware, measuring equipment, hand tools, drills, paper, hydraulics, hoses, tyres and tubes from Czechoslovakia. Zimbabwe exports tobacco and denim fabrics to Czechoslovakia. Cde Krchma said he expected future talks would widen the number of commodities. [Text] [Harare THE SUNDAY MAIL in English 19 May 85 p 5]

HOUSING GRANT FROM SAUDI--Zimbabwe yesterday received a \$200 000 grant from Saudi Arabian Prince al Waleed bin Talal bin Abdulaziz Al Saud for the construction of 50 low-cost houses in Bindura and Gwanda. The grant came as a result of the prince's visit to Zimbabwe in November last year when he promised massive investments in areas of great need in Zimbabwe's development. The cheque was presented to the Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Dr Bernard Chidzero, by the prince's adviser and coordinator for African investments, Mr Faisal Fahad. Cde Chidzero said he hoped that other plans for joint ventures would soon materialise. Mr Fahad said the prince was considering several areas of investment in Zimbabwe because he had been impressed by what he had seen. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 22 May 85 p 1]

MORE POWER TO CHIEFS--The Government is considering the introduction of legislation which will give additional powers to chiefs. Addressing more than 200 chiefs in Harare recently. Mugabe said the Government is considering making chiefs presiding officers in primary courts; this follows complaints that the chiefs had been stripped of their traditional powers. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE in English May 85 p 27]

BEEF DEAL WITH ANGOLA--Zimbabwe and Angola have signed a \$14,8 million contract covering the supply of beef from Zimbabwe between August 1985 and March 1986. A spokesman for the Cold Storage Commission said the beef agreement was signed following a recent visit to Angola by a top-level CSC delegation led by Cde Richard Katsande, a member of the Agricultural Marketing Authority. During the group's visit to Angola it received inquiries about the import of other food products from Zimbabwe. These had been referred to the relevant organisations. The spokesman said that since initial negotiations with Angola for the sale of beef in 1983, a sound working relationship had been established between Zimbabwe and Angola. This week the final shipment of the first contract to supply beef to Angola was made. The spokesman said the CSC had so far exported products worth \$20 million to Angola. [Text] [Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 17 May 85 p 11]

MILITIA PAY--Trainee militiamen get 49c a day (\$15 a month) during training according to the Defence (Zimbabwe People's Militia) (Non-Commissioned Members) (General) Regulations issued in terms of the Constitution under the Defence Act and not "dummy training" as a typographical error on Monday suggested.--Herald Reporter. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 23 May 85 p 13]

CSO: 3400/368

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