

14 June 1982

Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2639

19980831 165

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

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JPRS 81044

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GUNT MINISTER DESCRIBES HABRE AS AGENT OF IMPERIALISTS

Paris REVOLUTION in French 26 Feb 82 pp 10, 11

[Article by Facho Balaam, Leon Charles: "A Minister Explains Himself"]

[Text] What is going on in Chad? What is Hissein Habre seeking? What went on at the Nairobi conference? What does the Goukouni government want, and what does it expect from France? Leon Charles met with Dr Facho Balaam, minister of the Transitional National Union Government (GUNT).

Dr Facho Balaam is secretary general of the National Democratic Union (UND), 1 of 11 Chadian political groups to sign the Lagos agreements. This movement has not formed an army of its own. Named to the Transitional National Union Government (GUNT), Dr Balaam fills the post of minister of public works, energy and transportation. Recently, he formed part of the delegation around President Goukouni Oueddei at the limited summit for heads of state held 10 and 11 February 1982 in Nairobi. Presided over by Mr Arap Moi, [the summit] was to examine the Chadian question.

"Straightaway, I can tell you that the Nairobi conference was a manipulation of the neocolonial countries, with American imperialism's blessing. When we arrived in Nairobi with President Goukouni, we were received by the Kenyan minister of foreign affairs, because President Arap Moi and his other colleagues had already opened the conference!... Our government had already recommended to us that we not carry on any more discussions with the self-styled Permanent Committee of the OAU--which has no legal existence--and which groups together heads of state managing the imperialist interests in Africa. The conference's agenda had not been communicated to us. Officially, the issue was to settle the military problem caused by the presence of pan-African troops in Ndjamena, because since their arrival no country had made any financial contributions. We knew that the Zairian Army had been totally taken over by the Americans, who were also subsidizing the Nigerian contingent, while France was aiding Senegal."

Upon entering the conference hall, the Chadian delegation received two different versions of the agenda within a few minutes. In order to see through the political maneuvering, the delegation raised a point of order.

"We wished to know the exact nature of the commission responsible for discussing the Chadian problem. The legal nature of this commission had to be made explicit. The secretary general of the OAU, Mr Kodjo, then specified to us that the permanent committee was not set up by any legal act, but that it exists de facto! How can such a committee exist de facto, if it has no legal basis? We refused to recognize this committee. We declared that we were ready to talk with all of Chad's neighboring countries, the countries which have actually supplied their troops and the three observer countries designated by the OAU president in office.

The Chadian delegation withdrew, and while the dealing went on behind the scenes...the summit adopted a resolution on Chad!

"They asked us to cease firing at midnight 28 February, to negotiate on 15 March with the different constituents, to organize elections in May or June; and on 30 June the pan-African forces will withdraw from Chad. We were stupefied. We understood that even if we had not come, the same decision would have been made."

The Chadian delegation rejected the resolution, which it took to be indirect support for Hisssein Habre.

"He took advantage of the Libyans' departure to occupy the eastern regions of the country without a struggle. He represents something only because he is an agent of the imperialists. In spite of his military defeat in Ndjamena, he remains their surest man. That is why they injected Hisssein Habre once again onto our national territory. Chadians unanimously see him as a divisive element, dangerous to peace. To negotiate with him would be to prepare for war once again, because he respects no agreements. He violated the Khartoum agreements, the basic charter of the Malloum period, the Lagos agreements. When will he stop? Our people are weary of war and aspire to peace."

Doesn't Hisssein Habre's offensive from Sudan put the CUNT in a difficult situation?

"Unity within the government is tightening up, and relations among the forces are changing. Very recently, on 11 February, Hisssein Habre tried to attack the city of Salal. We repulsed him and reoccupied the Koro-Toro area. Near Ati he suffered a significant defeat, leaving more than 400 prisoners and weapons of every caliber. On the 13th, we retook the city of Am Dum."

In this situation, what role does the pan-African force play?

"The Lagos agreements intended for this neutral force to separate the belligerents. For a year now, the problem has been resolved: The troops in the interior have regrouped to combat Hisssein Habre's rebellion. So the troops remaining in the interior have united; the country has been pacified. Officially, the pan-African force came in order to assure Chad's peace and security. What for, except to respond to any aggression

from outside? If this force declares itself neutral and does not fight, it no longer has any reason to exist. Once we have beaten Hissein Habre, isn't there the danger of its turning against us?"

The minister then recalled his people's struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism.

"We have consented to enormous sacrifices in order to reduce the presence of imperialism within our country. After so many years of struggle for independence and national sovereignty, it would be inconceivable for us still to accept the presence of agents of imperialism who seek to break the revolutionary forces. After their defeat, we will give the country a democratic orientation, authorizing the setting up of political parties and organizing elections. The people will determine the proposed political program for themselves. This is the only solution that can bring about total and permanent peace. Reactionary forces exist; they must be considered and given the opportunity to express themselves in a democratic process. With Hissein Habre, this process would be compromised; since he will not be able to win the elections, his only recourse will be force and a dictatorship that will oppress our people and lengthen the struggle for liberation."

Chad needs the support of all progressive forces. France, especially, should contribute to the return of peace.

"With a Socialist having come to power, our relations with the French Government should have changed: no more neocolonialism, but instead relations of equality between sovereign countries. So we expected many things of France. But unfortunately, as I see it--this is perhaps a personal attitude--I find the French Government since the Cancun declaration hesitant...with regard to several international problems, especially African ones. This hesitation is not the way to help the progressive forces in Africa and in the world free themselves from the imperialist yoke. For our part, we would like the French position to be more in line with its ideological choice. France should contribute its moral and material support to the GUNT, which the OAU recognized in June 1981 as Chad's only legal government. To do this, France must deliver us weapons. We are not asking for troops--we have men--but equipment in order to win the rebellion."

9927

CSO: 4719/808

CONGO

NEW BUSES ORDERED FROM SPAIN; TRANSPORT PROBLEMS PERSIST

Brazzaville MWETI in French No 563, 10 Apr 82 p 2

[Article by C. Yinda O'Tamongo: "120 New Buses Expected"]

[Excerpt] Brazzaville's deputy mayor made a fruitful trip to Madrid (Spain) from 19 March to 1 April at the head of an STB [Brazzaville transport company] delegation comprising the general manager and the head of the financial department of the STB. Comrade Gabriel Enouengue signed three new agreements there for the delivery of 120 new buses for the STB.

At Brazzaville's city hall, and especially at the STB, 7 May 1980 is a significant and unforgettable date, for more than one reason. On that day, Comrade Enouengue signed two agreements at city hall enabling our public transport company to acquire 139 new public transport vehicles made in a more appropriate style.

The arrival of these buses led to the creation of jobs, which made it possible to recruit many young Congolese whose future was uncertain. It also opened the way to a solution of a serious "sociopolitical" problem: the allocation of public transportation.

About 10 buses were assigned to Loubomo. The remaining 128 came back to the capital, where they are now serving various districts. Despite this impressive number of buses, not everyone is satisfied; otherwise there would no longer be complaints by the public to the municipal government about the service, complaints basically about long waits at bus stops.

Requirements of 20th Anniversary

The general manager of the STB acknowledges the problem as a real one, adding that the purpose of Comrade Enouengue's trip to Spain was to set things in motion to provide the STB with enough buses to put an end to this problem.

We went to Madrid mainly to sign three agreements, but took advantage of his visit to meet with officers of Spain's foreign commerce bank and negotiate a rescheduling of our original debt maturities. This was for

the first buses, and will enable the municipality to pay off the debt a little earlier. When the first two agreements were signed, in 1980, the STB's equipment was not to be renewed until 1983.

The deputy mayor went to Spain a year earlier to negotiate other agreements so as to avoid undue haste, because, he told us, it is time to start preparations for celebration of the 20th anniversary of our revolution.

Thus, the transaction concluded in Madrid between the municipal authorities of our capital and the Spanish negotiators provides for the acquisition, from January 1983 through March and April, of 147 vehicles distributed as follows:

1. 120 type 6038 buses (like the present express buses: According to Comrade Makouangou, these will then become the only express buses; the ones presently in use will be converted to omnibuses but will still cost 100 francs. These future new express buses will be painted green and white, not red and white as our buses are now;
2. Two 5063 green and white motor coaches (the same type now in use);
3. Two delux motor coaches, which heads of state will ride in on the occasion of the 20th anniversary;
4. One double-traction tow truck.

Old Tickets Resold

Another agreement was signed that will benefit the Brazzaville Funeral Service. Comrade Enouengue wanted to enable this service to specialize in public transportation to cemeteries. This will lighten the burden of the STB and enable it to avoid using its buses for this purpose, all the more necessary because the buses do not hold up well under the strain of frequent overloading and are damaged by our rough roads.

Brazzaville's mayor therefore obtained a buyer-credit for 10 hearses and 12 trucks covered with tarpaulins to be used for this purpose.

Under present conditions, he feels that if all of the available buses were used appropriately, users would be better served and there would be fewer complaints. Despite breakdowns, there are hardly more than 70 buses in circulation per day due to lack of personnel to man them: drivers, ticket sellers and ticket verifiers. Almost all these people show vast professional irresponsibility in the form of long and unjustified absences, delays in taking over shifts and fictitious breakdowns resulting in an early return of the bus to the depot. This without mentioning a habit the general manager calls "dangerous": "Some employees recirculate used tickets, thus leading to a large surplus." The Deputy Mayor, having ascertained the facts about this situation, which has even caused a decline in revenue, announced warning sanctions upon his return to prod those concerned to recover their consciences.

A total of 17 employees were fired, including:

1. Seven drivers (five of whom are the STB's "rivals" because they own taxis, which is "contrary to the provisions of the collective convention").
2. Two other drivers, for repeated and unjustified absence. This category includes five ticket sellers and four others who were habitual sellers of old tickets.

Finally, one ticket verifier has been deprived of his helmet and his fine navy blue uniform and put in the street due to "dishonesty." He tried to force a ticket seller to agree to share with him the money he had collected during the day. There are 3 women among the 17 people thus punished.

9855

CSO: 4719/852

PCT ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITTEE REVIEWS JUDICIAL REFORM WORK

Brassaville ETUMBA in French No 639, 10 Apr 82 pp 3, 10

[Excerpts] The members of the organizational committee of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party [PCT], acting under the authority of decision number 001/PCT/CC/DO/DO/CAB of 1 April 1982, held a regular meeting on Saturday 3 April in the conference hall of the Department of Organization.

The acting chairman was Comrade Jean Ganga-Zandzou, president of the National Assembly and member of the Political Bureau, who was standing in for Comrade Jean-Michel Bokamba Yangouma.

In its first meeting this year, the members of the committee examined various important documents concerning the organizational life of the party and the people, to wit:

--a draft bill to reorganize the judicial system in the People's Republic of Congo;

--ideas about the PCT's role in society;

--ideas about the utilization of party workers; and

--elaboration of the family code.

In the areas of judicial reform and family code, the Central Committee is engaged in studying ways to implement the resolution of the Third Special Congress on justice.

We know that judicial reform is one of the attributes of national sovereignty. At the present time, the structure and organization of our judicial system, left over from the colonial era, no longer reflect the profound aspirations of the Congolese people. On the one hand, we deplore the decrepitude of the codes now in force; on the other, the discrepancy between modern and traditional justice tends to reinforce inequality in the way different litigants are treated.

how to establish a single judicial system for all of the Congolese people and people's courts to which nonprofessional judges would be elected.

Progress on the family code was reviewed by means of a report by Comrade Diaudonne Kimbembe, minister of justice and keeper of the seals, on the work done by the study group.

Like any other family code, this one's purpose is to define the obligations to be established concerning engagements, marriage, divorce, legal separation, marriage contracts, legal wardship and guardianship over minors, inheritance and so forth.

As one can see, this subject--at once delicate and lofty--is not without interest. It is going to be difficult for people to keep their emotions in check. Indeed, owing to the habits that have grown up over generations, the task of transformation is not at all easy. But in the face of a changing world the PCT must make its program a reality.

According to the minister of justice, the proposed family code may ultimately contain some 800 articles when codified into law.

The ideas adopted at the meeting on the party's role in society also constitute implementation of the party program. The document approved prescribes the immediate and long-term social activities of the party aimed at labor, the peasantry, artists, party members and the children of heroes. We know, in fact, that the party program commits all citizens, whether or not they are party members, to activities of many different kinds that could endanger their lives. It was with this in mind that the Third Special Congress in March 1979 passed a resolution providing for the care of children of [deceased] heroes [of the revolution]. The document on the utilization of party workers was not adopted; adoption was postponed pending further information to be considered at the next meeting.

9516

CSO: 4719/848

CSC INVOLVED IN NUMEROUS DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS FOR WORKERS

Brazzaville ETUMBA in French No 639, 10 Apr 82 p 6

[Text] The policy of the Congolase Trade Union Confederation [SCS], which for many years was concerned solely with trade union goals--education, organization, mobilization, defense of interests--has acquired a new orientation toward economic-social operations since the Trade Union Council of 1979. As provided in our bylaws, the CSC is to participate in the creation of the material conditions that will make possible the building of scientific socialism on firm organizational, political, economic and socio-cultural foundations.

The investment budget, which is steadily increasing, is now equal to 20 percent of overall revenue. The CSC is financing the following activities:

- property and building maintenance of the headquarters;
- studies of various proposals;
- economic-social activities; and
- construction of [confederation] offices and labor exchanges throughout the country.

To carry out large-scale projects, the SCS asks the help of the party and the state, the trade union confederations of friendly countries and social partners in the private sector.

The Center for Workers

This center is located right on the grounds of CSC headquarters. The cost of construction was CFA Fr 3,031,108.

The center can accommodate 65 customers--50 at the snack bar and 15 in the VIP restaurant.

The center employs seven workers. Its floor space of 756 square meters is used for both political and cultural events. Thus, it can serve for ...

entertainment, for education and for gatherings of workers. Its financial situation--which, however, is visibly improving--is presently recovering from the illicit increase in the price of commodities on the market combined with the stagnation of prices on the menus since its creation.

Hotel 8 November 1964

This building is located on Behable Street, opposite "Voice of the Congolese Revolution." Its area is 908 square meters.

The restoration work carried out by Soki Paint, the entrepreneur, cost CFA Fr 1,801,108.

Under the heading of self-improvement, the CSC has undertaken electrification and carpentry projects using its own workers. The CSC appropriated CFA Fr 5 billion for restoring the hotel.

The hotel has 14 rooms. Room rates vary from CFA Fr 8,000 to 21,000.

The unit is well managed in that it pays for its own operating costs. However, a complete assessment of its operations can only be done after 3 years of experience. For the time being, until such features as the restaurant are in place, the hotel employs a staff of 11.

So that they would avoid unnecessary mistakes in the performance of their duties, the hotel staff were trained at Brazzaville's Hotel Meridien.

Worker Relaxation Center at Kintala

Located 30 km north of Brazzaville on National Highway 2, the Kintala Worker Relaxation Center offers a pleasant environment for recuperation.

This 8.7-hactare site will be developed with the following facilities:

- a 36-room hotel;
- a restaurant that can serve 120 people;
- a sports complex;
- a pier for water sports and other outdoor activities on the Congo;
- 13 villas each bearing the name of one of our federated trade unions;
- an institute for trade union organization studies and research;
- an administrative building, dispensary and staff quarters; and
- a game room.

This center will also have facilities for stock-raising and growing various crops, for example:

- fowl-raising (broiler chickens);
- pig breeding (fattening);
- 1 kitchen garden (truck garden produce); and
- 1 orchard (staple citrus fruits).

The first part of the center will be opened 1 May 1982.

Sources of Financing

In 1980, financing was provided from outside sources, including the government (7 million francs) and the Soviet Central Council of Trade Unions (1,000 tons of cement), as well as from CSC's own investment budget. In 1981 the government added another 50 million [CFA] Fr to the contribution from the CSC investment budget.

In 1982, the investment commitment made by the CSC has been supplemented by a contribution of CFA Fr 200,000,000 from the party.

"Le Brassavillois": Super Dry Cleaning Establishment

The CSC has once again acquired this property, having previously owned it until 1974. Located just across from city hall, the dry cleaning establishment is a production unit specializing in cleaning and ironing linens. It employs 10 workers. The plant equipment, though not yet fully paid for, generates enough income to cover the unit's operating expenses.

In the context of the 5-year plan, the CSC has decided to undertake a series of projects. These are the restoration of CSC headquarters, continued construction of the Kintele relaxation center, restoration of Hotel 8 November 1964 and the purchase and development of the "Maty" site on National Highway 2. Various architectural and economic studies will be undertaken with respect to the proposed Institute of Advanced Trade Union Research at the relaxation center for the workers of Loukolala and Pointe-Noire. The CSC will also undertake the construction of labor exchanges at Pool, Lakoumou, Plateaux, Corvette and Loubomo and the temporary facility at Pointe-Noire. The party's investments will total some CFA Fr 500,000,000.

With these numerous economic activities, the CSC is getting into the field of practical applications, and the results are improving the credibility of the organization.

9516
CSO: 4719/848

TELECOMMUNICATIONS INSTITUTE GRADUATES 31 TECHNICIANS

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 9 May 82 p 8

[Text] ADDIS ABABA (EH) — The Telecommunication Institute graduated 31 technicians that completed a two-year course in three specialized areas of telecommunications at a ceremony Saturday.

The graduates, making up the 17th and 18th batch, had undergone training in three different streams covering telephony, transmission and radio. Five of the graduates are from the Democratic People's Republic of Yemen (PDRY).

The certificates were handed out to the graduates by Comrade Habte-Mariam Shuraginew, Acting General Manager of the Ethiopian Telecommunications Authority (ETA). In a brief speech, he congratulated the graduating class for successfully completing their course and wished them a happy future. He urged the graduates to put whatever knowledge they have acquired at the service of the society. He cited at the same time that Ethio-

pia, like all other developing countries suffers from shortage of trained manpower and added that the graduating batch will make a modest contribution in minimizing the problem.

The acting general manager related that the ETA had introduced a long-term training programme in order to produce the necessary skilled manpower to man its different units. He mentioned that ETA at present employs 4,830 workers, out of which only 280 are technicians. He said up to now around 2,000 had undergone training of all sorts at the Institute. He said the telecommunications field is an area in which the technology is changing rapidly and asked the graduates to keep pace with the trend by closely following these developments.

A speech was made earlier by Comrade Mistr Ayala, Head of the Telecommunication Institute, who furnished an overall picture of the training programme.

CSO: 4700/1289

WEEKLY WRAPUP OF NON-ENGLISH PRESS

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 9 May 82 p 3

(Article by Der je Paltra in column: "Views, Comments, Opinions")

[Text]

In an editorial comment, *Serte Ador*, the organ of the Central Committee of COPWE, stressed the arduous struggle the working masses should prepare for to realize the lofty objectives of the Revolution. The paper further noted that along with the gains of any genuine revolution that are attained step by step, there are also conditions that demand higher sacrifices.

The present epoch in particular, *Serte Ador* noted, is one when peoples have to openly confront the challenges of imperialism and other forces of reaction which makes the struggle even more bitter. The COPWE CC organ thus reminded that the on-going popular struggle has to prepare for this. However, the paper stressed, the Ethiopian masses who are determined to do away with feudal-bourgeois oppression and exploitation once and for all, have managed to hit back at the class enemy on all fronts and thereby safeguard the sovereignty of

the Motherland and the gains of the revolution.

Purposeful Determination

Serte Ador stated that conducive conditions have been created for socialist construction, as a result of the victories achieved over the past years of struggle. However, the paper added, the struggle ahead demands heightened determination. At this juncture, *Serte Ador* recalled the statement of Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile-Mariam on the occasion of this year's May Day celebrations, in which he called on the broad masses to make tireless efforts to realize the on-going national construction process.

The organ of COPWE CC outlined the objective conditions in which the Ethiopian masses began the process of socialist construction and the overt and covert sabotage of anti-people elements that made the sacrifice heavier. The paper underlined the need for the purposeful determination of the working masses with the view to overcoming

ing all reactionary impediments. *Serte Ador* reminded that all revolutionary and progressive elements in the society should set themselves good examples in this regard.

The Amharic daily, *Addis Zemen*, devoted one of its editorial columns to the need for the preservation of historical relics. The daily noted that this is the duty of every genuine citizen. *Zemen* outlined the benefits to be drawn from the preservation of cultural heritage. It also mentioned the efforts being exerted in this line since the onset of the Revolution.

Cultural Peculiarities

The paper pointed out that the new socialist culture is built on the already existing values. In this regard, it cited the work being done in the various administrative regions with the view to collecting and preserving the cultural heritage of the country's various nationalities to thereby facilitate further studies by scholars.

The launching of the seventh round literacy campaign has been given considerable attention by all papers. *Zemen*, in an editorial comment, highlighted the dispatch of student-teachers to rural Ethiopia to liberate their compatriots from the shackles of illiteracy. The paper mentioned the preparations made by the student-teachers and noted that they have a major role to play in changing the outlook of the peasant masses.

It outlined the distribution of the campaign participants and underlined the significance of the nation-wide

literacy campaign with the view to heightening the consciousness of the masses and their participation in the construction process. *Zemen* noted that the Revolutionary Government is giving the campaign all the necessary support and calls on all genuine citizens to contribute their assistance for the success of the campaign.

Participation

Serte Ador, the Amharic weekly, *Yemreata Ethiopia*, outlined the encouraging results achieved over the past six campaign programmes in the literacy drive, and noted that this has a significant role to play in enhancing the national construction process. The weekly stressed that it was with this in view that the campaign is being undertaken in a co-ordinated manner and with the tireless participation of the broad masses. Concerning the details of the seventh round, *Yemreata* noted the fact that the literacy programme is to be conducted in 15 nationality languages represents a further step towards the greater success of the campaign.

Similarly, the Arabic language weekly, *Al-Ahram*, focused its editorial on the same subject. The paper noted that illiteracy is a hindrance to progress, for it deters the development of the creative abilities of the working masses. The Arabic weekly, *Al-Ahram*, stressed that it is with this in view that the Revolutionary Government waged six successive rounds mobilizing all resources available to it. By so doing, the paper noted, the rate of illiteracy has been brought down con-

considerably.

The Oromo language weekly, *Berisa*, devoted its editorial column to another topical issue, the celebration of the World Red Cross Day. *Berisa* highlighted the contributions made by the Red Cross towards the preservation of world peace. The paper reminded that the national Red Cross Society needs the support of the broad masses so as to be able to fulfill its humanitarian mission effectively.

Berisa pointed out that although the Ethiopian Red Cross Society was founded some 47 years back, it did not satisfactorily meet its obligations until the upsurge of the popular revolution. The Oromo language weekly stated that the struggle over the past eight years has created conducive conditions for the strengthening of the Ethiopian Red Cross Society.

CSO: 4700/1289

GROWTH REGISTERED IN SUGAR PRODUCTION

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 8 May 82 pp 1, 6

[Text]

ADDIS ABABA (EH) — Ethiopia's sugar production has shown a marked increase of 27.7 per cent in the course of the last seven years, during which time the annual output has climbed from 1,306,576 quintals in 1972-74 to 1,540,358 quintals in the 1980-81 period.

This was disclosed by Comrade Yusuf Ahmed, Head of Production and Information Office within the Ethiopian Sugar Corporation (ESC), in an interview with the Ethiopian Herald yesterday. He said the above figures represent the combined output of the three factories, namely, Wonji, Shee and Metehara. He said this significant growth was due to the concerted efforts put up by the workers, economic utilization of resources and the proper handling of machinery in the different plants.

According to Comrade Yusuf, Metehara is the biggest factory whose production capacity at present is equal to the combined output of the Wonji and Shee factories. The Metehara factory has a capacity for crushing 3,000 tons of cane sugar per day. Wonji and Shee factories have 6,000 hectares planted with cane sugar while Metehara alone has 6,000 hec-

tares under cane plantation. This figure does not include the on-going expansion scheme, which will put an additional 4,500 hectares under cane plantation, thereby raising Metehara's sugar estate to 10,500 hectares, he added. So far 2,600 hectares of land of the 4,500 hectares have been put under cultivation. The process for developing the remaining land is underway.

Referring to the financial aspect, Comrade Yusuf Ahmed reported that the three factories made over 110 million Birr in sales over the year 1980-81, which amount also includes earnings from sales of molasses, sweets and cattle, totalling around 12 million Birr. The revenues for 1972-74 totalled about 77 million from sales of sugar alone while another 12 million Birr was made from the sale of molasses and sweets.

Comrade Yusuf noted that at present, the three factories have a combined manpower of 14,676, which in the 1972-74 period stood at 9,476, which again shows a considerable increase. He went on to say that the increase in manpower is partly due to the expansion programme of the Metehara Sugar Factory.

The expansion work going on at

the Metshara Sugar Factory, which has now entered its final phase, is designed to meet the growing domestic consumption, which is estimated at 7.8 per cent per annum over the next 10 years. The expansion work at Metshara is expected to be completed and implementation is to be effective during the 1982-83 production year. Around 94 million Birr has been invested for the expansion programme, which involves extension of the existing factory eventually raising its production capacity from 3,000 to 5,000 ton cane sugar per day. As mentioned earlier, another 4,500 hectares of land will be placed under cane sugar cultivation, it was learnt.

The expansion programme at the Metshara Sugar Factory will raise its annual output by an additional 200,000 quintals during the 1982-83 production period. Gradually the production output as a result of the expansion work is expected to reach a maximum of 450,000 quintals per year, which will in return boost Metshara's annual production to 1.2 million quintals. A project has been finalised for the construction in future of a new sugar factory at Finchen, in Wollega administrative region. Comrade Yusuf concluded.

CSO: 4700/1289

BRIEFS

PROJECT PLANTS SELECT COFFEE SEEDLINGS--ADDIS ABABA (ENA)--The Coffee Development Project has planted 212,479 select coffee seedlings over an area of 87 hectares in Yirga Chefe and Dale districts of Sidamo region. Of the total, 110,356 seedlings were planted on an area covering 25 local peasants associations in Yirga Chefe district of Gideo province while the other 102,123 seedlings were planted over an area of 39 hectares in Dale district of Sidama province, according to a release by the Ministry of Coffee and Tea Development here yesterday. Peasants and development workers took part in the plantation programme which took six days. The Coffee Development Project in the past four years launched plantation schemes in eight coffee producing districts. The Ministry disclosed that the project planted 1,066,410 select seedlings over an area of 470 hectares between 1971 and 1974 E.C. It was stated that the coffee seedlings developed through modern method are presently in satisfactory condition and that the first of the coffee trees will show results during the current Ethiopian year. The Ministry further disclosed that the planting of disease resistant seedlings will be undertaken by the Project as of next July in coffee producing areas of Kaffa, Wollega, Sidamo and Hararge regions. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 5 May 82 p 6]

ACTIVITIES OF COTTON GINNING ENTERPRISE OUTLINED--ADDIS ABABA (EH)--The Kaliti and Yarer Cotton Ginning Enterprise has ginned 320,070 quintals of seed cotton from June 1981 up to April 6, 1982. During the same period, the Enterprise has produced 108,745 quintals of lint cotton and 185,773 quintals of cotton seed. This was disclosed by Comrade Kassahun Teferra, Acting manager of the Enterprise, during an interview with our reporter. The acting manager said that during the same period last year, it produced 165,333 quintals of seed cotton. As compared with last year's production, that of this year has shown growth by 13.7%. Such performance was attained due to the fact that there existed close cooperation and good relations between the management and the two factories run by the Enterprise. The substantial contributions made by the workers of the Enterprise through exerting maximum efforts towards raising production was also a significant factor in attaining the performance, he stated. "Although the Enterprise is on a reliable track of making greater profits", Comrade Kassahun observed, "we should not forget that there are certain problems. We are being faced with additional expenses for purchasing spare parts whose price is soaring and for buying packing material as well as for fuel oil. Under these circumstances the cost of ginning must be studied and improved and we must do our utmost to increase production." The Acting Manager further stated that in the next two years, the Middle Awash Agricultural Development Enterprise is planning to produce from 200,000 to 250,000 quintals of seed cotton. [Excerpt] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 8 May 82 p 5]

MOZAMBIQUE

BEIRA'S DIFFICULT SUPPLY SITUATION ADMITTED, WORK URGED

Beira DIARIO DE MOZAMBIQUE in Portuguese 8 May 82 pp 3, 7

[Article by Botelho Moniz: "Use the Work Weapon to Combat Hunger"]

[Excerpts] The issue of acquiring foodstuffs and other goods is, today, a primary concern for all of us. This was noted by Armando Guebura, the minister-resident of Sofala during his May Day speech in Beira.

There is hunger, there is no food; in other words, basic necessities are not enough to satisfy the needs of all the people.

Conditions are difficult for the common citizen. The constant search for flour, rice, meat; the ever-present lines; it comes to the point that a person's attention is totally focused on the problem of supply, affecting his work and his other responsibilities.

The lack of food is bandied about. Officials are sought, on whom to lay the blame for this situation, rather than make an attempt to find a solution to the problem. And, in fact, where are these officials?

As background for all this, there is our country's level of development at this time and the destabilization fomented by imperialism, which goes from economic boycott to the use of armed gangs in Pretoria's pay. These are issues that delay socio-economic development and also, as a result, a solution to the problem of hunger.

However, the answer to this situation comes from the FRELIMO Party, which has been able to provide orientations for our people and our nation in the search for immediate solutions.

One cannot complain about hunger and "miraculously" expect that food will simply appear on the table.

Hunger demands a fight. And the best weapon is work. And the fight against hunger is a significant part of the struggle against underdevelopment and also of the struggle against imperialism which, in its most concrete aspect, presents itself in the form of the armed gangs attacking our people.

At the May Day celebration, Armando Guebuza, with the frankness to which our leaders have accustomed us, touched on the raw wound: hunger. He spoke of the errors that are being committed, whose consequences aggravate the situation: the lack of organization and discipline in the productive sector; the erroneous use of existing resources and the poor coordination between the various sectors, the existing confusion between priorities.

While pointing out the wound, Armando Guebuza also noted its treatment, its healing process.

To alleviate hunger is already our duty. No one can remain estranged from this struggle, no one can abdicate his responsibilities.

To combat hunger means that everyone must work effectively at his or her job. Some use the spade, others the hammer, and still others the pen-- everyone must produce and create riches.

To combat hunger means that every worker must fulfill his quota. However, it is necessary, for that, that management understand that the worker is a person and not a machine. And it is on this person that efforts should be concentrated, on his conscience, so that he can use the class tool to his own advantage.

The person-worker is the producer, production is there because he exists; it is necessary to give work its fair value, to create socio-professional conditions that will free every worker's initiative, that will make him creative and make him use his abilities to the fullest, that will liberate the potential of his strength and intelligence.

To combat hunger is to be particularly active in the fight against the armed gangs that bring about hunger by burning farms that produce food, by murdering people, thus attempting to foment panic among peasants to make them unproductive, to create hunger and, through it, instability.

To combat hunger is to improve marketing procedures, so that products are not left to rot in one area when they are in short supply in another.

To combat hunger is to make rational use of the unemployed proliferating in the cities, to induct them into agricultural production units, especially in the cities' green belts. The country cannot afford to provide food for anyone who does not work. There is no place for parasites in the society we are building. Everyone must work: there is enough work for everybody.

Only in the city of Beira, for example, there is the possibility of producing more than 5,000 tons of rice and of making it self-sufficient in fruits and vegetables, in pork and poultry meat, in a short period of time.

The party has already proved to us, at various times, that it is possible to put an end to hunger. The potential is there: it is enough to work and organize to use it to good advantage.

We therefore repeat that the main therapy for hunger is work. Let us work, let us do it in organized fashion, all of us together, and we shall defeat hunger.

R840-MILLION BUDGET FOR SWA

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 May 82 p 5

[Text]

WINDHOEK. — The chairman of the SWA Ministers' Council, Mr Dirk Mudge, tabled an Appropriation Bill yesterday totalling R840-million for the next financial year, of which South Africa would contribute R200-million.

The estimate of expenditure by the State in SWA represented an increase of 2,7 percent over last year's total of R818-million.

Introducing the Bill for the year ending March 31 1983 to the Territory's National Assembly Mr Mudge said that after allowances had been made for inflation this year's Budget reflected a decrease of 12 percent in real terms on last year's figure.

Total State expenditure for the next financial year was estimated at R870-million, including a deficit of R20-million for which provision had been made in the Part Appropriation Bill earlier this year.

Mr Mudge said State income, without loans, was estimated at R668-million which was R24-million less than the

previous year.

The drop in income was attributed mainly to unfavourable economic factors affecting the diamond industry.

South Africa's financial contribution to SWA for the next financial year amounted to R200-million, while an additional R200-million

would be paid to the territory from the Southern African customs pool.

"Few other governments in the world will be prepared to grant financial aid of this magnitude in the face of severe economic problems on the home front," Mr Mudge said.

Any future government of SWA had to think twice before severing economic ties with South Africa.

Mr Mudge said R100-million of the R200-million deficit on State income would be covered by loans on foreign capital markets. The loans would be fully guaranteed by the South African Government.

The remaining deficit of R20-million would be carried forward to the next financial year.

CSO: 4700/1281

NEW CDU PARTY DEMANDS COLORED SECOND-TIER ELECTION

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 17 May 82 p 3

[Text]

A stinging attack on Mr Barney Barnes and his Labour Party has been issued by the newly-founded Christian Democratic Union.

The party held its inaugural congress in the Khoraasdal Community Centre this weekend. The CDU is an amalgamation of the Liberal Party of Mr Andrew Kloppers and the Democratic People's Party of Mr Joey Julius.

Speaking after the congress, the newly-elected leader of the new party, Mr Kloppers, said the congress had expressed concern over the "misapplication of funds by the Coloured Representative Authority."

Referring to the controversial purchase of 12 buses, TV sets and farms "of rocks and sand," he said "as a result of this and other instances of maladministration this congress has decided to ask the AG and the Ministers' Council

urgently to institute a judicial commission of inquiry into the financial affairs of the Coloured Representative Authority."

He said the Congress demanded an election on second tier "so that the Coloureds of SWA can get rid of the five oppressors that rule them on the second tier. They are unskilled and unqualified for their positions and cannot govern."

Mr Kloppers said the congress had also isolated the housing problem as a major cause of concern.

"We want to press the Municipality to sell hired houses to the tenants. Most of our people have lived in their houses for 20 years and the Municipality promised to sell to them the houses after five years."

In addition, concern had been expressed at the "large-scale intimidation of our teachers. If a teacher shows any signs of opposi-

tion against Mr Barnes, he can expect to be fired, transferred or demoted. This has already happened."

Asked about the name of the new party, Mr Kloppers confirmed the name indicated a desire for closer connections with the CDU of Germany, because of "the positive attitude shown by Mr Strauss to our problems."

He also said he was pleased his own leadership had been accepted unanimously, because now he could be sure of the support of all 33 branches of the party. He said the question of Resolution 435 had not been discussed since it was still a "hot potato."

Mr Kloppers was elected national leader of the party. Mr Joey Julius national Chairman, Mr A C van Wyk national Vice-Chairman and Mr Andy Kloppers Secretary. These four will serve on the DTA executive.

CSO: 4700/1281

DTA FUNDS ARE RUNNING DRY, SAYS NCDP

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 18 May 82 p 4

[Text]

THE DTA was attempting to re-assert apartheid in Namibia with SA and SWA taxpayers' money. Mr Vaughn Webster, deputy leader of the Namibian Christian Democratic Party said at the weekend.

He was addressing a public meeting in the far north-western Kavango settlement of Nkurenkuru on Saturday. Mr Webster said the DTA was funded from taxpayers' money through the SA Government, but that the Alliance's finances were being stopped.

"The DTA used to have lots of money with which to expand its political support, but this money is now drying up," Mr Webster said.

The deputy leader then went on to say that reports on intimidation on the local population in Kavango appearing in the local and SA press had prompted an official inquiry and led to a decrease in the number of incidents.

Party leader, Mr Hans Röhr said at the same meeting that contrary to the DTA's claims that it had brought about progress in Kavango, the NCDP's exposure of the maltreatment of the local population and the arbitrary killings in the region, had led to a change in the Security Forces' posture in Kavango.

"Now that the people in the area have stood up and spoken out against the ill-treatment, they are more respected by the officials," he added.

Mr Röhr went on to describe the National Assembly's Act on the Removal of Racial Discrimination as toothless because articles three and four making provision for punishing offenders, had been removed.

The NCDP had voted against the removal of those Articles, when the Act was passed Mr Röhr said.

Another speaker, Mr Ludwig Katjipo, reaffirmed the NCDP's standpoints in favour of peace, Christianity and unity

amongst the people of the whole Territory.

The NCDP would work together with any party, be it Swapo or the DTA as long as those people did not contradict the party's principles, he said.

The meeting was attended by about some 150 people in the village where Swapo insurgents launched an attack on the local police station last week.

After the meeting the press met several of the local NCDP supporters who had been detained and ill-treated by the local forces in recent months.

Suspected Swapo collaborators were jailed in groups of eight, with some of the prisoners suffering severe beatings and electric shocks, they said.

One of the prisoners - is the headmaster of the Kandjimi Murangi Secondary school where a SA soldier lost his life in a Swapo attack last week.

Mr Jakko Kangaji was imprisoned from December 29 till January 12.

CSO: 4700/1281

ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE IS ANSWER, SAYS SWANU

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 19 May 82 p 3

[Text]

SWANU has thrown its weight behind the Swapo call for an all-party conference to settle the independence issue.

Reading a press statement on behalf of the party's Political Bureau, Mr Moses Katjuongua, the party's President, this morning told newsmen the current independence initiative had "obviously bogged down" and an all-party conference was the "way out."

"This conference must be sponsored by the UN with all the Namibian political parties and South Africa attending", he said. "Such a conference would remove the negotiations from the secrecy of back-rooms and back to the Namibian people sitting around a common table."

The current stalemate was the result of the negotiating style of the Western five on the one hand, and the "inability of our 'soul brothers' who call themselves the 'sole and legitimate representatives of the people of Namibia' to make up their mind in good time."

Mr Katjuongua said it was Swapo's inability to make a choice between proportional or direct representation that had

enabled SA to introduce the "mixed proposal as a diplomatic way of making our 'authentic brothers' rather than themselves the party responsible for holding up progress."

Namibians did not know the "bottom line" of the SA position, and SA and Swapo had a de facto veto in the negotiating process, in spite of assurances by the Western Five that all parties concerned would be consulted and treated equally.

Thank you

THE Director of the Association for the Handicapped in SWA, Mr Cees Scrijbs, conveyed a message of thanks to all the voluntary workers and members of the public for contributions and support with the Easter viewing of "The Gods Must Be Crazy".

An amount of R1 118.50 was collected.

He also thanked everybody who supported the Morning Market, during which R1 000 was collected and would go toward the funds of the Association.

"It is quite conceivable the Western Five have no interest in arranging a settlement in Namibia that

would not bring their friends to power or that would strengthen Soviet expansionism, with undesirable consequences for their economic and strategic interest in the region."

Mr Katjuongua also argued the mixed system of voting was a concession to South Africa's insistence on the retention of ethnicity "as an indirect method of guaranteeing White minority rights."

COMPLICATED

He said Swapo's objection to the system as "too complicated" was a "cheap argument."

"We maintain the problem with the mixed system was really not its complexity but its protection of ethnicity which would blur the actual issues of the election campaign, namely what goods and services the various parties can deliver and how."

Swanu remained committed to a solution within the framework of Resolution 435 "and can never support any other alternative until we have seen what it actually entails for the people of Namibia." With the failure of the phased plan, an all party conference should be tried

as a new idea." Mr Katjuongua said the objection that there were too many parties did not hold water, since there were only "about seven or eight parties and/or alliances for the purposes of serious negotiations." He added some of these might "harmonise their positions and make realignments," once serious talks had begun.

CSO: 4700/1281

BRIEFS

NO MORE DTA COOPERATION--The Chairman of the SWA Ministers' Council, Mr Dirk Mudge, said in Windhoek that no further cooperation could be expected of the DTA if the Western Contact Group had made major concessions to Swapo over the Territory's independence. According to a news report by the SWABC, Mr Mudge said that if the West now yielded to Swapo's demands, it would mean parties that had cooperated in the settlement effort up to now would be ignored. He reiterated that the DTA would go ahead with the independence process "in a democratic manner" without involvement of the five-nation Western Contact Group or Swapo. Mr Mudge said a peaceful settlement was unlikely to result from the present Western initiative. The people of SWA had grown weary of delays in the independence process. It appeared that Swapo had no interest in a peaceful settlement, he said. Swapo should be prepared to accept an election in terms of the Western proposals if the movement enjoyed the electoral support it claimed. [Text] [Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 21 May 82 p 3]

CSO: 4700/1281

RIGHTIST CONTROL OF GENERAL COUNCIL EMPHASIZES NEED FOR LEFTIST UNITY

Power Play by 'Extremists'

Saint-Denis TMOIGNAGES in French 25 Mar 82 p 2

[Text] Yesterday's masquerade of the election of the chairman of the General Council was very well organized by the right, under the leadership of the extremists. The elections of Auguste Gros and the vice presidents were all carefully organized, and the right even made an effort to add a solemn note to this bad theatrical comedy prepared in advance.

The selections had already been made. After the chastisement of a number of councillors suspected of wanting a consensus with the presidential majority, the extremists took over during the meeting Tuesday at the Sainte-Marie mayor's office. They distributed the posts and there remained only to start the show yesterday morning at the Palais de la Source.

As we said yesterday, those who out of weakness contributed to the installation of the extremists will bear a heavy responsibility for the future of our island. Indeed, with few exceptions, all the councillors of the right joined in the masquerade.

On Their Knees

We must point out in this connection the cowardice of certain councillors who are quite prepared to have their thugs beat up workers or to intimidate or humiliate workers seeking help from the mayor's office; yet, when facing the extremists, Jean Fontaine, Virapouille, Legross or Barau walk on their knees, even though they know that the future of the country is at stake. Now, let them be responsible for their actions, and the people of Reunion will not soon forget that these councillors opted for the extremists.

Announced yesterday, the extremists have excluded from the bureau the potential majority and in so doing have assumed a heavy responsibility. The extremists have shared out the cheese and have established a bureau of struggle against the government's policy.

That is why, as the communist councillors announced yesterday, they consider as out of the question their participation in any committees or support for a policy of confrontation toward the left.

The extremists' masquerade reemphasizes the urgent necessity for the masses to organize and prepare for the struggle against the right to achieve genuine change.

Everywhere, planters, workers, women, young people, unemployed and tenants must prepare for a unified struggle in defense of their interests.

Anticommunism of Bertile

Questioned by FR 3 about yesterday's power play by the extremists in the General Council, Wilfrid Bertile perpetrated a new offense against the left. He dared to say that the power play "is the result of a betrayal by the communists."

Thus, Bertile is determined to continue his anticommunist drive. He would like to make people forget his own responsibility for the division of Reunion's left.

Wilfrid Bertile wants to pursue his personal anti-unity policy reflected in his statement to LE MONDE, which became known here in the period between the two election rounds and which struck at a union already in difficulty since its formation following 15 March.

The communists have said several times that they are prepared to stop the polemic and seek ways toward a union of the left on clear and solid bases. Bertile seems to want to sabotage this objective by his attacks, which are as anticommunist as they are irresponsible. In this situation, we can only respond and restate the facts to the public and all of the workers.

Although there is no time to lose, although we must urgently work together and although there remain only 12 months in which to defeat the fight, Wilfrid Bertile continues to pursue his own anti-unity and anticommunist policy.

If he persists in this, all the right will need to do is sit back and rejoice while making use of Bertile's attacks against the left (as the right has already been doing).

Communist Group Statement to General Council

Today, 24 March, the extremists decided to exclude from the bureau of the General Council the representatives of the presidential majority.

Whatever conclusions one may reach about the recent cantonal elections, it was desirable that, with the electoral contests over, those elected should get together to work in the interest of the country. This wish was expressed by Gaston Defferre during his recent visit to Reunion. It was also the expectation of the majority of the public.

Under the leadership of Michel Debre, who visited the island for this purpose within the past few weeks, the extremists decided otherwise. In so doing they have assumed a grave responsibility. The workers and the productive forces, who had other expectations, will draw their own conclusions and will

profit from all opportunities to press their demands. Having been excluded from the bureau, it is not impossible that the elected communists will operate in the committees in support of a policy of opposition, or even confrontation, toward the government.

In the General Council, and on the other fields of struggle, they will continue their action in defense of the workers' interests.

In Reunion, the right is still in power, and it will continue its antisocial and anti-Reunion policy.

True change will come through action of the workers and the establishment of a real decentralization policy as envisaged in Point 58 of the program of the president of the republic.

The achievement of this objective will require a union of all of the forces for change. The elected communists reaffirm that the Reunionese Communist Party [RCP] intends to play its full role in this struggle. It hopes that the organizations of the left will get together to prepare for the upcoming battles.

Editorial on Union of Left

Saint-Denis TEMOIGNAGES in French 26 Mar 82 p 1

[Editorial: "The Union for Change"]

[Text] The extremists' takeover of control of the General Council has aroused the anger of Reunion workers. This anger is even greater in that the bureau of the General Council will have greater power in the conduct of the country's affairs.

Public opinion is unanimous today: There has been no change in our country. The right is still in power.

In light of this grave situation, the will for action is ever stronger. More than ever, there is a feeling of the need to establish a single, proportionally elected assembly, in accordance with the presidential program. Proportional election is the only just voting method to guarantee democratic representation of all currents of thought in Reunion. In this assembly, the left should be in the majority.

Moreover, this is what the entire left demands following the extremists' power play--a single, proportional assembly.

To achieve this, a union of all of the elements of the left in Reunion is necessary. Those who understand the necessity for the single, proportional assembly understand even better the even more urgent need for the union in order to win the majority in this assembly. The purpose of union must not be just to take power from the right but above all to subsequently institute a real development policy for Reunion.

Since 12 May 1981, the RCP has consistently visualized this strategic union of the dynamic forces of the left for a development program. The RCP's strategy covers a period of 14 years and more. The strategy is not built around cantonal elections, and even less does it stop on election eve.

Since everyone on the left supports the desire for a strategic union, we must lose no time in meeting and reaching agreement.

The dynamic forces in the country are waiting for the elements of the left to unite on a clear program to unleash the drive that will remove the right from power.

Those who, using anticommunist arguments or as a result of personal ambition, prolong the division of the left will bear a heavy responsibility for keeping the right in power and for the future of our country.

9920
CSO: 4719/841

MDP, MAMADOU DIA DESCRIBED AS DEMAGOGIC IN CRITICIZING GOVERNMENT

Dakar L'UNITE AFRICAINE in French No 101, Mar 82 p 4

[Article by Mama Ougue Ndiaye: "A Monopoly on Demagoguery"]

[Text] It is undoubtedly true to say that Mamadou Dia's Popular Democratic Movement (MDP) has a monopoly on demagoguery. For proof, one need look no farther than the first meeting (a real circus) of this political group.

Those who attended this meeting out of curiosity, logically expecting something new from it, were quickly disillusioned. Because the MDP, taking over from its cousin "Ande Sopi," merely repeated the same old refrain-- "the state is bankrupt"--and similar insanities.

Following Mamadou Dia's laborious political-intellectual pronouncements, one cannot help thinking, as has been said, that: "Mamadou Dia gives the impression of an aging man without physical strength who insists, despite everything, on lingering on the stage, unable to understand the true meaning of the scanty applause of generous souls moved only by pity. His feeble spirit shies from events rather than coming to grips with them, and he lives in an unreal world where the past and the present overlap." It is said that the MDP "is working for the establishment of a different brand of democracy, unlike the one we live with today: a peoples' democracy under which the (badolos) will decide on their own destiny."

One can easily see that the MDP and its leaders are poorly informed, and above all behind the times by several reforms, otherwise they would know that the reform of territorial and local administration has been in force since 1972, and the rural masses, who are its main beneficiaries, have since taken over their own destiny, relying first on themselves and then on all sorts of assistance from the socialist government.

If only for his health, Mamadou Dia should take a ride in his Lancia and visit some rural communities. He would then see for himself that those whom he scornfully calls "badolos" are not very interested in his sleepy theories and are proud to be what they are: peasants and Senegalese who are solidly behind the party and the socialist government.

It is laughable for Dia to try to accuse Senegalese democracy! What he forgets, or pretends to forget, is that without this democracy he would not be here today amusing the gallery and orating like a ("taxuracrat.") Without Senghor, whom he accuses of ruining the country, he would never have become what he is.

If we are to believe Mamadou Dia, "Senegal is despised abroad. Its dignity has been tarnished by its leaders' habit of going around with bowls outstretched, begging." "President" Dia certainly has a taste for demagoguery, because contrary to his gratuitous statements, our country is highly esteemed internationally, its credibility is unimpeachable and the countries it has relations with have great confidence in it. Evidently these tangible, verifiable facts only disturb "Dia and Co."

At any rate, if it is being beggars to be concerned about the fate of our people and to find ways and means to ensure their perpetual happiness, we are proud to be beggars for our people.

Everyone knows that in this world, where profound changes are taking place, cooperation has become and must be an imperative of modern times. What our adversaries don't know, or don't want to know, is that ever since independence our options regarding cooperation and all other matters have been extremely clear, both in the way they are formulated and in practice.

As for cooperation in particular, it should be remembered that we have chosen cooperation for peace and progress because in this area we need each other, so that together, with the same dynamic solidarity, and above all respecting each other's sovereignty, we can work for a world that is better because it is more just and human.

Contrary to what Dia alleges, this receptiveness to others in no way diminishes our sovereignty or our dignity.

Finally, the important thing to remember is that Comrade Abdou Diouf, Prime Minister Habib Thiam, the party and the socialist government intend to carry on the struggle in Senegal's interest. They will accept all present and future challenges. Above all, they will fight for a happy Senegal--happy because it is socialist, prosperous and democratic, a Senegal that will be a member of the industrial society, because of its love for Africa, its faith and its destiny and because of its spirit of organization and method: in a word, because of its productive work.

This is certainly a long-term task, but since the political will exists, we can continue to hope, knowing that Senegal will continue to rhyme with socialism, democracy, peace and progress, thanks to the lucid and courageous actions of President Abdou Diouf and his team. Let it displease demagogues and other purveyors of illusions.

SOUTH AFRICA

NPC REVEALS TREURNICHT PREDICTED NP SPLIT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 82 p 8

[Articles by Marilyn Cohen]

[Text]

MEMBERS of the Conservative Party had planned to split the National Party long before the question of power-sharing ever arose, the NP MPC for Innesdal, Mr Louis Fourie, told the Transvaal Provincial Council yesterday.

Mr Fourie said that during the Provincial session before the last election, he had sat next to Mr Frans van Staden, now CP MP for Koudonspoort.

"Mr Van Staden told me he had attended a brawl at Dr Andries Treurnicht's house, and

Dr Treurnicht had said he was pleased about the election — but believed that during the next session of Parliament the NP would split," Mr Fourie said.

Mr Van Staden had told him Dr Treurnicht had predicted that 52 Transvaal MPCs and 42 MPs would walk over with him.

"It was from about that time that information from within the NP caucus was leaked to the Press. These leaks have stopped since the split," Mr Fourie said.

"It does not matter what the CP say about power-sharing — they were going to break away anyway," he said.

Put Blacks in White Spaces

SOUTH AFRICAN security legislation represented a victory for the African National Congress, the MPC for Boksburg, Mr Joel Mervin (Progressive Federal Party) said yesterday.

Speaking during the continuation of the Budget debate, Mr Mervin said security legislation was "debasing and degrading" the country.

It was ironic, he said, that while fighting a communist and Marxist organisation, South Africa had introduced laws not much different to those of Soviet Russia.

And the very laws which were designed to stamp out terrorism, were a further provocation for more intense activity.

He quoted the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, as saying there had been a 200 per cent increase in terrorist activity in the first six

months of 1961 compared to the last half of 1960.

"General Malan has also said that no matter how good our defence force is — and I acknowledge that it is very good — our problems will only be solved if we win the hearts and minds of our people.

"Many of the laws in South Africa — the security legislation, Group Areas, the pass laws and so on — are hardly designed to do this," Mr Mervis said.

Laws 'Only Aid ANC'

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration was misusing funds by not making full use of its facilities, Mrs Irene Menell (PFF) said during the provincial Budget debate yesterday.

She gave as two examples the provincial hospitals and the colleges of education.

"It is irrational to have a large number of beds out of commission in White hospitals when there are not enough beds for Black patients.

"It is even more irrational when one considers that R50-million has been set aside for running the Johannesburg Hospital which is only 30 per cent utilized.

"Even if one does not want total integration, certain wards of the White hospitals could be made available for Blacks," she said.

The same was true of facilities belonging to the Transvaal Education Department.

It was "economic madness", Mrs Menell said, to have teacher-training facilities under-utilized because they were being kept exclusively for Whites.

"South Africa needs thousands of Black teachers and the province should negotiate with the Department of Education and Training for the joint-use and joint-funding of these facilities," she said.

CSO: 4700/1283

PFP, NRP OPPOSE COMPULSORY FINGERPRINTING

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 82 p 4

[From the "Parliament" page]

[Text]

HOUSE of ASSEMBLY. — The PFP and the NRP opposed the second reading of the Population Registration Amendment Bill yesterday because of the fingerprint and palmprint clause contained in it. The PFP termed it "offensive and unnecessary."

However the Bill was read a second time after a division.

Earlier Mr Tlan van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) moved an amendment that the House decline to pass the second reading of the Bill which was introduced by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis.

Other objections to the Bill included in the PFP's amendment were that it imposed unduly onerous obligations on employers and landowners regarding identity documents of employees and tenants, created unnecessary and wasteful duplication by referring the administration of the Act to respect of Blacks to a different Department and conferred on the State President discretionary powers which were previously strictly regulated by the Act.

Mr Derrick Watterston (NRP Umbelo), described the issue as "sensitive", adding that

people were inclined to equate the taking of fingerprints with crime and considered it an infringement of their privacy.

People were upset by this provision. In the committee stage he would move an amendment which would seek to have only illiterate people fingerprinted. This would make the provision less objectionable and should present no problem to the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Although there was much which was positive in the Bill the NRP, because of this provision, could not support it.

Supporting the legislation, Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP Rissik) said the public would just have to get used to having their fingerprints and palmprints taken for identity document purposes.

He did not feel it presented such a big problem and people should not get into an uproar about it.

Mr Val Volter (NP Kliprivier) suggested the greater use of computers and computer terminals at centres such as drivers' licensing offices, magistrates' courts and post offices.

Use of a computer at

a drivers' licensing centre, for instance, would enable officials to print the necessary information into an identity document immediately. This would eliminate the possibility of forging.

At present licences were merely pasted into the book and could easily be falsified.

The increased use of computers would result in greater administrative decentralisation and more effective use of identity documents.

Moving the second reading, Mr Heunis said one aim of the Bill was to issue a uniform identity document to all population groups. The provisions of the Bill applied to all.

However, regarding the compiling of a population register for Blacks and the issue of identity documents to them, the State President could, by proclamation in the Gazette, assign the administration of the legislation, or any provision thereof, to the Minister of Co-operation and Development.

Another principle embodied in the Bill was that all first applications for identity documents would in future have to include fingerprints and palmprints.

posed that employers and owners of land or premises be required to establish within 14 days whether new employees or tenants were in possession of identity documents and whether they had given notice of recent changes or address.

If they did not have identity documents, it would be necessary to establish whether they had applied for them.

In Interest of State Security

IT WAS in the interests of State security to identify the citizens of the State in the most effective way, namely by fingerprints, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, said.

Replying to the second reading debate on the Population Registration Amendment Bill, Mr Heunis rejected the argument of Mr Peger Hulley (FFP Constantia) that the taking of fingerprints was associated in the public mind with criminals and disreputable

activities.

During the debate Mr Hulley said fingerprinting was regarded as a violation of privacy.

He said the Bill increased the monitoring of the movements of citizens in that the onus was placed on employers to report to the state on the movements of employees.

"This Bill serves to co-opt a whole lot of little brothers in the service of Big Brother." It also contained a "sinister" provision allowing for Government

discretion as to what information would be included in identity documents and it was extremely objectionable that the Government should be given a blank cheque to declare by proclamation in the Gazette what it wanted to include in identity documents.

The Bill replaced discrimination by legislation with discrimination by proclamation, Mr Hulley said. It empowered the State President to exclude by proclamation any indi-

vidual or category of people from the provisions of the Bill.

The logical extension of this principle was that the Minister could decide only to take fingerprints from Indians or Blacks.

Mr Heunis replied that the Government was responsible for the safety of the citizens of the country and he therefore made no apologies for taking the necessary steps to ensure that safety.

The Bill was read a second time after a division.

An Irritating Measure, But...

THE Government accepted that there would be some reaction to the inclusion of fingerprints in identity documents, Mr Andre Fourie (NP Turteltaub) said.

Photographs and signatures could be manipulated and forged but fingerprints remained the only irrefutable proof of identity.

"We agree it is an irritating measure," he said. "We should not, however, emphasise it in such a way that the giving of fingerprints is given a criminal connotation."

If identity documents were lost signatures

could be forged and photographs tampered with while palm and fingerprints remained irrefutable proof of the holder's identity.

The introduction of a uniform identity document for all population groups would have the positive effect of removing the grounds for the constant accusation that South Africa discriminated on the grounds of colour.

Mr Fourie asked whether it was possible to reintroduce the smaller ID card in addition to the larger Identity Book so that the holder would have an alternative

document when the
main one was forwarded
to the department of in-
ternal affairs for con-
sideration.

One of the major ad-
vantages of the Bill was
that it would make pos-
sible the compiling of a
population register that
would be kept up to date
and from which more re-
liable voters' rolls could
be drawn.

The past election had
shown that voters rolls
were so outdated that in
some city areas between
30 and 40 percent of vot-
ers were no longer living
at the same addresses.

"I am sure we are all
looking forward to the
day when voters' rolls
will be kept up to date
from a central address
list," he said.

CSO: 4700/1283

FINGERPRINTING BILL CRITICIZED AS INVASION OF PRIVACY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 May 82 p 6

[Editorial: "Fingerprints"]

[Text]

THERE is so much on to engage the Government's attention.

Like the recession that is beginning to bite.

Like soaring inflation that is crippling most people.

Like South West Africa, where suggestions are being made that the South African Government is eager to settle the war and the future of the territory.

Like the constitutional proposals of the President's Council, which may cause a further split in the ruling National Party.

So why must we have a Bill to fingerprint everyone who takes out an identity document in future?

A measure that was first proposed at the beginning of 1981 and caused an immediate outcry, since compulsory fingerprinting is something that we associate only with criminals, not with law-abiding citizens.

The fingerprinting is to be done in conjunction with the phasing out of reference books (dompas) for Blacks and their replacement by an identity document which people of all races will have to carry.

Now that's a jolly good idea, isn't it, if it were meant simply to end discrimination?

If the Blacks are fingerprinted, why not the Whites?

And if the Whites do not carry "dompas", why not let the Blacks carry the same identity documents as Whites?

All very logical.

However, there may be reasons why Blacks are fingerprinted in order to ensure that they are properly identified.

For example, there are so many millions of them, and they are subjected to influx control, and it is not easy to identify those who are seeking to enter the towns and cities illegally unless there are fingerprints that can enable the authorities to ensure that they know whom they are dealing with.

But that's a matter of influx control, and influx control will remain even when the new identity documents are issued to Blacks in place of dompas.

When the proposed measure caused an outcry last year, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, totally rejected the criticisms that were voiced.

He said it would be in the interests of all citizens — Black and White — to enjoy the same privileges (sic) under the Population Registration Act.

● That fingerprinting would only apply to new applicants and those applying for endorsements (So how efficient can the system be, anyway, if most Whites are excluded?).

● That his department had found that fingerprints were the only irrefutable proof of identity and that the proposed measure would prevent forgery of documents. The State President, when he opened the 1981 session of Parliament, said that there were also strategic reasons for having a uniform identity document for all people.

"It will also facilitate the identification of people who pose a threat to South Africa's safety, and the elimination of undesirable elements that infiltrate the country."

The Bill was nevertheless withdrawn, only to appear again now.

To our mind, the fingerprinting of Whites, Indians and Coloureds, taken in conjunction with the central register that keeps details about every individual, could be likened to an Orwellian, Big Brother system of control.

Professor Johan van der Vyver, of the Lawyers for Human Rights organisation, says fingerprinting will turn all South Africans into criminals, so to speak.

Fingerprints are only used to identify people convicted of relatively serious crimes, or when someone is tried for a serious offence.

Fingerprinting is a serious violation of privacy, he adds, and can give the authorities power to embarrass innocent people who do not possess the technical skills for refuting allegations based on false fingerprint identification.

Our view is a simple one: By all means let all people, irrespective of race, carry the same identity documents, but let them be the documents carried at present by Whites.

And don't, Mr Haunis, have us fingerprinted. We're not criminals!

CSO: 4700/1282

NEW INTERNAL SECURITY BILL CRITICIZED

Individual Liberties Threatened

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 May 82 p 6

[Editorial]

THE ARGUMENT has gone on for years about detentions without trial, the methods of interrogation used by the Security Branch, deaths in detention, bannings, the erosion of the rule of law, and so on. Successive Ministers of Police (the present incumbent now has the title of Minister of Law and Order) have not been sympathetic to representations made to them by the legal profession, and have not reacted positively to criticisms and condemnations of the system by the Opposition and by newspapers.

There are several reasons why these Ministers have defended the system and excused anything that might have happened that brings it publicly into disrepute, like deaths in detention, allegations of torture, and the holding of people for months without trial only for them to be released without any charges being preferred.

It has been their Ministerial responsibility to deal with the non-military aspects of the security situation.

It is their men who have had to fight the round-the-clock battle against subversion and terrorism.

From the days of Mr John Vorster as Minister of Justice in the 1980s, the Government has provided for detentions and bannings and methods of interrogation which have offended many people both here and abroad.

Indeed, nothing has contributed more to our unfair image of a police State than these laws.

Ministers have argued that the successes achieved in dealing with subversion and terrorism have been due not only to the vigilance of the Security Branch but

their ability to obtain information, by interrogation, about subversive or other activities of concern to them; their use of preventive detention at times of unrest to remove non-White leaders who might, by their outspokenness, contribute to the tension; and their removal from circulation, by bannings, of people who might be prominent in opposing the existing order, even though they might not be engaged in actual subversion.

However, Ministers have never conceded that the system is bad in that people detained have no recourse to the courts, no legal protection and no rights, or that people can be banned arbitrarily at the whim or discretion of officialdom.

They have never conceded that the 44 deaths in detention are a blot on the system, and that most, if not all, of them might have been avoided if the detainees had had the protection of the courts.

They also have not admitted, or even appreciated, that by fighting subversion and terrorism with methods that are in themselves questionable, they have brought the whole system of government into disfavour and disrepute, for if the security police can detain and interrogate people who are virtually defenceless, who can feel safe, who can say that innocents are not being unjustly punished by being held and interrogated for months on end?

You would have thought that by now the Government would have been able to devise a system whereby people can be interrogated without any chance of their being harmed, psychologically or physically, during their interrogation.

You would have thought that representa-

tions by such bodies as the Association of Law Societies and the General Bar Council would have been used as a basis for drastically reforming the system. But their proposals are virtually ignored. True enough, the Robie commission has suggested some changes which have been incorporated in the Internal Security Bill which is now before Parliament. But though there have been improvements, the worst aspects of the security system remain. Even at this point, with the Bill going through its last stages in Parliament, the chairman of the General Council, Mr Robin Marais, SC, warns that "the risk of serious injustice is inherent in the nature of the measure" and that it gives "insufficient protection to the individual."

With the enemy at our gates, there will be people who will want greater ruthlessness rather than greater care and legal propriety in dealing with detainees. But what good will it be if we win the battle at the cost of individual liberties and the rule of law?

Suzman's Criticism

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 May 28 p 4

[From the "Parliament" page: "State Comes First"]

[Text]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Internal Security Bill brought the administration of justice in South Africa into disrepute throughout the world, Mrs Helen Suzman (FFP, Boshaven) said yesterday.

After the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, moved that the Bill be read a third time, Mrs Suzman proposed as an amendment that it be read "this day six months."

"The changes introduced to our security laws via the Internal Security Bill, as amended at committee stage, in any way remove the basic democratic powers handed to the Minister of Law and Order whereby he and his security officers or

the "Discretionary" of Police can exercise the most far-reaching authoritarian measures on hapless people who are denied the most elementary civil rights such as access to the courts and legal advice," she said.

"This Bill does nothing to bring South Africa back within the normal parameters of civilized countries, adhering to the well-tried and well-respected processes of the law."

"On the contrary, it brings the administration of justice in South Africa into disrepute throughout the world."

Another reason for the FFP's opposition was that the Bill neither conveyed nor incorporated any indication that it would remain in the statutes

only as a temporary emergency measure.

Mrs Summan said that both Britain, which had security legislation in respect of Northern Ireland — where terrorism and sabotage were experienced on a scale far worse than anything in South Africa — and Israel, which had virtually been at war since the State was established in 1948, had amended their security laws to bring themselves back within normally accepted practices in civilized countries.

Asked across the floor whether there had been any diminution in the terrorist threat in either of these countries since they modified their security laws, Mrs Summan asked in turn whether the threat against South Africa had diminished because of the tightening of the laws.

"Until there is real change in South Africa, real movement to end discriminatory legislation and practices such as the Group Areas Act, the pass laws, the Bantu Education Act, discriminatory education and the lack of franchise, we will continue to have terrorism, notwithstanding the most stringent measure this House takes against terrorism."

Noting that the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, had asked a

question at a recent National Party meeting whether the men would like to change places with a Coloured person, Mrs Summan suggested that the Minister of Law and Order or the Commissioner of Police should change places for six weeks with a Section 29 detainee to see how they fared.

The Commissioner had denied there was a procedure such as solitary confinement, as detainees were seen by interrogators, magistrates and inspectors.

Mrs Summan said it was "very depressing" that the Minister had accepted only seven of the more than 100 amendments proposed for the Bill.

Some of the proposed amendments, such as provision for notification of the next-of-kin of Section 29 detainees and the right to legal assistance, had been eminently reasonable and would have tempered some of the harsher aspects of the Bill.

Mrs Summan said she hoped the code of conduct regarding conditions of detention and methods of interrogation, which the Minister had said would be made public, would be more specific than existing regulations.

The code should be incorporated in the regulations and should embody safeguards concerning conditions of detention, methods of interrogation and

the keeping of records.

"The primary aim is to secure a system in which a detainee who walks into a police office unhurt and unmarked should be unhurt and unmarked when he walks out."

THE Government would continue applying security legislation, in spite of opposition, because it was in the best interests of the country's security and stability to do so, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said yesterday.

Replying to the debate on the third reading of the Internal Security Bill, he said the police and his department would at all times strive to protect the rights of detainees, but that the interests of the State were more important than individual rights.

Mr le Grange said the Government had accepted several amendments during the committee stage to improve the Bill.

Among the more important were that all detainees except those held in terms of Section 29 would be given a notice informing them of their rights, representations they could make and other procedures.

Also detainees would be seen privately by district surgeons.

INTERNAL SECURITY BILL DEBATE REPORTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 May 82 p 11

[From the "Parliament" page]

[Text]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Detention for the purpose of interrogation was the police's strongest weapon in anticipating and combating terrorism, Mr. Adrian Vlok (NP, Verwoerdburg) said yesterday.

Speaking in committee on the clause in the Internal Security Bill providing for detention of suspects or potential witnesses, Mr. Vlok said the Progressive Federal Party wanted to deny the police the use of what the Robb Commission had said was possibly their only weapon in the fight against terrorism.

The Bill was aimed only at maintaining law and order in South Africa and the Opposition was not responsible for this maintenance.

People would be detained for interrogation only if it was suspected they were committing acts of sabotage or subversion.

Other countries had introduced similar legislation when their security was threatened in the way South Africa's was and the legislation would not be kept on the statute book longer than necessary.

Mr. Vlok said Opposition arguments that detention should be held for only seven days and that their next-of-kin should be informed immediately of their detention were not practicable.

It sometimes took the police up to 21 days just to establish the name of somebody detained on the border.

Mr. Harry Pitman (PFP, Phokeng) said it was wrong of Mr. Vlok to claim that only people suspected of having committed, or intending to commit, acts of sabotage and subversion would be detained.

The clause also made provision for the detention of any person suspected of withholding information relating to the commission or intended commission of such an act, or relating to any person who had committed or intended to commit such an act.

"Indefinite detention of a potential witness is a very different matter from detention of a suspect," Mr. Pitman said.

He opposed a sub-section providing that "no court of law shall have jurisdiction to pronounce upon the validity of any action taken in terms of this provision, or to order the release of any person detained in terms of the

provisions of this section."

Mr. Pitman said that in a situation in which nearly four dozen people had died in detention, the Supreme Court should surely have access to detainees.

"How many deaths does it take for the Minister to concern himself that the Supreme Court ought to have access? Five thousand?"

If it did not occur to the Minister to give judges access to detainees, the suspicion was raised that the Government did not want judges to know what was going on in detention cases.

Dr. Heinrich van Rensburg (NP, Middelburg) said only "very material witnesses in very serious cases" would be detained in this way and it was incorrect to argue that the provision would be used indiscriminately.

"The person so detained will be an accomplice or a person directly or indirectly associated with the commission of a crime."

To argue hypothetically that the provision could be used against an innocent person and should be scrapped for that reason was the height of naivety.

MRP Urges Weekly Visits

THE clause in the Internal Security Bill dealing with detention for interrogation was of such importance that its provisions should be perfectly clear, the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr. Vance How, said yesterday.

Speaking in committee on the Bill he moved several amendments, the aims of which were to:

- Have detainees visited every week by a district surgeon and a magistrate alternately (this, he felt, would result in the speedier reporting of any malpractices);

- Make it clear in the legislation that the government would not tolerate any malpractices in respect of detainees and making clear that it would prohibit "violence or threat of violence, torture, including psychological torture and inhuman or degrading treatment";

- Make it possible for a district surgeon to observe and report any signs of ill-health or injury of a detainee; and

- Make it possible for a magistrate to hear and assess complaints by a detainee.

Rejection of his amendments, Mr.

How said, would imply that it was not the government's intention to prohibit violence during interrogations or that a magistrate should hear complaints.

Dr. Edmund Bernard (FFP, Port-town) emphasized the need for good medical care for detainees, especially in view of what had happened in the past.

He called on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Louis Le Grange, to say whether he was satisfied with the existing medical care for detainees and if he believed a detainee should be entitled to the same medical care he enjoyed before his detention.

He moved amendments which sought to have a detainee examined on admission by a district surgeon and for medical examinations to take place in private.

A further amendment was that a detainee, at the request of himself or a member of his family, be allowed to be visited by a medical practitioner appointed by the Medical Association of South Africa.

'Soon' Gives Way to '14 Days'

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Louis Le Grange, yesterday accepted an amendment limiting the time available to him to make submissions to the Chief Justice on the continued detention of a person being held for interrogation.

The amendment was proposed by Mr. Peter Gathrow (FFP, Durban Central).

In terms of the Bill the Minister need not give effect to any recommendation by a board of review concerning

the amendment of withdrawal of a detention notice unless his refusal has the effect that similar measures than those recommended by the board remain in force.

In this case the Minister shall, in terms of the Bill "as soon as possible after such refusal" submit to the Chief Justice for review all the relevant documents.

Mr. Gathrow proposed, and Mr. Le Grange accepted, that the term "as soon as possible" should be changed to read "within 14 days".

Changes Are Not Enough—Suzman

OPPOSING what she described as "the most objectionable clause in the whole Internal se-

curity legislation", Mrs. Helen Suzman (FFP, Houghton) said it made no provision for a code

of conduct for interrogation.

Speaking in committee on the Internal Security Bill, Mrs Sumner criticized the fact that people detained for interrogation were denied the protection of the courts.

"We are most depressed that the Robb Commission, from which this amendment, made no recommendations which would remove the very worst features of a law which has got South Africa into trouble throughout the world, namely because of the number of people who died in detention."

With some minor amendments, Clause 29 of the Bill was exactly the same as the old Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. It made provision for indefinite detention, during which a person could be held in

isolation for long periods at a time.

Even the toughest measures which applied in other countries allowed the detainee access to his lawyer. The Minister of Law and Order (Mr Louis le Grange) had quoted Israel as a country with similar provisions in its security legislation, but the law he quoted was in operation before 1979 and no longer applied.

There were one or two little changes in Section 29, including a board of review, and the fact that the Minister was now personally responsible for signing the order every month for further detention of a person held under this section.

"These changes in no way give the protection we believe is vitally necessary to people detained for interrogation," Mrs Sumner said.

CSO: 4700/1283

SOUTH AFRICA

END OF AFRIKANER DOMINATION PREDICTED

Speech by Robinson

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 May 82 p 15

Text]

SOUTH Africans were about to see the beginning of the end of Afrikaner domination, Sir Albert Robinson, executive director of the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, said at a graduation ceremony of the University of the Witwatersrand last night.

Afrikaner domination would be replaced either by Black domination based on majority rule, or by a negotiated inter-racial power-sharing arrangement between Afrikaners, Blacks, Coloureds and Indians, he said.

He did not believe there would be a place for English-speaking South Africans except as a minority within the White community.

"In South Africa there is no metropolitan power in control, only the Afrikaner establishment," he said.

Afrikaner domination would be ended either by negotiation or by a prolonged civil war.

Sir Albert pointed out that negotiation would be possible only if it was accepted by all concerned that the various population groups must be "fully re-

presented" by democratically elected leaders who would be responsible for negotiating future constitutional arrangements and who would participate ultimately in the executive control of the country.

"Should there be a serious attempt to confine political control to Whites, Coloureds and Indians, then this must lead to civil war and chaos."

He said the fundamental issue that faced the country was the future relationship between Blacks and other racial communities.

He thought it unlikely that "truly representative" leaders of these groups would "risk" co-operating with Whites.

Sir Albert rejected the policy of bringing about change in a systematic way, and said it was often an attempt to delay "inevitable changes" that had to come.

"In doing so the struggle is intensified and the possibility of meaningful negotiation becomes less likely. This is what happened in Rhodesia."

Whites, who controlled the country at present, were not divided over the question of power-sharing only, but

were also divided over the question of phasing out apartheid.

"This conflict within the White community makes it all the more difficult to effect meaningful reforms. As understandably, those in the majority are concerned about the possible loss of power within the present parliamentary structure."

Sir Albert told graduates the first major event in their adult lives would be the struggle for change or reform in South Africa.

He forewarned a lengthy period of debate and confusion arising from the President's Council's recommendations, saying that in the end White leadership would be obliged to turn to debates with the Blacks or else enter into inter-group negotiations which included Blacks.

"Furthermore the split in the National Party and the recommendations of the President's Council have set in motion a process of change that must lead ultimately to a new political and constitutional dispensation," he concluded.

Executive's Experience

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 May 82 p 6

Editorial: "The Volk"]

Text] **SOUTH AFRICANS** are about to see the end of Afrikaner domination, says Sir Albert Robinson, an executive director of Anglo American.

You might, knowing the corporation's liberal leanings (Mr Harry Oppenheimer, its chairman, is the chief financial backer of the Progressive Federal Party) dismiss Sir Albert's views as nothing more than the wishful thinking of a liberal financier who has no great insight into politics.

However, from 1947 to 1963 Sir Albert was the United Party Member of Parliament for Langlaagte, in 1960 he was a member of the Mookton Commission that reviewed the constitutional future of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and from 1961 to 1963 he was the Federation's High Commissioner in London. He has also had vast experience in industry, mining and finance over more than four decades.

His views, therefore, deserve more than passing attention.

As Sir Albert sees it, Afrikaner domination will be replaced either by Black domination based on majority rule, or by a negotiated inter-racial power-sharing arrangement between Afrikaners, Blacks, Coloureds and Indians.

He does not believe there will be a place for English-speaking South Africans, except as a minority within the White community.

Afrikaner domination, he adds, will be ended by negotiation or by a prolonged civil war.

Negotiation will be possible only if the various population groups are fully represented by democratically elected leaders, who will be responsible for negotiating future constitutional arrangements, and who will participate ultimately in the executive control of the country.

In the end, White leadership will be obliged to turn to detente with the Blacks or enter into inter-group negotiations which include Blacks.

We do not think that, in the foreseeable future, Afrikaner domination will end. Sir Albert, and many other commentators, tend to underestimate the strength of the Volk and the powerful cultural and group interests that bind the Volk to-

gether.

There have been previous splits within Afrikanerdom. Before and during the Second World War. Periods in which passions were as bitterly aroused as they are now.

But since 1948 the Afrikaner has been in unchallenged control of the country.

He will not be easily dislodged.

There are those who think that Mr PW Botha is a liberal, but, in fact, he is a conservative.

There are those who think that he will press ahead with reform no matter what happens to his people, but we doubt whether he will go as far as to let his people become powerless or of secondary importance.

Besides, the conservative breakaway is not to be dismissed as the withdrawal from the ruling party of just a bunch of reactionary apartheidists who do not matter.

They represent the traditional values on which Afrikanerdom was built, and their apparent success in building up a strong political base in such a short time is a warning to the ruling National Party that major divergences from these traditional values will be rejected by a large section of the Volk.

True enough, Mr Botha will be able to rely more and more on the support of the New Republic Party — and in specific matters of reform, in a referendum, he will have the support of the Progressive Federal Party.

But Smuts found a centrist party like the United Party had limited appeal to the Afrikaners when it did not represent or express their interests, and PW Botha will find the same thing happening if he distances himself from his people.

Nevertheless, we believe that reform will come, will be significant, and will be necessary.

The Prime Minister will have to take the Volk — or at least the greater part of the Volk — with him on the path of reform. Meanwhile, don't write the Afrikaners off. They are still the all-powerful White tribe of Africa and they still have the means, the will and the strength to determine their, the country's and the sub-

IMBABWE'S POLITICAL, ECONOMIC PROBLEMS EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 82 p 6

Article by Aida Parker: "A Mugabe String of Multiplying Miseries"]

Text]

WITH most donor nations having failed lamentably to deliver on the \$1 300-million development aid promised at last year's high-power Harare conference, Zimbabwe's Mr Robert Mugabe is now in Europe attempting still another shake-down of the EEC countries.

To help things along, he has been trotting out the usual hogwash about possessing "irrefutable" proof that the wicked, wicked South Africans are attempting to "destabilise" his country.

That didn't cut much ice in Britain, where he got nothing.

But in West Germany, where Chancellor Helmut Schmidt apparently sees the Marxist Messiah as the new Saviour of Southern Africa, he walked off with a respectable \$33-million.

For the record, let's lift fact from fiction.

Mr Mugabe doesn't need anyone to help destabilise Zimbabwe. He is doing a mighty fine job, all by himself.

Let's examine Zimbabwe's many and multiplying miseries.

Most serious (and least publicised) prob-

lem is the slow but certain spread of low-level guerrilla war, concentrated at the moment largely but by no means entirely in Matabeleland. The blame for this must rest entirely with Mr Mugabe himself.

Instead of seeking a true "Patriotic Front" solution, he has been indulging in a tribal struggle aimed at neutralising Mr Joshua Nkomo and the Ndebele-dominated Zapu-PF, while trying to establish his own Shona-controlled Zanu-PF as the dominant tribal group.

Over the past eight weeks this has led to a marked upsurge in terrorism, mostly carefully screened from the media, clearly in an effort to maintain the facade of national stability.

I can, however, disclose from unimpeachable sources that last month alone the Zimbabwe security forces handled between 60 and 70 cases involving murder, sabotage, intimidation and armed robbery.

This is invariably ascribed to "banditry", although it is now formally admitted that hundreds of former Zizra combatants have deserted from the nat-

ional army and taken to the bush.

Combined police and military operations have been launched throughout the country in an effort to catch the deserters.

Former infiltration routes to and from Zambia and Botswana are again heavily patrolled, while unconfirmed reports in Gaborone claim that former RAR (Rhodesian African Rifles) battalions are once more employed to counter internal unrest.

Here it is important to point out that despite the many indignities heaped upon him by Mr Mugabe in recent months, Zapu leader Joshua Nkomo is still far from finished.

He has between 15 and 20 percent of the Black population behind him and, dangerously for Mugabe, still has many of his supporters in key positions in the military, public service and diplomatic corps.

When Mugabe took the risk of re-igniting tribal rivalry, he took a very substantial risk indeed.

In the overall context, the gravity of the Nkomo-Zapu problem is only one jump ahead of Mr Mugabe's speedy

the Zimbabwe economy.

True, he has some excuses here.

One of the worst droughts in living memory has cut deep into crop yields. As a result, maize deliveries to the State-owned Grain Marketing Board are expected to be less than half of last year's bumper crop.

Simultaneously, he has been hit with the worst copper prices in 30 years, again impacting badly on the national balance of payments.

But there are many other aspects for which Mr Mugabe, and Mr Mugabe alone, must bear full responsibility.

While in Europe, he has been whining about the disappointing level of foreign investment since the Marxist take-over.

What he fails to point out is that he, himself, has driven away potential investors, this by continuously spouting anti-capitalist slogans and promises of worker take-overs of businesses in agriculture, mining and industry.

Foreign investors are not going to be encouraged to rush in when they study speeches such as the one Mugabe made on May Day at the Rufaro football stadium.

Here he told thousands of cheering Blacks that the Government plans to enable workers to have a bigger say in running mainly White-owned factories, businesses and mines, particularly on the disposal of profits and how much of these should go to the workers.

The real kicker came in this statement: "When we are convinced that you are able to run the industries through your management committees, we will take the factories from the settlers and hand them over to you."

Minister Kumbirai Kangai, who seemingly has mastered every cliché in the Marxist lexicon, supports his boss on all possible occasions.

Speaking in Rome on February 27, he said: "My presence as the representative of the free Zimbabwe which has crushed the bourgeois imperialist conspiracy is a clear vindication of the course of history predicted by Karl Marx and expounded by Engels and moulded into a revolutionary weapon by Lenin."

"To us in the Zimbabwean revolution Marxism represents a new kind of faith, much higher than the old one ... and of the inevitable victory of the social forces (over) the accumulated contradictions of a feudal and capitalist mode of production."

Mr Kangai has also kindly straightened out any impression anyone might still have that Zimbabwe's is a Christian, Catholic Government.

On March 2 he said: "The only oppression accepted in a socialist society is oppression of those that rise against socialism."

"The reverse is that the only dictatorship acceptable is the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"For Zimbabwe, not even millions of Sermons on the Mount have had the curative impact of one socialist revolution."

Can you blame investors, after all this, for asking themselves if private enterprise has any future in Zimbabwe?

Mugabe has many other problems on his plate. Mining output is falling precipitously, down 6 percent in 1981 to ZD884-million, the first such decline in 20 years.

This fall results less

economy than from dropped productivity and the loss of skilled and experienced manpower.

The Bindura Nickel Corporation, for instance, has turned a profit of ZD6.8-million in 1981 to a loss of ZD7.9-million this year, due to "steeply rising costs at home."

The balance of payments deficit increased from ZD157-million in 1980 to ZD400-million last year, with an accompanying rapid escalation in external borrowings.

Reserve Bank figures show that Zimbabwe borrowed more than ZD260-million on foreign markets last year, but these figures do not reflect the borrowings by the parastatals (Zimbabwe National Railways, Air Zimbabwe and the Electricity Supply Commission), estimated at another ZD250-million.

This means that the country's external debt has risen in one year from ZD623-million to around ZD1 000-million after allowing for an estimated ZD400-million in loan payments abroad.

The administration of the country right across the board has gone to pot, both because of the mass exodus of Whites and because Mugabe has placed his Zanu supporters, men and women unable to perform the functions required of them, in high positions.

There is widespread disillusion among Blacks as their hopes of untold riches disappear into thin air, with resulting diminishing electoral support for Zanu-PF.

The big question now is how long Mugabe can hold the country together. Certainly, there is much that Zanu and its wily old leader, Nkomo, can exploit in the months and years ahead.

ADF CONSIDERS ACTION AGAINST PAPERS OVER ARGENTINE ARMS CLAIM

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 May 82 pp 1, 2, 5, 6

[text]

CAPE TOWN. — The South African Defence Force is considering action against Argus group newspapers which published allegations on Monday that South Africa was supplying arms to Argentina.

The Argus in Cape Town, the Star in Johannesburg and other Argus newspapers reported that Gabriel ship-to-ship missiles and spares for Mirage fighter-bombers were being flown to Argentina from D F Malan Airport in Cape Town for use against the British in the Falklands war.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, denied the allegations in a special statement in Parliament on Monday night.

"South Africa has not supplied or sold any missiles or aircraft parts, before or after the Falklands crisis, to Argentina," he said.

A defence spokesman said yesterday that the defence force was "considering the possibility of taking steps against the Argus group and will ask for an investigation."

He would not deal with the steps being contemplated.

The Argus yesterday reported that "carefully placed diplomatic leaks about 'arms shipments' from D F Mal-

an Airport" had obliged the South African Government to give a public assurance that it was not becoming involved in the Falklands conflict.

The report said publication on Monday of "these strong and detailed suspicions" had resulted in a categorical denial in Parliament amounting to an assurance Britain had unsuccessfully sought diplomatically, and in an international awareness of the Republic's arms manufacturing capacity.

The report said the Government had been approached at Cabinet level several times for comment and that a high level Foreign Affairs spokesman had asked for certain amendments to be made to Malan's report and for the addition of a statement of policy.

The report had been published "after giving all sides an opportunity to comment."

In London, the British Government said it had noted the denial that South Africa was supplying arms to Argentina, made by Gen Malan, but officials emphasized that the British embassy was maintaining close contact with South African authorities over the issue.

"We have taken note of the categorical denial by Gen Malan made before the national Parliament," said a Foreign Office spokesman, maintaining the cautious attitude adopted in response to the report in the Johannesburg Star.

Whitehall sources said: "You can be sure that our embassy is doing its job and will report back."

The report that South Africa was supplying weapons to Argentina for use in the Falklands has angered rightwing Conservatives normally sympathetic to South Africa.

Mr Nicholas Winter-
ton, one of the Republi-
ca most outspoken sup-
porters in the
Commons, said that if
the report was accurate
it was "a slap in the
face" for those who were
trying to improve re-
lations between the two
countries.

Monday night's denial
of the report by Gen
Molan came too late for
most British morning
papers.

Only the Daily Tele-
graph and the Guardian
carried the Defence
Minister's remarks,
while the popular dailies
headlined reports of the
arms deal.

"Junta armed by
South Africa — British
fury at missile report,"
said the headline in the
Sun — Britain's largest
circulation daily which
has labelled itself "the
paper that supports our
boys."

The Sun said South
Africa had been warned
by Britain to face an an-
gry backlash if the re-
port was true.

The Daily Express re-
ported that South Africa
was at the centre of an
"arms deal storm" and
the Daily Mail's Cape
Town correspondent,
Peter Younghusband,
stated flatly: "South
Africa is supplying arms
and military equipment
to Argentina."

Younghusband went
on to report that South
Africa was also supply-

ing military equipment
to Britain, as well as be-
ing prepared to treat
British wounded in
Cape Town hospitals
and receive damaged
British warships in
South African harbours.

British officials ap-
peared to be puzzled by
South Africa's initial re-
sponse to the report and
the quoted remark by
the Director-General of
Foreign Affairs, Mr
Hans van Duijn, that
South Africa had given
Britain a guarantee that
it would not supply the
French-made Exocet
missile to Argentina.

Other remarks attri-
buted to the South Afri-
can Foreign Ministry
about "neutrality" and
South Africa's "contract-
ual obligations" con-
tained no denial of the
report.

"If you read between
the lines of that, it ap-
peared to confirm it,"
said one London source.

The London Times de-
scribed the remarks as
"somewhat cryptic" and
in a report from Johan-
nesburg said Mr Van
Duijn's comment
about Exocet missiles
had caused "bewil-
derment" because there
had been no suggestion
that these were being
supplied and it had not
been known that South
Africa possessed them.

The Foreign Office
said it had no knowledge
of a South African
guarantee not to supply
Exocets to Argentina. —

Arms Sale Report Deplored As Harmful

A JOHANNESBURG
newspaper report
that South Africa
was supplying arms
to Argentina has left
a serious impact on
international re-
lations that would be
difficult to undo,
says Mr Peter So-
rou, director-gener-
al of the South Afri-
ca Foundation.

He told The Citizen
that whether reports

were true or not, exten-
sive damage to South
Africa's international
image had been done.

"In South Africa's
life, England is the
most important coun-
try in the world," he
said. "But unfortu-
nately, the report has
caused feelings of sus-
picion among a lot of
people in England."

"And Argentina
won't admit this re-
mour either. It hopes to

have the support of the Third World, and can therefore not afford to be associated with South Africa."

Speaking at a function in Johannesburg yesterday, he said a congress he recently attended in Ottawa turned out to have been sponsored by organisations like the World Peace Council, the ANC and Swapo.

He told The Citizen that a report such as Monday's would most definitely be used by an organisation like the World Peace Council as a dagger against South Africa.

Referring to South African organisations and people who conducted anti-South African campaigns with "good intentions", he warned of the "danger" contained in such operations.

"Organisations and people who seriously have good intentions in conducting such campaigns must realise that they are often used by other organisations with not-so-good intentions."

Discussing the fragile relations South Africa had with America, Mr Sorour said it had become clear that the Reagan Administration saw communism as a threat in Africa.

He said it was the objective of the Reagan Administration to remove the Cubans from Angola in the easiest way possible.

"And the easiest way

to remove the Cubans from Angola is to withdraw South African troops from the border. The Cubans can then be told there is no reason to stay on in Angola. But before that is possible, South Africa has to find a solution in South West Africa.

"To find a solution in South West Africa is what matters to South Africa and to the Reagan Administration. In fact that is the only reason why they co-operate."

Describing the South Africa Foundation as an "impartial and independent organisation," he said it communicated in circles of power at highest levels internationally, and that it had been "a reliable source of information" for the last 25 years world-wide.

The foundation had an important role to play in looking after South Africa's interests and image in world-wide political controversy where world opinion mattered more than anything else.

"We strive for balance which has not yet been achieved by the official government, because they do not have free access to the people of power we have."

"And they are not in a position of discussing freely the matters we discuss in Foreign Ministers' offices all over the world."

ms Row

don't think South Africa has handled the arms-or-no-arms for Argentina issue very adroitly.

anted that Britain, which was the first to impose an arms boycott against South Africa, way back in 1964, is hardly the country which has any right to question what we do about the arms we manufacture.

deed, had it not been for the arms boycott, we would not have had an arms industry that could develop and produce sophisticated missiles and other armaments.

For that reason, we can be grateful to Britain and the other countries which stopped supplying us with weapons. However, that gratitude does not extend to any obligation to tell Britain or anyone else which countries we supply with arms or the nature of the weapons we sell to them.

Nevertheless, this was not the time to have been diplomatically coy about the question whether South Africa is supplying Argentina with the Gabriel missile, code-named Skorpion, which is reputedly as devastating as the Exocet missile which sank the British destroyer Sheffield, or with spare parts for Mirages, or with any other armaments.

Rumours that South Africa sold arms to Argentina have apparently been circulating since last week (some suggestions are that they were planted by British officials to make South Africa declare its involvement or to obtain its outright denial).

Approached by the South African newspaper which was probing the rumours, the South African Government could have put out an immediate denial.

Instead, according to the newspaper, the report it was going to publish was seen three times by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

An official of that department is said to have asked for certain amendments to the report and a statement of policy to be added.

We can only assume that by not immediately denying or confirming the rumours, the officials wanted to make capital out of the fact that (a) South Africa makes sophisticated missiles and other arms, (b) these missiles could have been supplied to Argentina if South Africa had wanted to do so, and (c) Britain itself was asking for certain military equipment made in South Africa.

By keeping mum and allowing the ru-

mours to be published without being refuted, the officials may have also hoped to create an international awareness of South Africa's arms manufacturing capacity.

A South African Government spokesman said it was a matter of principle that South Africa did not disclose details of arms deals.

South Africa, however, had given Britain a guarantee that no Exocet missiles would be delivered to Argentina.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, issued a statement that the "South African Government has consistently declined to confirm or deny allegations of arms supplies to and from South Africa."

"South Africa's interests demand that this principle should not be violated."

Then, after the matter had been raised in the House of Commons and it became clear that even the pro-South African lobby in the British Parliament was deeply affronted, and after the Opposition had raised the matter in our House of Assembly, the Minister of Defence, General Malan, issued a denial.

"South Africa," he said, "has not supplied or sold Argentina any missiles or any Mirage spare parts before or since the Falklands dispute."

Although it was policy not to divulge details of any armaments transactions, he felt this once-only deviation from policy was justified.

Pity that the South African Government did not make this denial earlier, since the controversy continues.

Britain is angry and suspicious and even America is upset about the suggestion that we might have sold Argentina missiles when America itself is supporting Britain in the dispute.

The row may cause South Africa irreparable harm, especially in Britain.

ANSVAAL FINANCIAL CRISIS BLAMED ON CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 May 82 p 13

ext]

THE Central Government was to blame for the critical financial situation in which the Transvaal found itself, Mr Douglas Gibson, leader of the Progressive Federal Party on the Provincial Council, said yesterday.

Replying to the budget speech of the Administrator, Mr William Craywagen, Mr Gibson said it was "appalling" that the already inadequate subsidy from the Central Government to the Transvaal should have been cut by R50-million.

He questioned the Administrator's statement that the cut in subsidy was probably in the nation's interests.

"Is it in the national interests for the financial position of the Transvaal to be allowed to deteriorate to the stage where the administration of the province becomes an exercise in crisis management and expenditure rather than the achievement

of targets according an orderly plan?"

It would have made little difference to the overall economic position of South Africa had the Government decided to give Transvaal the R60-million.

"The difference to the Transvaal would however have been substantial," Mr Gibson said.

"Instead of again budgeting for a deficit this year of an expected R18-million, the Transvaal could have been budgeting for a healthy surplus and there would have been sufficient money available for fund projects which have been put on the back burner."

He accused the Central Government of strengthening the province, of not caring about them and of eroding their powers.

This was evidenced by the "condescending and insulting way" in which the Provincial Council was not informed of salary increases which would affect a

large number of its employees — the nurses.

"We know that nurses are going to get increases, but we do not know and we will not be able to debate whether these increases are good or bad," Mr Gibson said.

He challenged the MEC in charge of hospital services, Dr Servaas Letsky, to make the increases public during the budget debate.

The increases should be dramatically large and be paid immediately, not in October by which time inflation would have eaten away most of the effects, he said.

"The only satisfactory solution to the nursing crisis is to accept that nurses of all races should be able to be recruited, trained and allowed to serve wherever they wish to serve, and the pay and service conditions of the nurses should be reviewed on a regular basis so that the ravages of inflation are taken into account."

ts Beckle CP Speaker

THE first Conservative Party NPC to speak during yesterday's budget debate in the Transvaal Provincial Council,

Mr C B Schoeman (Nigel), was jeered and heckled by members of the National Party.

The chairman, Mr B

D T Bekeff, constantly had to call for order throughout Mr Schoeman's speech, in which Mr Schoeman referred to the budget only once.

That was to say that the CP could find no fault with the budget "under the present economic circumstances."

Thereafter he concentrated on attacking the members of the NP, saying among other things that they had "betrayed" their voters.

Mr Schoeman was warned more than once not to refer to "power sharing" as he quoted passages from a pile of what he called "National Party propa-

ga" pamphlets which had been used in last year's election.

"I am not talking about power sharing," he explained to the chairman, "I am talking about power separation."

The chairman ruled that this amounted to the same thing and Mr Schoeman was forced to cut his speech short.

He predicted, however, that more National Party MPCs "would walk" over to the CP.

tus 'Must Be Clarified Soon'

THE future position and status of the Provincial Council must be clarified as soon as possible, Mr Douglas Gibson, leader of the FFP in the Transvaal Provincial Council, said yesterday.

Speaking during the budget debate, Mr Gibson said it looked as if the only devolution of power which was going to take place, according to the President's Council's report, was

not from the Central Government to the second tier of government, but from the provinces to the third level.

Provincial Councils, however, needed more power to be able to function as a buffer

"It is absolutely necessary for the Government in the next month or two to take a decision regarding the future of Provincial Councils.

so on Talk of Power Sharing

ONE of the most volatile subjects in the President's Council's report — the concept of "power sharing" — may not be discussed in the Provincial Council, the chairman, Mr B D T Bechoff, said yesterday. During the budget debate, Mr Douglas Gibson, leader of the Progressive Federal Party in the Council, was interrupted by the chairman when he referred to power sharing.

"Power sharing cannot be among Asians,

Coloureds and Whites alone, but must seek to include all in South Africa," Mr Gibson said.

Mr Bechoff interrupted, saying that at a previous session of the Council a resolution had been adopted specifically stating that the concept should not be discussed in the house.

Therefore, any future reference to power sharing would be ruled out of order, he said.

Mr Gibson had been explaining that it was a "tragedy" that South Africa's political policies had made it a "part-

ly and unacceptable" to the rest of Africa.

"Africa needs South Africa, and they (other African countries) are making a mistake because they really need our vision, our energy, our resourcefulness, our food, our goods and our technology," Mr Gibson said.

"We will never be able to export anywhere near our true potential until our political profile is perceived to have changed — real change away from domination and discrimination towards power sharing."

AILS ON REFERENDUM BILL DEBATE GIVEN

annesbury THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 82 p 4

on the "Parliament" page]

xt) [CERTAIN constitutional changes envisaged for South Africa made it imperative that the opinions of voters be obtained, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis said.

Moving the second reading of the Referendums Bill he said there was no legislative provision for referendums in South Africa.

A referendum had been provided for on the question of a Republican Constitution and he stressed that no member of the House today regretted that the result of that referendum was put into effect, "clarifying the political structure of the

country.

"I am sure no member today wishes to revert to the situation that existed before then," he said.

The Bill would also make provision for obtaining the views of Coloured, Indian and Chinese voters by way of referendum.

As there was no Chinese voters' roll the Bill made provision for compiling a voters' roll from the population register.

"It is not possible to make the present Electoral Act applicable mutatis mutandis to referendums," he said.

Mr Tlan van der Merwe (FFP Green

Point) said the official opposition would support the Bill because it believed it was a good idea to consult the electorate on drastic constitutional change.

"We believe the Government should follow this procedure to get the widest possible agreement or indication of support for such change," he said.

An important issue with a referendum was the drafting of the question the voter had to answer. It was natural that each party would like to have a say in this decision but the reality was that it was the government's sole prerogative.

The FFP accepted that reality but wanted to warn that if the question put before the electorate was not clear the result would be false and nothing could be more sad and wasteful than such an outcome.

"We'd like to warn against a false set of options," he said. It was impossible to legislate against a false question.

"We can only hope that it will be a sincere and honest question that will be followed by a sensible and clear result," Mr Van der Merwe said.

st Step to Power Sharing, Warns CP

THE Conservative Party opposed the second reading of the Referendums Bill on the grounds that its approval would be the first step towards power sharing and political integration.

Dr W J Snyman (CP Pietersburg) moved an amendment that the Bill be read "this day six months" — one of the strongest forms of parliamentary opposition.

The principles contained in the Bill, he said, were a deviation from the National Party's programme of principles.

It was clear that the NP had had to change its standpoints on principle to introduce the legislation.

The legislation would give the White, Coloured, Indian and Chinese communities a say on South Africa's constitution and would

change the position of Whites drastically.

It would mean members of the other population groups could vote at any polling station on matters of the utmost importance affecting White sovereignty and self-determination.

Dr C J van der Merwe (NP Heiderkruid) said it was nonsense to claim, as Dr Snyman had, that a referendum for Coloureds, Asians and Whites on the same day would bring about improper interference between the campaigning groups.

The opposite was

true, rather, as there would be opportunity to meddle in a group's affairs while one's own group was not involved in a referendum.

Dr Snyman was also wrong in saying that a referendum implied power sharing. A referendum was merely the acquisition of the electorate's opinion, not a decision.

"It is consultation not decision making," he said. There was not time to hold an election on each and every issue.

"The most democratic instrument possible has now been put at our disposal," he said.

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SOUTH AFRICA

ANAS PERMITTED STAKES IN SA COMPANY

annesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 82 p 24

xt]

MAFIKENG. — The first major company in Bophuthatswana in which the citizens of the country will be able to own shares together with a listed South African company has been launched in Mafikeng.

The company, Bodiatswana Investments, which owns a chain of Shell petrol and service outlets carrying Ford Motor Company franchises in Bophuthatswana, is to make a public issue of 480 000 shares of 100c each at 125c a share.

The joint venture, between Bromain Holdings and the citizens of Bophuthatswana, is largely the brainchild of Bromain's chairman, Mr Max Bromain.

The total share capital of Bodiatswana Investments, after the issue, will be R1 000 000, of which Bromain will hold R500 000 and the citizens of Bophuthatswana R500 000.

The prospectus, soon to be released, will forecast an attributable profit after tax of R344 000 for the financial year to end Feb-

ruary next.

Earnings on ordinary shares are thus 24,4c, to give a yield of 19,5 per cent and a price-earnings ratio of 5,1.

The first dividend, in which subscribers to the issue will participate, is forecast at 12c a share, twice covered by earnings, giving a yield on the issue price of 125c of 9,6 per cent.

The offer will be underwritten by Seabank.

Management of Bodiatswana Investments will be undertaken by Bromain Holdings and its board of directors will be Messrs Max Bromain, chairman, the Rev S M Seodi, vice-chairman, and also chairman of the Public Service Commission of Bophuthatswana, Chris Ashman, managing director, Bodiatswana Motors, C M Kotarkuisan, financial director, Eastval Motors, a Bromain subsidiary, P M Maletle, auditor-general, and S L L Rathebe, Secretary of Economic Affairs, Bophuthatswana.

SOUTH AFRICA

PRELIMINARY STEPS TOWARD KWANDEBELE INDEPENDENCE REPORTED

ANNASBURG THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 82 p 9

rt]

CAPE TOWN. — The first steps towards possible independence for Kwandebale will be taken shortly after a meeting in Cape Town on Wednesday between officials of the South African and Kwandebale Governments.

According to a statement by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, the meeting took place at the request of the Kwandebale Cabinet after the Legislative Assembly had adopted a motion expressing the Ndebele nation's desire to become independent and requesting the South African Government's assistance to achieve this goal.

Wednesday's meeting was attended by, among others, Dr Koornhof and officials of his department. Kwandebale's Chief Minister, Mr S S Skosane and his officials, including the Commissioner-General for the national state, Mr J H T Milla.

The meeting, Dr

Koornhof said, was "very positive and constructive" and among decisions taken were that:

• An interim committee, comprising representatives of the Kwandebale and South African Governments, would be established on which members of the Departments of Co-operation and Development, Foreign Affairs and Information, and Finance would serve.

• A commission would be appointed as soon as possible to report on a proper land ownership system for Kwandebale.

• During July consultations would take place to work out a development strategy for Kwandebale.

• Consolidation proposals of the Commission for Co-operation and Development for Kwandebale would be discussed with the Kwandebale Cabinet after the South African Cabinet had taken decisions of principle on them.

4700/1282

US FOR CP, HNP COOPERATION SEEN LIKELY

Innesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 May 82 p 4

Article by Jaap Theron]

[t]

CAPE TOWN. — Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, told The Citizen yesterday there were no official plans by the CP yet to co-operate fully with the HNP.

Reacting to newspaper speculation that he had opened the way for closer co-operation when he told a Frankfort meeting this week that the CP was not necessarily bound by the 1977 constitutional proposals of the NP, Dr Treurnicht said "This was no new standpoint of the CP."

"I have already said in March, on various occasions, that the CP was not necessarily bound by the 1977 proposals."

The Citizen, however, understands that closer political co-operation between the CP and the HNP on an official level is likely in the near future.

The HNP has announced that it is planning a "volkskongres" on May 31 at which the President's Council's proposals will be discussed. It has stated that it has invited Dr Treurnicht to share the stage with Mr Jaap Marais.

The CP has apparently not officially received such an invitation, but an HNP

source yesterday said that one had now been given to the CP.

At the same time, the CP is considering holding its own "volkskongres" on the constitutional proposals at a later date.

I received the impression that the CP is, in fact, ready to co-operate fully with the HNP, but "certain problems have first to be resolved."

Mr Jaap Marais yesterday interpreted Dr Treurnicht's Frankfort speech as a rejection of the 1977 proposals and therefore a move by the CP to increase the gap between the CP and NP and to close the gap between the CP and the HNP.

He said the possibility of the CP and HNP combining forces in a referendum on a new constitution was becoming stronger.

HNP and CP sources indicated that approaches had been made to one another at a low and informal level for closer co-operation on issues such as a volkskongres and the envisaged referendum, but neither Dr Treurnicht nor Mr Marais was prepared to make a statement on the issue.

Mr Marais stood by his party's standpoint that co-operation must take place according to the 1980 policy.

This involved the en-

tire philosophy of separate development, including separate sports activities, separate social activities, certain economic measures, the closing of the wage gap, work reservation for Whites, SA's attitude towards a solution in S.W.A. and South Africa's policy towards the O.S. and so-called hostile frontline states.

No assistance should be given to any state which was hostile towards South Africa, Mr Marais said.

His invitation stood that any political leader would make a speech at the "volkskongres" to be held at the Wanderbos, outside Pretoria, on Republic Day.

Asked if the HNP would take part in a CP "volkskongres" if it was held at a later date, he said the CP's "rejection attitude" made such a decision difficult at this stage.

Mr Marais disclosed that he wrote a letter to Dr Treurnicht in which he explained that the HNP did not make "any arrangements for the Republic Day 'volkskongres' before it invited other party leaders to participate."

"All the HNP did was to invite people publicly to participate in a 'volkskongres' and the arrangements for a venue were made afterwards."

SOUTH AFRICA

E MARAIS QUILS AS MP

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 May 82 pp 1, 2

[icle by Marilyn Cohen]

21

Mr Ewais Marais, a former judge and member of the Broederbond, announced last night that he had reluctantly decided to resign as the Progressive Federal Party MP for Johannesburg-North.

He told the annual general meeting of the PFFP Johannesburg-North constituency that his health was such that he had come to the conclusion "I should live permanently in Cape Town."

"This obviously poses a problem in that it would be impossible to adequately serve the interests of a Johannesburg constituency while being so far away," he said.

"I have reluctantly come to the conclusion, therefore, that I should resign from Parliament and have advised the leader of our party, Dr Van Ryl Eshbert, that I will tender my resignation to Mr Speaker to take effect from June 30," Mr Marais said.

He expressed his appreciation to his voters and PFFP members who had worked hard to ensure that Johannesburg-North was a safe constituency for the party.

He would continue to support the PFFP and propagate its cause whenever required.

Mr Marais was elected to Parliament in 1977. His resignation was not unexpected, according to PFFP colleagues.

The NPC for Johannesburg-North, Mr Peter Nixon, told The Citizen Mr Marais' resignation had been discussed for some time. He had suffered a grave heart attack some five years ago and, although he had recovered, he had not regained his full health.

Mr Nixon said Mr Marais was a politician who liked to work behind the scenes and who disliked political intrigue. On the political front, his main interest was internal security and security legislation.

Nominations for Mr Marais' replacement have not yet been forwarded to the party.

"There will, however, be quite a number of nominations, especially from people not yet known in the political arena," Mr Nixon said. He personally would not be standing for Parliament.

SOUTH AFRICA

SPREAD SUPPORT FOR FORMER PC MEMBER REPORTED

unneaburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 May 82 p 14

t) CAPE TOWN. — Dr Ghosean Mohamed, the Indian member of the science committee of the President's Council who resigned his post at the weekend in protest against the continued exclusion of Blacks, said yesterday he had been inundated with calls from people expressing support for his stand. He said he had decided to resign because he felt it was "morally wrong" to try to devise a new constitution for the country, including its 17-million Blacks, without their active participation.

As the Government was steadfast in its refusal to allow Blacks into the council, he felt sitting on the body had become "an exercise in futility" for him.

Dr Mohamed said he had no regrets at leaving a R2 500 a month post, adding that the overwhelming support he was now receiving from people of all races, particularly Blacks, made him feel he had made the correct decision.

Dr Mohamed is the second President's Council member to resign because of the exclusion of Blacks, following Mr Pat Fene-

ngam, a Durban attorney, who resigned at the end of last year.

Asked for comment, the leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Kyll Slabbert, said Dr Mohamed's resignation emphasized the central shortcomings of the PC which the Progressive Federal Party had pointed out from the start.

"It creates the illusion that one can formulate solutions to South Africa's problems while excluding 70 percent of the population from the deliberations," said Dr Slabbert.

4700/1282

IS THREATEN INDIANS FAVORING POWER-SHARING

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 May 82 p 12

(t)

THE Indians in Natal are being threatened by the Zulus if they were to accept President's Council recommendations that would entitle them to power-sharing on Government level with Whites.

This was revealed yesterday by Prof B G Ranchod, head of the private Law Department at the University of Durban-Westville, when addressing a seminar at the Randes Afrikaanse University.

He told the meeting that for historical reasons the Indians in Natal were living next to Zulus, but acceptance of the President's Council's proposals would toll their death knell in South Africa.

"We've already been threatened by the Zulus, and we are told that we would go the same way as other Indians elsewhere in Africa if we accept a system of power-sharing in a White Government from which Blacks are excluded."

Degrade

Quoting Chief Gataha

Buthlez, he said such an acceptance would be regarded in Black political circles as the "biggest degradation ever in a political community."

He told the meeting Chief Buthlez had said this week he found "something obscene about Coloureds and Indians flogging their limbs next to the dying beast of apartheid."

"And he is not a man who can be ignored," Prof Ranchod added.

He said a new dispensation, which excluded the majority of people from political emancipation would make the road onwards even worse.

Sincerity

Speaking at the same seminar, Mr Carter Kibahira, executive member of the Labour Party, said a large section of the Coloured community questioned the Government's sincerity in the proposed system of power — sharing which included Coloureds and Indians.

He said the Labour Party refused to give

evidence to the President's Council, for it felt without Black participation, the proposals could not possibly embrace the needs of all people in South Africa.

He believed all possible peaceful means to come to a democratic dispensation had not yet been fully investigated.

"But we cannot expect those in power to abdicate power. I do not call for the acceptance of the Council's proposals — but I call on all to give overwhelming support to the reformist elements in these proposals," he said.

Explaining the concept of consociational democracy, Dr Denis Worrall, Chairman of the Constitutional Committee of the President's Council, said it involved a deviation from majority rule concept.

"But if Blacks were to be introduced, the concept wouldn't work — by virtue of their numbers alone, majority rule would be instituted — and we will not have the results we had hoped to attain."

MARAIIS CONVICTED, CAUTIONED

unnesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 May 82 p 9

icle by Dan Marais]

t]

THE LEADER of the HNP, Mr Jaap Marais (59), of Rietondale, Pretoria, was found guilty by Mr E F Klopper in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday of contravening the Petroleum Products Act.

Mr Marais was cautioned and discharged.

The case arose from information about the movements of petrol to Lamba which Mr Marais disclosed at a meeting held in the Pretoria City Hall on October 27 last year.

Photostat copies of a telex message giving details of the movements of petrol were also distributed in the foyer of the City Hall and appeared in the

Afrikaner, the mouthpiece of the HNP.

Mr Marais told the court that news items relating to the export of petrol to neighbouring countries had been appearing in the daily Press for some time. He handed in a collection of newspaper cuttings in support of his argument.

For the State, Mr J J de Jager told the court that information contained in the cuttings did not detail information about the export of petrol and Mr Marais did not have permission from the Controller of Fuel Supplies to release this information.

Passing sentence, Mr Klopper said any contraventions of the Act were considered in a very serious light by the lawmakers, but it was

noticed that the authorities had kept a very low profile when Mr Marais' statements were brought to their attention.

The interests of the community had to be protected, but it was clear to the court these interests were not prejudiced in any way, and Mr Marais' offences did not call for severe punishment.

The hearing was also a test case and it was very likely that a higher court of appeal might arrive at a different conclusion.

Mr Marais declined to comment on the judgment, as he intended instructing his legal representatives to appeal against the judgment.

Mr I W B de Villiers, SC, assisted by Mr H de Vos, appeared for Mr Marais.

4700/1282

ENGINEERING UNTOUCHED BY ECONOMIC DOWNTURN SAYS SEIFSA

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 May 82 p 23

c]

THE downturn in overall domestic demand in the early months of this year apparently had very little effect on conditions in the metal and engineering industries.

Difficulties, however, were experienced in the base metal sector and the machinery industry, together with some decline in private sector foundry output.

The observation is made in the latest quarterly survey of business conditions by the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa Seifsa for the first quarter of the year.

Sectors such as telecommunications, electronics, industrial refrigeration and airconditioning and certain sectors of engineering were able to record order intakes in the first quarter of this year comparable with levels in the latter half of last year.

Conditions are, however, expected to weaken with the further downturn in the economy.

Seifsa says there are indications that increasing inflationary pressures, some drop in mining sector activity and the current restraint on Government spending are now affecting production volumes and sales in a number of sectors.

Problems are also be-

ing experienced by certain export sectors, with steel and steel related producers, in particular, experiencing serious problems from countervailing measures in the US market.

Some other important conclusions Seifsa draws from the survey are:

● Production in basic metals group, particularly in the ferrochrome and ferro-alloy industries reflected a fall-off in capacity utilisation in the first quarter year.

● The domestic market for steel ingots, which showed a decline last year, will weaken further this year and a recovery is very unlikely

before the first quarter of next year.

● The export-intensive ferro-alloys industry continues to contend with depressed world steel markets, increasing input and energy costs and must look to some real upturn in the economies of the industrialised countries to achieve satisfactory levels of utilisation in South Africa's sophisticated plants for the production of ferro-chromium and manganese alloys.

The metal fabricating and engineering industries in general also reported generally unfavourable trading conditions arising from the economic slowdown.

MENTARY ON LOSS OF 'SHEFFIELD', ADEQUACY OF SA NAVY

anesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 May 82 p

icle by Aida Parker: "Navy's Turn Was in the Right Direction"]

2]

SOUTH Africa's decision-makers are in line for some well-deserved kudos. Though still a junior partner in the international arms race the RSA, in preparing for naval warfare in the Missile Age, has shown possibly greater foresight than the Royal Navy itself.

That, anyway, is the view of several key Nato strategists now evaluating the war in the Falklands.

Greatest blow to the British so far has been the loss of the destroyer Sheffield, knocked out by one of the "fire-and-forget" Exocet missiles that can be fired from many kilometres away and skim above the waves near the speed of sound.

The ease with which the Sheffield was dispatched has raised most serious questions about the vulnerability of the Royal Navy and other Nato warships in the Age of the PGM (Precision Guided Missile).

From that aspect, Britain is today undergoing the same sort of soul-searching Israel went through after the 1973 war, when dozens of its supersonic jets were shot down by Soviet-supplied air-

face-to-air missiles and Israeli tanks were knocked out of action by Soviet-made wire-guided missiles.

It is now clear, say naval experts, that the first-line Sheffield-class destroyers, the pride of the British Navy, apparently lack the defensive weaponry necessary to stave off an attack by sophisticated enemy missiles.

That, in fact, is exactly the warning that was given by the authoritative journal, Navy International, when the new Sheffield destroyer first came into service in the 1970s.

Warning that the vessel was badly undermanned, the publication stated: "It would be scarcely wise to allow her out into dangerous waters alone."

The Sheffield, which would cost around R200-million at today's prices, carried light armament despite all its supposed electronic gadgetry, Navy International said.

The destroyer was built of unarmoured aluminium alloy and its anti-missile defences were trimmed because of budget cuts.

Other experts point out that while Sheffield carried 22 Sea Dart anti-aircraft missiles, it

had only two launchers, both on a forward mount.

Equipped with only two launchers, this meant that the destroyer would be unable to fire a heavy salvo of Sea Darts at any one time.

Sheffield suffered another critical deficiency. While the Sea Dart was never designed to counter low-flying missiles such as the wave-hopping Exocet, the British do have a missile for this very purpose.

That is the Seawolf, designed as an anti-missile weapon. Through a computer and radar-tracking system, it locks on to the incoming rocket and can be fired singly or in groups to destroy it.

But the Sheffield, like most other British vessels in the Falklands task force, was not equipped with Seawolf.

Since the sinking of the destroyer Defence Secretary John Nott has admitted a big problem on his side. The Seawolf, he says, was not installed on British warships because the USSR, the main Nato opponent, does not have sea-skimming anti-ship missiles.

In the event, the British faced a different

my, which did have
missiles.

An acute awareness
of the problems that
arisen in the Falk-
lands fire-fight was the
or topic for dis-
cussion at this month's
meeting of the Euro-
pean Nato Defence
Ministers in Brussels.
Admiral Robert H
of Canada, chair-
man of the Nato Mil-
itary Committee, said
lessons of the Shep-
herd disaster will not be
on Nato naval
forces and that a re-ap-
praisal of weaponry
strategy is already
on way.

Against all this is a
sentiment of quiet tri-
umph for the South
African Navy planners.
What is happening in
Falklands has fully
justified a most conten-
tious decision they were
urged to take on this
country's maritime de-
velopment five years ago.
It was to change
entirely, to
move from the tradi-
tional "blue water"
to a battle fleet of
missile-equipped
frigates. Not
the RSA, then, had
a choice in the mat-

The SAN first began
moving into heavy
war in 1964, when
Britain's slippery Ha-
Wilson imposed the
arms embargo
on this country.
Under the ban on
the use of St-
Louis, reaching
ludicrous propor-
tions that in 1967 both
the UK and the US re-
fused to accept ship-
ment information
the big SAN com-
munication centre, Su-
va.
In 1977, the UN
Security Council voted
a mandatory arms
embargo against the
country followed by an im-
mediate French deci-

sion to renege on R800-
million contracts to
supply two missile-
carrying corvettes and
two Agosta-class attack
submarines.

Theoretically, the
military isolation of
South Africa was now
complete; the death-
knell of the SAN as a
deep-water operational
unit had been sounded.

But our adversaries
simply did not under-
stand the South Afri-
can ability to adapt in
crisis.

Totally boycotted,
the RSA had to prepare
for total change in tac-
tics and organisation;
revise its sea defence
strategy; regroup for
survival.

It did so, and very
successfully.

In the autumn of
1978 South Africa an-
nounced she would no
longer hold herself re-
sponsible for guarding
the saltwater highways
of the Cape sea route
on behalf of the West.

New Priority No 1
would be the protection
of the country's ports
and its 4 000 km coast-
line and the policing of
the Republic's 200 nau-
tical-mile fishing zone.

This "own-interest
protection" would be
built round a "mean,
lean" navy with the
missile firepower of a
large navy.

Here, we had quite a
lot going for us. The
previous decade had
seen a startling new de-
velopment in naval war-
fare: the ability to take
devastatingly accurate
missiles to sea on board
small craft comparable
to the World War 2
"mosquito boat".

Of particular interest
to the SAN was Israel's
Rachael-class fast attack

missile-equipped as-
sault craft, carrying the
deadly Gabriel surface-
to-surface missiles and
their launchers.

These craft had
proved extremely suc-
cessful in the Yom Kip-
pur War, enabling Is-
rael to provide cover for
shipping approaching
the coast from as far as
940 km away.

There were many ex-
cellent reasons for the
SAN's decision to in-
vest in such craft. Rela-
tively easy to build, they
can be constructed in
our own shipyards.

And, since they do
not need heavy capital
investment, they re-
lease pressure on our
foreign reserves.

On alert, they can be
deployed at sea within
the hour, against 24
hours for a destroyer.
Their shallow draft of-
fers exceptional protec-
tion against torpedo at-
tack — torpedoes tend
to develop wobble in
wave areas.

With a crew of only
60, manpower losses in
the event of disaster
would be far less than
with larger vessels.

Nato specialists (as
against the politicians)
were worried about the
decision, fearing it
would further phase
out the SAN from the
Western defence sys-
tem.

They also doubted
our ability to produce
the exotic metals
necessary for both
weaponry and the re-
inforced hull.

They need not have
concerned themselves.
South Africa adapted.
Today we may have a
small navy, but one
packing a most power-
ful punch. These ships
are the new guerrillas
of ocean warfare.

REGULATING NEW PARTIES HIT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 82 p 6

Editorial: "New Parties"]

(t) HOW UNDEMOCRATIC

The Electoral Act Amendment Bill proposes that a new party must have at least 1 000 founder-members.

Why?

A select committee had suggested that the number should be 50, which is reasonable.

After all, one can get 50 people together if one wishes to form a party, but a thousand?

The mind boggles at the figure.

Why not 5 000 while the Government is about it? That way, it would make it even more difficult to register a new party.

The Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr PF Badenhorst, explains that a new party has to demonstrate that it enjoys reasonable support.

Three hundred people are required at present to nominate the candidate of a party not represented in Parliament or the Provincial Council.

Thus, 50 would be too few in starting a new party, the Deputy Minister explains. One thousand, one is expected to assume, would be "reasonable."

Far from it.

It is the democratic right of the individual or group to form a party, canvass support and to contest elections.

If the individual or group has to get a thousand people to sign on as founder-members, this imposes an outrageous burden.

It is extremely difficult to get 1 000 people together to start a cultural or welfare organisation.

In the case of a political party, there is the added problem that the 1 000 people have to declare their political interest.

Some might be civil servants, teachers, policemen, or clergymen who might find it unwise, in terms of their employment, or embarrassing, in terms of their group and social interests, openly to support a new party.

In any case, why should the Government or anyone else know who they are?

That is because of problems experienced in the past. Candidates of the Herstigte Nasionale Party in the last general election, with the names of some of the 300 backers of a candidate being challenged in a couple of seats, the Government proposes to amend this provision, too.

In future, the 300 supporting voters will have to sign their names in front of electoral officers.

This, mark you, is not required of existing parties which have seats in Parliament or in the Provincial Council.

Their candidates need only be nominated by a proposer and seconder.

Can you imagine how difficult it is going to be to get 300 people to appear before an electoral officer in support of a candidate?

In any event, why should they be called upon to reveal that they support a particular candidate?

Where is the confidentiality of the vote? Are other voters also expected to declare their allegiances in front of an electoral officer?

The answer is no.

So what is it all about?

To stop "freak" candidates from standing? A candidate who has no chance will lose his deposit, besides having to bear the expense of contesting the election. That should be sufficient to deter most

"freak" candidates from standing.
If, in the event, some do stand, so what?
Only a few constituencies will be affected, and though the winning contestants have to go to some expense which they or their party consider unnecessary, it is the essence of democracy that people outside the established parties should also have the right to stand if they wish.
Our opinion is that the original 300-supporters provision was aimed at the Herstigte Nasionale Party, but despite it the party was able to put up enough candidates to pull in 191 000 votes.
The new provision, we believe, is aimed once more at the Herstigte Nasionale Party.
We are pleased that the Government, after allowing the second reading debate to proceed, has referred the Bill to a Select Committee.
In fairness, all parties and candidates, whether established or new, should be on the same footing.
Anything else is completely undemocratic.

4700/1282

OF MERCENARIES EXPECTED TO GO INTO JUNE

esburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 May 82 p 8

le by Tim Clarke]

pt]

THE venue for the Pietermaritzburg hijack trial, which enters its eighth week today, could present problems to the Department of Justice.

The trial at present is being held in the historic College Road Court in Pietermaritzburg, but a trial, involving three Blacks, has also been set down for the court for June 1.

At this stage of the mercenaries' trial, only seven accused have testified out of the 20 being represented by Mr Steve Jansen. A Durban advocate, he has already told the court that he intends to call all the accused he is defending, so the case could go on well into June.

Mr P. Gonthuis, who is defending 18 of the accused — all the men are facing charges under the Civil Aviation Offences Act — told The Citizen at the weekend it was also his intention to call all the accused he represented.

Three of the accused, Col Mike Hoare, alleged leader of the abortive coup in the Seychelles in November last year, Kurt Priefer and Kenneth Kelly are conducting their own defence. They have the right

to cross-examine and question all the other accused.

At present, two of the accused are giving evidence and being cross-examined in a day.

It is understood that no decision has been taken yet as to whether the venue for the terrorism trial, which concerns the bombing of shops in Natal earlier this year, will be changed from the College Road Court venue should the hijack trial still be sitting.

It was learned from Scotland at the weekend, that Mr Nicholas Fairbairn the former Solicitor-general for Scotland, and a Conservative MP for West Perthshire, will be visiting Pietermaritzburg towards the end of this month to acquaint himself with the proceedings of the Pietermaritzburg hijack trial.

Mr Fairbairn, regarded as a brilliant advocate before he entered politics, is to defend six of the men held in the Seychelles. They go on trial for high treason in the Victoria Supreme Court on June 18.

A seventh accused,

Martin Dolkach, a self-confessed National Intelligence Service agent, will conduct his own defence.

Last week, Mr Fairbairn, a controversial figure in British politics, had a meeting with Mr Bernard Ransel, the Attorney-general of the Seychelles in London. Mr Ransel is to prosecute for the Seychelles Government.

Mr Fairbairn's services were obtained by Ken Dalgleish, the manager of a Durban hotel. He is being instructed by a Durban attorney Mr Graham Fowles after the withdrawal of Mr Mike Hannan, SC, from the trials of both groups of men.

One of the accused in the Pietermaritzburg trial, a former captain in the Zimbabwe army, Mr Vernon Prinsloo is recovering in a hospital in Durban from injuries received in a car accident last week.

As he was not in court on Friday, Mr Jansen who is representing him, was asked by the presiding judge, Mr Justice Neville James to produce a doctor's certificate today if Mr Prinsloo was again absent.

ION TO LABOR RELATIONS ACT REPORTED

asbury SOWETIAN in English 26 Apr 82 p 6

file by Sello Rabothata]

REACTION from employee co-ordinating bodies to the Labour Relations Amendment Act, which came into effect in November last year, has been generally favourable, but often mixed, the Institute for Industrial Relations (IIR) says in a report.

To some employee co-ordinating bodies, the act is largely acceptable, but others are concerned about the various measures introduced to control trade union activities and the extension of trade union rights to all workers in South Africa.

The purpose of the IIR report is to highlight some of the significant features of the new act and to assess the implications of the act in terms of industrial relations in South Africa.

In terms of the Act the definition of the word "employee" has now been amended to include all black workers including workers from the homelands. Up to 1977 blacks were excluded from the definition of employee and were, therefore, not in a position to make use of the machinery provided by the Industrial Conciliation Act. In 1979 some blacks were included when the Act was

amended. Only those blacks who were legally residing on land in the Republic and who were in permanent employment were included in the definition of "employee".

The Amendment Act not only deletes all reference to race, but it also prohibits differentiation on the basis of sex in industrial council agreements, industrial courts and the like. This does not, however, mean that discriminatory provisions in agreements, etc. which are binding on the date the Act comes into operation cease to have effect, but only that no future agreements may differentiate on the basis of race or sex.

The system providing for the registration of trade unions is only slightly amended. The provisions dealing with objections by mixed trade unions to the registration of either white or coloured unions, are

deleted altogether. A white or a coloured union applying for registration will no longer get registration if another union is representative of the employees as such.

In terms of the old Act, provision existed for the splitting from a mixed union to form a racially separate union and, to facilitate such splitting, a new white or coloured union which becomes registered may force a mixed registered union to divide its assets between them. This provision has now been deleted in terms of the Amendment Act.

No registered or unregistered trade union or employers' organisation may: Grant financial or other assistance to any political party or candidate; incur expenditure; carry on any activities; influence or endeavour to influence its members with the object of assisting any political party or candidate for election to any office or other position in a political party or any legislative body.

An entirely new provision provides that all trade unions and employers' organisations, whether registered or not, must have their head offices in the Republic itself and not in the homelands or in former homelands which are now independent states, such as Transkei or Bophutatswana.

In terms of the old

Act, the registrar has certain powers that trade unions and employers' organisations observe their constitutions. The Amendment Act now extends these powers to registered federations of trade unions and employers' organisations. The Draft Amendment Bill, which was published earlier last year, conferred the power on the Minister to cancel the registration of a trade union, employers' organisation or federation if any material irregularity has occurred in connection with an election, or if the union, organisation or any of its officials, office bearers, etc. has acted unlawfully.

These proposals were extremely harsh, especially when one takes into account that a union might lose its registration if an official acts unlawfully. This proposal came in for heavy criticism from the ~~labour~~ trade unions and employers' organisations and was, fortunately, dropped.

The Act also provides for the establishment of works councils, which substitute liaison committees in terms of the Black Labour Relations Regulation Act, 1953, as amended. In terms of the Amendment Act, the Black Labour Relations Regulation Act and all its amendments have been repealed — therefore works committees are also abolished as statutory bodies.

S APPOINTMENT AS CHIEF JUSTICE SURPRISES MANY

Wesbury RAND DAILY MAIL in English 1 May 82 p 3

CAPE TOWN. — The appointment of Mr Justice Pieter Rabe as South Africa's Chief Justice is the fifth departure from the principle, established in 1910, that the most senior Judge of Appeal gets the position.

And the appointment by the Government over the heads of Mr Justice P J Wessels — most senior Judge of Appeal — and the second in line, Mr Justice E L Jansen, is a subject of discussion in legal circles.

Mr Justice Rabe takes over on June 8.

The tradition of appointing the most senior judge was established to avoid "jockeying at the top", where personal factors could come into play to the detriment of the judiciary.

But every appointment since 1967 has been a deviation from this principle.

No reasons were given for the appointment of Mr Justice Rabe, who is considered an experienced and eminent jurist.

However, the bypassing of the highly regarded Mr Justice Wessels is raising eyebrows.

It is seen as significant that Mr Justice Rabe was chairman of the important commission on security legislation.

If the Government saw the appointment as recognition of this role, its action would be highly questionable, in the view of senior legal men.

There was no reason, they said, why Mr Justice Rabe, who was younger, could not

have taken the position when Mr Justice Wessels retired in a few years.

The bypassing of Mr Justice Jansen — regarded as a brilliant legal scholar — is not considered as serious as, being a younger man, he might still be appointed after Mr Justice Rabe's retirement.

The first departure from the principle of automatic succession came in 1967 with the appointment of Mr Justice H A Pagan, technically the third Judge of Appeal.

Ahead of him was Mr Justice O H Hoexter, with Mr Justice O D Schreiner at the top.

His appointment was condemned.

If precedent had been followed, Mr Justice Schreiner — whose appointment to the Appellate Division was hailed — would have been made Chief Justice. There was no apparent reason for ignoring him.

His refusal to approve the Government's legislative scheme to remove the coloured voters from the common roll in the Cape might have been a factor.

According to the SA Law Journal, Mr Justice Pagan wrote to the Minister of Justice on hearing of the rumour that he would get the post and asked him to reconsider the offer, in view of the seniority of the other two judges.

Two years later, when Mr Justice Pagan retired after a distinguished tenure, Mr Justice L C Steyn was appointed ahead of Mr Justice Schreiner and Mr Justice Hoexter, in a second deviation from tradition.

He was succeeded in 1971 by Mr Justice N Ogilvie Thompson, ahead of Mr Justice P J van Marck.

4700/1286

TIONS OF LABOR UNITY MOVE EXAMINED

Wesbury RAND DAILY MAIL in English 30 Apr 82 p 10

le by Steven Friedman: "SA Unions Take a Look at Unity"]

TO MOST emerging unions, unity is a bit like motherhood. All agree it's a good thing, but fear it will cost them their independence.

All the unions say they want unity. Historically, it has been the rule, with previous waves of black unionism being represented by one or two umbrella bodies.

But this time differences in strategy and ideology, mixed with personal rivalries, have caused bitter feuding.

Most observers thus believed last week's union summit outside Johannesburg would produce as much unity as the meeting between Moser Moore and Weir.

So when the unions not only agreed to continue meeting, but to seek a formula for a more permanent unity, most observers (not to mention unions themselves) were surprised.

Indeed, the meeting has begun the first attempt to set up a real working alliance between unions for years. If successful, it could be the beginning of a powerful independent worker movement — which would have implications for workers, employers, the Government — society as a whole.

The unions have, of course, been co-operating over the past months. There has been much surface unity, with an historic first summit in Cape Town last year, joint statements and the stoppage to mark Dr Neil Aggett's death.

But it has been surface unity only. Unions continued to compete in the factories and to privately impugn each others' credentials.

Indeed, much of the unity of the past few months has been defensive — a reaction to intense police action against unions which forced them to band together. Its chief sponsor has been Mr Louis in Grange.

But, as Mr Jos Foster of the Federation of SA Trade Unions, pointed out at Fuent's Easter congress, this was a very "ad hoc" alliance.

Unions talked around issues, passed resolutions, issued statements. But there was no mechanism for ensuring

decisions were carried on.

Thus, at Cape Town, unions condemned industrial councils and agreed on action to protest clamp-downs on Claret unionists.

Some unions who attended the summit continued to sit on councils, and the delegation to visit Claret never materialised.

The one example of joint action was the stoppage over Dr Aggett's death. But even here, implementation was left to individual groups who either implemented it in different ways — or not at all.

By the time Fuent's met at Easter, it was clear they would not tolerate this. Firstly, as Mr Foster put it, they believed the unity move was likely to become simply the source of "endless Press statements".

There was also no mechanism to ensure decisions mirrored worker views. There was no structure, so small unions had as much say as big ones. There was nothing to ensure leaders were accountable to members.

But when action was taken, it was clearly the bigger unions who were going to implement it.

About 60% of the workers who took part in the Aggett stoppage were members of three union groupings and it was this stoppage which had much to do with prompting Fuent's rethink.

Those who had the lion's share of the say, was Fuent's argument.

"Guys who represent nobody can call for wildly militant action — they know groups like us, not them, will actually have to go out and do it," said a Fuent's man.

Fuent's called for "disciplined" unity. Any alliance would have to be based on a "tight federation" in which machinery ensured leaders had a mandate from members and voting strength was based on worker numbers.

Policy would be binding on affiliates who would have to carry out decisions.

First reaction from rival unions was angry. Some Fuent's complaints might

the valid, they said, but there were other ways of dealing with the problems.

The proposed alliance was too centralized. "They seem to want something in which decisions are taken at a meeting and everybody has to kowtow under."

No union federation in the West operates this way. They all give unions far more autonomy," said a unionist.

Fosatsu had offered to disband if a wider federation was needed. But other unions dismissed this. "They've got more membership than anybody else. Any new organization would be dominated by them," said a rival.

The call was seen as an attempt to extend Fosatsu influence over all emerging unions and seemed likely to split the summit.

To everyone's surprise, however, unions emerged from the summit — with one exception — committed to their most significant unity initiative yet.

In a statement, they said unions would meet regionally to discuss structures for more permanent unity.

Within two months, they plan a meeting of small delegations from each group to be followed by a new summit — to launch a more permanent working alliance, the unions hope.

There was one discordant note: the Motor Assembly and Components Workers Union and its sister union, the General Workers Union of SA, stormed out of the meeting and later issued an angry statement condemning the new unity move.

Macross is a break-away from a Fosatsu union and is involved with traditionally militant community politics in Port Elizabeth.

It walked out, the secretary, Mr Government said, and later, because it believed there could be no unity unless all unions agreed to quit registration and industrial council — "Government-created channels".

The Council of Unions of SA did not attend the meeting. Early signs are that it will take part in talks, but will oppose Fosatsu's proposals as "undemocratic".

But those who agreed to go ahead included Fosatsu, the General Workers Union, the two Food and Canning unions and SA Allied Workers Unions — all major groups.

Both Fosatsu and rivals say they are "optimistic" about the unity move's chances.

There is a lack recognition that, despite major gains made by the unions, they have a long way to go. None can afford to simply reject offers of a working arrangement with others.

Significantly, union sources insist that whether or not unions register or join industrial councils is not a major block to unity among the bigger groups — hence Macross's strategy. "We agreed that these differences need not stand in the way of unity," a source said.

Fosatsu men say they was also greater support for industrial rather than general unions and that unions who were worried about the right to criticize others were told Fosatsu's proposals did not prevent this.

The chief obstacle remaining, a

Fosatsu man says, is resistance to emerging unions in order to "rationalise" organizing efforts.

Other unionists also insist they are optimistic — one describes the move as "exciting" — but are less convinced unity will be easy.

"I would expect more walk-outs before the process ends — some smaller unregistered unions for example," says a non-Fosatsu source. "There are still many obstacles".

The major issue is still autonomy, they say. "When Fosatsu say autonomy do they mean the right to say what you like at an annual meeting or something more than that — which we would demand?" says a unionist.

There are also still deep suspicions of union leaders' motives on both sides. Some still believe Fosatsu seeks to "take over" other unions.

The inter-union negotiating is just beginning. The other unions accept the Fosatsu proposals as a basis for discussion only and there will be changes to them if agreement is to be reached.

An all-union alliance will not emerge from the talks. But the issue is not how many unions get together, but whether the bigger and more powerful ones do.

What does seem possible — though not certain — is a realignment in which the bigger rivals find a way of embarking on joint action.

That would clearly be a boost for worker muscle. The Government would, no doubt, regard a permanent alliance of the emerging unions as significant.

But its effect on factory-floor industrial relations is not clear.

Many pro-union observers tend to be very lyrical about how much the unions could achieve if they united.

But many employers claim that much factory conflict in some areas has been caused by union diversity.

Union rivalry, some employers insist, means leaderships must continually make bigger demands in order to show that they have more muscle than their rivals. Some explain all the recent major strike waves this way.

This has been a factor in, say, Port Elizabeth. It is also true that rivalries do keep unions on their toes and force them to look after their members' interests for fear of losing them.

But this assumes that disputes have nothing to do with worker grievances.

And, while there is intense competition between emerging and established unions, there is not as much competition in factories between emerging unions. Just as often, the issue for unionists is whether workers will stay with the union or drop out of unionism altogether.

So unity would help unions on the shop floor.

But if it also serves to weld worker organizations into a more effective, articulate force in the factories, it is likely to enable employers to deal with stronger and better-organized unions.

Unity could help industrial relations as much as unionism.

MOBILIZATION OF LABOR FORCES SEEN POSSIBLE

aburg SOWETAN in English 22 Apr 82 p 4

ial]

MORE than 120 000 workers have stopped work in the East Rand to demand higher pay and better working conditions as the country sees a massive mobilisation of forces among labour.

The unusual effervescence amongst workers is a clear sign that, when blacks are given channels through which to release pent-up frustrations, they will use them, with gusto. For too long people have asked: What is happening to black unity? — in fact, meaning what is the matter with us for not being able to mobilise ourselves effectively against our oppression?

There have been sceptics from abroad and even liberal commentators here who have scornfully dismissed our ability to act boldly against a completely untenable situation.

This scornful attitude is dangerous because it assumes that blacks will never be able to take up the cudgels to redress their wrongs. There is the dangerous and unfortunately widespread belief in white quarters that we have been nobbled in our efforts to fight oppression. It is said we are so weak that we will never unite.

The same people forget the kind of conflagration that took place in

1976 when the youngsters exclaimed: "Thus far, no further."

These kids were not organised by any stretch of the imagination. They were the products of a despised system of education and nobody in their wildest dreams thought they would say "boo" to a goose. They were a scattered irrelevant bunch of children who could not even articulate their grievances in English or Afrikaans. Yet they shook the world.

If these kids did not have any of the attributes necessary for viable organisation we can expect a lot more action from workers who have been allowed a certain manoeuvrability after the Wiehan Commission.

The spotlight is now shining on the workers. There have never been so many strikes or retrenchments in such a short time as now. There is a massive movement among labour and agitation all over the country. In the interim, there are moves by certain trade unions to unite. Even this will take some doing because of ideological and other differences of approach. It all must be a serious threat to the Government. And yet this should not be so at all.

Having opened the floodgates, the Government should operate in the accepted democratic way. Unless trade unions go into the streets to create trouble they should not be har-

should not be the obvious tough action against their leaders.

In practically all democratic countries there are strikes and other actions by trade unions. These are usually handled in a manner that more often than not is not disruptive, the tested methods in labour being used to minimise or solve disputes.

One cannot but conclude that the various police departments are simply too eager and over-anxious to step into matters that should not concern them at all. We have in the past sympathised with our over-worked security and police systems as if seemed they were unnecessarily dragged into fields they should not be in.

1700/1285

IVENESS OF INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL DISCUSSED

asburg SOWETAN in English 29 Apr 82 p 8

le by Joshua Raboroko: "Mixed Feelings on Industrial Councils"]

TRADE unionists have expressed mixed feelings about the future of the Industrial Council system — the official mechanism for collective bargaining at an industry level.

Union sources maintain the system will not be able to cope with pressures from the emerging black unions, which place great emphasis on plant-level negotiation on wages and working conditions.

However a spirited defence has also been made by those unionists who believe that the industrial council system should be maintained, to show if the new labour dispensation by the Government has been given enough time to prove its responsiveness to the needs of the parties in labour.

The industrial council is made up of unions and employers — from the whole industry — who sit together. In the council they meet to negotiate wages and working conditions for the whole industry.

These are then published by the Government as law, and any employer can be prosecuted for ignoring them.

In effect, the council is half-union. It would not exist if either the union or employer organisation withdrew from it. Through the council,

the unions can, with employers, decide to establish various benefits.

Such benefits may differ from industry to industry because it of course all depends on what the union tries to achieve. An industrial council secretary and staff are employed to administer these benefits and funds and to ensure that the agreements on wages and working conditions are observed in each and every factory.

Recently in two sets of negotiations — in the mining and metal industries — trade unions have declared disputes, refusing to accept terms offered by employers.

The disputes are as a result of wide gaps in the employers' offers and union expectations.

The dispute was declared after a meeting of the council at which unions rejected a new

Steel Engineering Industry Federation of South Africa (Seifsa) offer.

Seifsa's director, Mr Sam van Coller, has said that Seifsa had offered unions a 25c across-the-board increase for all workers at the council discussions.

It had also offered a new minimum rate of R1.38 an hour — an increase of 25c — and a new minimum rate for artisans of R4.15 as compared to the present rate of R3.62. It has also offered to investigate overtime and to finance basic courses in arithmetic and literacy.

The director of the Confederation of Metal and Building Unions, Mr Ben Nicholson, was also reported to have said the offer would give skilled workers a 5 to 6 percent increase because these workers would not benefit from an increase in the mini-

rates.

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gotiate the new
agreement in the indus-
trial council.

It is the job of the
council to see that all
employers in the cloth-
ing industry should carry
out the new wage
agreement and other
benefits.

"This will prove to
workers the necessity of
an industrial council to
see that the agreement
made by union and em-
ployers is carried out,
and to administer the
benefits in terms of the
agreement," she said.

Other employers who
serve on the councils
have declared that this
government-created la-
bour dispensation
should be given a chance
to prove its effective-
ness.

"There is a place for
both centralised and de-
centralised bargaining.
We have to look for a
compromise," one said.

The employer warned
that if no compromise
was reached between
employer and unions on
the councils, labour can
be permanently scarred.
Bargaining on plant-
level can only be for
short-term advantages
for a limited group of
people.

But Mr Jan Theron,
general secretary of the
African Food and Can-
ning Workers' Union,
said this "system of bar-
gaining" should be re-

jected and his union has
refused to serve on
them.

Most unions treat the
councils with suspicion
and do not trust them.
Basically the employers
are at an advantage in the
council because they or-
ganise while unionists
and workers lack organi-
sation.

Most blacks are
unskilled and therefore
bargaining for them is
often difficult. It is
therefore vital that
plant-level agreement
be reached, he said.

The recent inter-
union summit in Wige-
spruit strongly recom-
mended that unions
leave the industrial
councils and requested
that participating unions
refer this back to their
respective unions for en-
dorsement.

Most unions agreed to
support each other in
the event of any union
resisting participation in
the council.

Fosatu also debated
this issue at its recent
congress and said the in-
dustrial councils in their
present form were unaccep-
table.

Unions were not to
enter them on terms
which were to their disad-
vantage, and they
should begin industry-
wide bargaining with the
framework of Fosatu's
principles.

RESIDENTS TO START REPAYING LOAN IN 1987

asburg SOWETAN in English. 28 Apr 82 p 3

[e by Sam Mabe]

SOWETO residents will only start repaying the R160-million loan raised by the three Greater Soweto Councils in West Germany, in 1987, says Mr David Thebehali, chairman of the Soweto Council.

He said between now and the next five years, repayments will be made by the Government. Thereafter, the outstanding balance will be spread over a period of 20 years — and this will be paid by residents. "at the most favourable interest rates."

He said the rate of interest will be two-and-a-half percent for the first five years, then five percent for the next five years, seven-and-a-half percent for between the 10th and 15th year and the balance for the last five years will be repaid at current rates of interest.

"I think the councils should be congratulated for having floated an international loan with such good terms and interest loans," Mr Thebehali said.

BANKS

He also said the conditions for the loan, granted to the three councils, Soweto, Diepsmeadow and Dobsonville by a consortium of six German banks, were that it be guaranteed by the SA Government, and that it be paid back in seven years.

As a way of helping Soweto residents, the Government will ensure that in seven years' time, the German banks shall have received all payments owing to them, and repayments by Soweto residents will be made to the Government, he said.

Mr Thebehali added that Soweto residents would have no problem in repaying the R160-million loan.

"Most of the houses in Soweto were built on loan money and in the

same way that residents have paid it back, they will still be able to pay back this overseas loan.

"And I tell you, there is not a single third world country that has been given this kind of a loan, because third world countries have serious economic problems and they are political risks.

"They have frequent changes of governments, coups d'etat and there are sometimes the nationalisation of foreign owned properties. This is what makes them economic risks.

"Our loan was guaranteed by the South African Government which has proved itself to be creditworthy because of its ability to meet its loan commitments without difficulties," said Mr Thebehali.

BE INTO BOMB BLASTS REPORTED

aburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 May 82 p 13

e by Tim Clarke]

DURBAN. — The Security Branch has launched a massive investigation into the two bomb blasts which damaged the offices of the Port Natal Bantu Administration block in Meechie Street in Pinetown and the Coloured Affairs Department offices on the corner of Smith Street and Hermitage Lane, Durban, on Friday night.

Police explosive experts spent the week-end looking through rubble at both sites for clues. At this stage, it is believed plastic bombs were placed near the doors of both offices. The blast also damaged surrounding offices and at Pinetown a private car belonging to Mr V Mare.

The explosions almost went off simultaneously. The explosions in Pinetown occurred at 4.45 pm and in Durban at about 5

pm. Although the police will not comment, it is believed the two sabotage attacks are the work of the banned African National Congress.

Also in Durban police are carrying out a massive search for two Black men, who together with a third Black man, opened fire in a shop belonging to Mr Ibrahim Ismail, owner of the Phoenix Cafe at Inanda on the Natal North Coast about two hours after the blasts in Durban and Pinetown on Friday night.

A Black man, armed with a handgrenade, was shot dead by Mr Ismail and two others opened fire with rifles in the shop.

Police said the three Black men, two armed with what appeared to be automatic rifles, had walked into the store about 7.30 pm on Friday.

They ordered about

50 customers in the shop aside. One of them vaulted the counter and came towards Mr Ismail. He pulled out his .38 revolver and fired three shots.

The bullets struck the man in the chest and shoulder and he died instantly.

The two other men then retreated from the shop, covering themselves by firing short sharp bursts from their automatic weapons.

An assistant in the shop, Mrs Lulu Gumede, was hit in the chest and mouth. She was later admitted to the King Edward VIII hospital in Durban, where her condition yesterday was said to be satisfactory.

When the police arrived on the scene they found a handgrenade in the pocket of the dead man.

URGED TO ASSERT SA CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

aburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 May 82 p 12

EMPANGENI. —Blacks serving on Government-created bodies such as community councils or in homeland politics did not necessarily accept the status quo, a senior tutor in the African languages department of the University of the Witwatersrand said on Monday night.

Addressing the University of Zululand on the Role of Black Youth in the 1980s, Mr M B Kumalo, a former president of the Zululand University SRC, said people serving on such bodies were using currently available platforms "to achieve their ultimate goal, which is participation in all decision-making institutions as equal citizens."

South Africa's youth, particularly Blacks, had an important role to play in shaping the affairs of the country, Mr

Kumalo said. But to be effective, certain sections of the Black intelligentsia would have to discard their "holier than thou" attitude, as well as their claims of being the "sole custodians of the aspirations of the Black people."

Blacks had to assert their South African citizenship, "which should under no cost be negotiable," Mr Kumalo said.

Mr Kumalo, who has in the past been involved in Black civic affairs, said his contact with numerous Government Ministers and directors-general had assured him some Cabinet members "do not want to be fed with one-sided reports they get from their officials."

"Today, Black leaders are consulted in ever increasing numbers and at an increasing pace," he said.

700/1282

VER 'WHITES ONLY' SURVEY REPORTED

aburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 82 p 11

CAPE TOWN. — University of the Western Cape staff members have been angered by a "Whites only" survey which asks, among other questions, whether Coloured people are "fair or unfair, honest or dishonest, clean or dirty".

UWC staff members have refused to complete the questionnaire, saying it is in "bad taste".

"No matter how good the intentions may be, the questionnaire perpetuates racial stereotypes and I do not think we should co-operate, a senior staff member said.

"It is also a bad questionnaire if you judge it academically," he said.

In a letter with the questionnaire, the researcher, Mrs J J Spangenberg, said there were no right or wrong answers and only "sincere" feeling were required as answers.

The survey asks questions like: "Do you regard one or more Coloured people as personal friends? Have you visited one or more Coloured people at home on a friendly basis? Do you consider the beliefs of most Coloured people on the same socio-economic level as you, to be similar to your own with regard to religion, childbearing, moral standards?"

The 12-page questionnaire comes with a brief covering note from Professor Elizabeth Nel, Professor of psychology at the University of Stellenbosch.

The note, bearing a police stamp certifying it as a copy of the original, said Mrs Spangenberg had received a Human Sciences Research Council bursary and her research was part of a series of council investigations into inter-group relations.

00/1282

WORKERS' UNION DROPS RACIAL BARS

burg SOWETAN in English 26 Apr 82 p 6

by Joshua Raboroko]

THE Garment Workers' Union of South Africa will in future be open to all workers in the clothing, knitting, millinery and men's industry, irrespective of race.

This was announced by Dr Anna Scheepers, the union's president, who said it was a "historic and happy development" for the union.

The registrar in Pretoria has approved an amendment to the union's constitution which means that after nearly 30 years the union has returned to its non-racial status.

Dr Scheepers said: "Our union has always believed in and practised non-racialism since it was founded in the 1920's. At last we have once again achieved a normal situation whereby we are a multi-racial union, open to all workers in the clothing industry."

Until this change the union included only white, coloured and Asian workers, but this was not always the case.

In 1953 Government legislation excluded all black workers from the Industrial Conciliation Act and the black women who were still members of the GWC

were forced to leave and form their own union.

This union became the National Union of Clothing Workers (SA) in 1962, which was registered as a union last year.

The registration of the union was made possible by the changes brought about by the Wichahn Report. These changes also promoted the inter-unions to discuss the idea of amalgamation.

In August last year the government changed the law to allow unions full multiracial status.

The National Union of Clothing Workers decided that it would not amalgamate with the Garment Workers Union although they continued to work in harmony.

The GWU has, however, always advocated that unions should be open to all workers irrespective of race and so it proceeded to change its constitution to allow this.

OF CRIME IN SOWETO URGED

bury SOWETAN in English 28 Apr 82 p 6

al]

THE UNDUE publicity given to a gang of thugs that became known as the wiregang seems to have become counter-productive as numerous little gangs using similar tactics are springing up all over Soweto.

As happens with criminal tendencies there is a rash of copycats undeterred by the fact that the original wiregang was smashed by the police after a short and terrible spell in Mendelands.

Our information there is that the makgotla in Mendelands went some way to assist in the final break-up of this gang of scoundrels.

The chief of the Soweto CID, Brigadier J J Viktor has said, and rightly we believe, that over publicity given to the original gang might have added to the problems we are faced with in Soweto now. It is thus our duty to see that these little monsters are stamped out, and quickly too.

People all over Soweto are living in terror because of gangs that attack on Sunday nights and attack men and women. They have also raped some women and taken lots of clothing and money from their victims.

While it may be impossible to root all crime from our townships — and anywhere else for that matter — when gangs attack families in the safety of their homes, then something has got to be done.

The police have been very active in this area and Brig. Viktor has actually put a special squad on the smashing of the gang. Many little gangs have been broken and some have been given heavy sentences.

Having said all that, it is perhaps time to wonder what our sainted makgotla in other parts of Soweto are doing about this serious problem. Surely if the makgotla can take up such a drastic stand with regard to peoples' domestic problems, this is the time to show their viability. They need to get out there to assist the police to smash this very grave community problem.

While we hold no brief for the makgotla themselves, we believe they should at least be of some value to people they say they are protecting are in danger.

The whole of Soweto should actually become actively involved in stamping out this serious hazard. When men and women are stabbed in their homes and when our children are scarred for life because of other atrocities the gangs perpetrate, then it is the time for all residents to stand as one to fight the menace.

We need to be able to stamp this thing out once and for all as a deterrent to other scoundrels and evil types who take advantage of our families.

Blacks are having enough prob-

lems as it is without this added menace added on them. We are aware of the socio-economic problems that lead men and boys to become such wastrels and scoundrels. This is no excuse for blacks to make the lives of their fellow beings terror-stricken.

This menace has to be stamped out before something pretty drastic happens. We are all of us in Soweto involved. Today one family is victimised tomorrow it can be you.

'00/1285

IN EXECUTIVE RELEASED FROM JAIL

burg SOWETAN in English 29 Apr 82 p 3

by Len Kalane]

A banned Kagiso youth, Lawrence Ntlokoa, has been released from jail after spending two separate six months' sentences.

Both sentences were for breaking his banning order on two separate occasions. He went to jail last year in March after a Johannesburg magistrate had sentenced him to six months.

But after spending about five months for the first banning order offence, Ntlokoa was taken from the Leeuwkop Prison to a Johannesburg magistrate to face a further similar charge which earned him another six months in September last year.

The first Ntlokoa charge was that he had attended an illegal gathering on October 19, in 1980 at a school in Kagiso. This, according to evidence in court, broke two clauses in his banning order. The October 19 gathering was to commemorate "Black Wednesday" when the Government banned the World newspapers and several black organisations in 1977.

Ntlokoa was released on R200 bail for this charge but he was again arrested in Ermelo by Security Police while travelling with friends in February last year. He was kept in police custody under the General Law Amendment Act which allows for 14 days' detention, his bail ex-treated, and finally got a six months' sentence for attending the Kagiso gathering.

While in jail, Ntlokoa, who is a former executive member of the Young Christian Workers (YCW), was brought before court again to face the charge of being in Ermelo — breaking his banning order of leaving the Krugersdorp magisterial area. He got another six months.

Ntlokoa was released about two weeks ago from the Leeuwkop prison.

Security Police picked him up from Leeuwkop and took him to the police headquarters in Krugersdorp where they finally released him.

His banning order expires in 1983, and he may not be quoted in terms of the Internal Security Act.

SOUTH AFRICA

IT SQUATTERS CITY CALLED 'CITY OF DEATH'

by EOWETAN in English 26 Apr 82, 2

THE SIMPLE MESSAGE scrawled on a slab standing erect on a tiny grave at Overwacht says it all — L Vana 01/08/81 (to) 14/04/82

The sad story of Overwacht is told by the simple graves at the foot of the mountain overlooking the massive squatters' camp. It is the story of hunger, disease and death.

More than 1 500 people have died at Overwacht since the squatter camp was established more than three years ago, many of them children under the age of three.

Officials estimate that about 120 000 people are living at Overwacht but community workers say the figure is higher than that.

Overwacht, which mushroomed in June 1979 and immediately caused an outcry both at home and abroad, had temporarily receded from the public spotlight until the Minister of Health, Dr Laps Munk, headed health facilities at the camp and compared them to those in Houghton this week.

"It is as good a health service as you people have in Houghton," he said Mrs Helen Suzanne, MP, last week.

When reporters visited the camp last week, a completely different picture emerged.

Although facilities have marginally improved, the effect of such improvement on the community has been negated by the steady influx of people without a place to stay.

The death rate, which saw 527 people dying of a typhoid epidemic in the first year of the camp, does not seem to have subsided.

Records indicate that more than 20 people die every week. By Thursday last week, the undertaker had already buried eleven people, and all but three were children below the age of three.

The greatest killers at Overwacht are gastroenteritis, kwashiorkor and pneumonia, a nurse at the local clinic said.

The polyclinic, which was completed recently, is the only centre providing medical service for the population, which welfare workers put at more than 130 000. It has a staff of 12 nurses

and four doctors, two of them army doctors, alternating duty during the week.

The clinic does not provide a 24-hour service.

"For the amount of work we do here, the staff is not enough," the nurse said. "Fortunately we haven't had cholera yet," she added.

The Chief Commissioner of the Department of Co-Operation and Development in the Orange Free State, Mr A P Kruger, pointed out in an interview that a hospital was "only 12 km away" from Overwacht, in Thebe Nche.

Overwacht came into being as a result of people fleeing from the impending independence of South Africa. The people were originally resident at Thebe Nche location, but because they were South Sotho-speaking they were discriminated against.

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ents have all v and the khaki s covered by tin and mud bats. ore than three w the camp was ad water and arrangements primitive.

stand has a cor- iron structure etat as .ilet. It persion in On- to see black brimazing with oil lining the ith foul smells ag the air.

Contrary to claims by the authorities that there was a tap at every home, more than 10 stands — which in some cases accommodate double that number of families — share one tap. Taps often run dry without any explanation.

The stands, measuring 30 metres by 15 metres, are too small. The soil is clayey and therefore not arable.

Thus the biggest problem in Onverwacht is unemployment. Thaba Nchu has no employment opportunities and Bloemfontein, 65 km away, cannot swallow all the job-seekers from the camp.

Father Peter Bralin, of the Catholic Church in Thaba Nchu, estimates that 40 percent of the menfolk are out of work.

Because many people cannot get work, many families are victims of hunger.

An assistant at the local office of the family planning clinic said she had never known hun-

ger to be a killer, "but hunger is killing people here, especially infants," she said.

Conversations with the people reveal an amazingly resilient spirit. They are not angry or bitter with what they are going through; some are even grateful for living, even under such subhuman conditions.

One woman said: "This is my house," referring to a craggy tin shack which could be blown away by a breeze.

"My word is law here. Yes, I'm very happy to have a place of my own."

One gets the impression the people have not known anything better than the abject conditions they are living in.

Onverwacht has even been renamed Bostabio — place of refuge — to blunt the impression it has created as a symbol of suffering brought about by the Government's resettlement policy.

1: People have to queue sometimes for almost the whole day in Onverwacht — there is only one tap to a hundred houses.

[Photo not reproduced]

0/1285

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

HOSPITAL BEDS--WHILE ABOUT 30 new wards for whites at the Boksburg spital have been standing empty for two years, black male patients to sleep on the floor and under beds. The patients also say they are fied with the food they are given and many prefer buying their own ey are supplied with felt mats and about three blankets each. One aid the mats were so hard it was almost impossible to sleep on them. aid: "When it is time to sleep, one wishes that the sun should not use sleeping on the floor and under beds is a horrible experience. can one do, because we are here for health? The food is also bad and o buy one's own food if he want a decent meal." A senior nursing the hospital told The SOWETAN yesterday that originally the 30 new s to be used as intensive care units for white patients, but this plan abandoned because of the shortage of white nurses at the hospital. ons were made to the hospital's senior officials that for the time wards could be used to accommodate black patients when their wards crowded," she said. "But there has been no response from the author- r, and meanwhile the new building has been a white elephant. We hope lay these wards would be used to accommodate black paitants, to avoid ing at the hospital. Dr G C Gravett, superintendent of the hospital, is not prepared to ocmment on the issue. "I have been instructed not y press statements and that is all I can tell you," he said. [Text] bury SOWETAN in English 28 Apr 82 p 4]

HELD--The Soweto youth who went missing from his home after claiming city Police gave him a radio transmitter to bug speakers at a funeral i Dube, has been detained. This was confirmed yesterday by Major M V the Police Directorate of Public Relations, who also confirmed the of a member of the Soweto Civic Association, Mr David Matsoso (22), and Mrs Nomvula Lucia Ngobeni (29), of Zola. The three are held in section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act, which allows for 14 days' without trial. The detention of Mr Samuel Themba Mtombela (20), earlier reports received by The SOWETAN that he was seen at Protea Po- on, although at the time police denied that Mr Mtombela was among lined. Mr Mtombela's family were relieved to know from The SOWETAN on's whereabouts. Mr G Mtombela, Themba's grand-father said: "At on't be guessing about his whereabouts now." Also relieved was Mrs mother, Mrs Selina Dlamini, who said she had been puzzled by the noe offher daughter. She said she had been told that her daughter stained on Monday at or near her place of employment. [Text] [Jo- SOWETAN in English 23 Apr 82 p 2]

BLACKS 'LESS FERTILE'--CAPE TOWN--A gradual decline in fertility of black South Africans, in contrast to black Africa as a whole, has been noted in a Human Sciences Research Council survey. The council, in its newsletter, ascribes this to the increasing number of urban Blacks practising family planning. It's research has shown that in the past two decades fertility among Indians and Whites has declined. Coloured fertility has shown a dramatic drop. The newsletter says fertility trends are often attributed to economic factors. Yet the year 1964, in which the fertility rate all over Europe started to drop, was one of full employment. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 29 Apr 82 p 3]

COMPULSORY FINGERPRINTING--The Population Registration Amendment Bill tabled in Parliament yesterday provides for universal identity documents for all South Africans, including Blacks, and for compulsory fingerprinting for everyone. The Bill provides that the existing "dompas" for Blacks will be phased out. However influx control, for which the "dompas" was designed, will stay. Everyone who applies for a new identity document will need to have his fingerprints taken and included in the application documents. The holders of existing identity documents will not be required to obtain new ID cards, but will have to have their fingerprints taken. The Bill provides for the continued updating of the populating register, on which the voters' role will be based. It requires everyone to provide any change of address within 14 days after such a change. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 May 82 p 2]

NEW CONTAINER SHIP--Safmarine's latest fully cellular container ship plying between South Africa and the Far East was named the SA Vaal at a ceremony held near Osaka in Japan. The SA Vaal is the third fully cellular vessel to be commissioned this year. The fourth will come into service at the end of 1982 giving South African importers and exporters a regular service every two weeks between South Africa and the Far East. The SA Vaal will carry seven levels of containers below deck and three above. Service speed, fully loaded, will be 19 knots, and she will have a crew complement of 35. She is due to sail from Yokohama for South Africa on June 12, arriving in Durban on July 8, Port Elizabeth July 10, and Cape Town July 12. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 May 82 p 9]

BLACK INCOME RISES--PORT ELIZABETH--A report on the consumer behaviour and shopping patterns of Blacks in Port Elizabeth was released yesterday. It reveals that the income of Blacks has increased fourfold since 1972, leaving Black consumers more money to spend on non-essential durable commodities. The report, compiled by the chief researcher at the Institute of Planning Research at the University of Port Elizabeth, Dr Jan Erwee, indicates that Black spending will outstrip that of Whites within the next five years, with the Black population comprising the largest segment of the domestic market for consumer goods by 1985. As such, the White consumer market needs to cater more for Blacks, or else shopping facilities, comparable to those operating in White areas, need to be established in the Black townships. The survey revealed that Black consumers are not averse to supporting business undertakings in the Black townships if comparable facilities were available. The main reasons given by Blacks for diverting their patronage away from the townships were high prices, limited variety and the poor quality of merchandise on sale there. Dr

Erwee says the report is intended to serve as a reference aid for commercial developers who realise the growing importance of Black spending in the present consumer market. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 May 82 p 9]

NRP OFFICIAL RESIGNS--Mr Steve Maintjes resigned as Johannesburg regional chairman of the New Republic Party at a meeting of the party's regional executive on Wednesday night. He said that as he was holding more than one post in the party organisation he had found it increasingly difficult to do justice to all. Mr Maintjes will, however, continue as the Transvaal NRP's director of information and will probably head the party's Johannesburg municipal action committee, which provides its sole City Council representative, Mr Ron Selley, with the necessary research and other back-up. The present chairman of the municipal action committee, Mr Edmund Elias, was unanimously chosen on Wednesday night to succeed Mr Maintjes as the NRP's Johannesburg regional chairman. At its first meeting under his chairmanship on June 2, the NRP regional executive will consider whether to fight the Johannesburg North parliamentary by-election expected to be caused by the resignation of the sitting Progressive Federal Party MP, Mr Kowie Marais. An NRP candidate who opposed Mr Marais in last year's general election drew nearly 3 000 votes. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 82 p 8]

ATROCITIES PROBE--Churches in South West Africa refused to serve on or give evidence to a Board of Inquiry into atrocities allegedly committed by South African security forces on which the security forces sat, the president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Archbishop Dennis Hurley, said yesterday. "This would be a case of the security forces being both accused and judge in the same trial," Archbishop Hurley said in a statement. He said the churches would welcome an independent board of inquiry "consisting mainly of persons versed in the law." Archbishop Hurley said he was issuing the statement as a clarification in regard to the attitude of the churches in SWA to a Board of Inquiry into the alleged atrocities. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 May 82 p 10]

KRAAIFONTEIN DETAINÉES--CAPE TOWN--Two Kraaifontein detainees were released on Monday after being held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act for about four months. They are Mr Freddy Schrader of Impela Road, Kraaifontein, and Mr Julian Sauls (19) a University of the Western Cape final-year student. Both men were returned to their homes by policemen. Mr Sauls was detained on January 9 this year in Kimberley, shortly after he returned from a holiday in Zimbabwe and was held under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act for 14 days. Mr Sauls said yesterday he had been held in "solitary confinement" in a police cell at the Ruimsig River Police Station, a short distance from his home. Mr Schrader became a father, for the second time, while he was in detention, and Mrs Marta Schrader said she had waited for her husband's release so that they could decide together on a name for the five-months-old boy. He had missed their first son's first birthday. Mr Schrader, a super-market worker, was detained at his home last December. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 May 82 p 15]

KERKBOOS ENDORSEMENT--CAPE TOWN--Die Kerkboos, voice of the NG Kerk, has endorsed the proposals of the President's Council constitutional committee that

would include Coloureds and Asians in a restructured system of government. Die Kerkbode's latest issue, published yesterday, agreed with the Vice-State President, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, that the proposals were more than merely cosmetic. They showed a serious attempt at planning a political dispensation in which Coloureds and Asians would have a larger and more direct say in community and national affairs than at present. "We find ourselves in transition period to a totally new dispensation," Die Kerkbode said. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 May 82 p 10]

TRANSKEI HITS 'RHODESIAN REJECTS'--UMTATA--Transkei was being made a dumping ground for "Rhodesian rejects" who had made life unbearable for Blacks in their country for many years, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Caledon Mda, said in Umtata yesterday. Speaking during the debate on the Interior Vote, Mr Mda said Whites from Rhodesia, because of their colour, had been given senior positions over Transkeians. "Why are these Rhodesians flocking to Transkei? Has the Department of the Interior the final say in giving ex-patriates authority to remain here or is it pressure from sister departments who claim to be needing the services of these people?" Mr Mda asked. Several speakers from the Government side also queried the influx of the Whites "fleeing from Zimbabwe." [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 May 82 p 8]

RECORD INFLATION--South Africa's inflation rate, measured by the Consumer Price Index, last month rose 1,6 percent to give an annual increase of 16,5 percent--the largest since 1920. The increase for April was largely a statistical phenomenon, since it was compared with the figure for April last year when the one percent increase in general sales tax was not included. With the 2,3 percent increase in the index in March this year, the higher GST made up 0,6 percent of the total inflation rate. A wide range of price increases, which took effect of April 1, had been taken into account in the figure for the month. Items responsible for the biggest increases this year up to the end of last month were foodstuffs, making up 3,7 percent of the total rise in the Consumer Price Index, housing making up 2,9 percent and transport 3,5 percent. The rand today could buy about half of what it could in 1975, the report said. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 May 82 p 2]

SAMANCOR BOOSTS EXPORTS--The marketing companies established by SA Manganese in Europe and the US have been effective in increasing the exports of group products and one of these companies made satisfactory profits for the financial year, chairman J P Kearney says in the annual report. He said the decline in the rand against the dollar to \$1,025 at the end of the year from \$1,30 at the beginning of the year was unlikely to be of the same magnitude this year. He said last year because of the significant reduction in market requirements, stock levels increased above 1981 levels, but every effort was being made to reduce these tonnages. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 May 82 p 21]

CISKEI BRICK INDUSTRY--The accidental discovery of vast deposits of clay in Ciskei, close to King William's Town, has led to the establishment of the country's first brick works which will make it self-sufficient in bricks. The company, Kai Brick (Pty) Ltd, a R1,3-million project, was established by the Ciskeian National Development Corporation in conjunction with Labour

Intensive Industries Limited. The general manager of the company, Mr Ken Parsons, says the brickyard will undoubtedly play an important part in the building of Ciskei's new capital, Bisho, and the construction of the numerous factories required by industrialists who want to invest in Ciskei. It is expected they will help solve the brick shortage in the border area. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 May 82 p 22]

WHITE LABOR IMPORTED--DURBAN--The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said at the weekend that he was against the importing of White skilled labour as this would lead to the disadvantage of Blacks in the country. Speaking at Umgababa, on the Natal South Coast at the official opening of the training centre of the KwaZulu Development Corporation, Chief Buthelezi praised the efforts of the KDC to train Blacks in the field of retail trading, agriculture, mechanics, management and transport. He said it was dangerous to argue that immigration was a cheap way of recruiting skilled labour. This was certainly not the view of Blacks, to whom White immigration was unacceptable, both morally and politically. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 May 82 p 10]

MARAIS VACANCY FIGHT--The fight is on behind the Progressive Federal Party scenes for the Parliamentary vacancy which the retirement of Mr Kowie Marais, MP for Johannesburg-North, will leave at the end of June. At the same time, the National Party also seems to consider nominating a candidate in this strong PFP constituency in order to test the Government's latest reformists moves. PFP front runners appear to represent two camps in the party. In the one camp, Mr Rupert Lorimer, former PFP MP who is presently working for a Johannesburg public relations company, seems to have the edge on other possible candidates. In the other camp--the Anglo American-supported camp--two Anglo American officials, Mr W Hafer and Mr Peter Soal, are apparently the top contenders. There have long been rumours in PFP circles that Mr Lorimer, who lost his Orange Grove seat due to the last redelimitation of constituencies, was promised the first "PFP vacancy" in the Transvaal. Mr Lorimer is an experienced MP who, I understand, has strong ambitions to return to Parliament. On the other hand, Mr Gordon Waddell, an Anglo-American employee and a former PFP MP for Johannesburg-North, I understand, would probably play a major role in deciding who the candidate will be. In this regard, Mr Hafer and Mr Soal would probably be his first choices, according to informed PFP observers. Other possible PFP candidates in the field for Mr Kowie Marais's seat, include Mr Peter Nixon, Mr Douglas Gibeon and Mr Sam Moss. In top PFP circles it is being said that Mr Moss has had enough of the in-fighting in the PFP caucus of the Johannesburg City Council and that he would welcome a Parliamentary seat. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 82 p 3]

CISKEI TAX AGREEMENT--South Africa and the Ciskei have entered into an agreement to safeguard against tax evasion and double taxation of taxpayers moving between the two states, according to a notice in yesterday's Government Gazette. The agreement will not affect the fiscal privileges enjoyed by diplomatic or consular officials under international law. Taxes affected by the agreement are general income tax, non-resident shareholders' tax, non-resident tax on interest and undistributed profits tax. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 May 82 p 11]

POWER COST SOARS--The cost of electricity in South Africa, although still comparatively low, increased at a higher rate last year than in the United States, Britain, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and Canada. This was revealed today in the annual survey of comparative electricity costs for major utilities in Europe, North America, Australia and South Africa undertaken by National Utility Services of New York. The average cost of electricity in Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg and Pretoria was 3,19 cents/kWh in April, which was 17,5 percent higher than in April 1982. This percentage increase was surpassed by only four other countries in the survey--Italy, France, Eire and Australia. However, the average cost of electricity in South Africa is still the lowest of all the countries surveyed. The figures are based on customer size of 1 000 kW to 450 000 kW with customer-owned transformers, with currency conversion rates as at April 1982. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 May 82 p 10]

TREASON CHARGES--A third man has been charged with high treason, murder, attempted murder and terrorism relating to the attacks on the Capital Park power station in Pretoria, three police stations and a railway line. Mr Marcus Thabo Motaung (27) appeared in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court yesterday on the same charges as Mr Thelle Simon Mogoerane and Mr Jerry Samano Mosololi, who pleaded not guilty earlier this month. He was remanded to the Supreme court on June 1. The charges involve attacks on the Moraka and Orlando police stations on May 31, 1979, the Capital Park power station on December 14 last year, the Wonderboompoort police station on December 26 last year, and the New Canada railway line on May 24 last year. The charge sheet also says he joined the ANC in 1976, underwent military training in Angola, Tanzania and East Germany and found hiding places for arms, ammunition and other ANC members. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 82 p 12]

MAIZE EXPORTS--About 12 percent of the current year's maize crop would be exported, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Pieter du Plessis, said. Replying to questions by Mr Philip Myburgh (FFP Wynberg), he said the price at which the maize would be exported was not yet available. No surplus over and above the normal 900 000 tons carryover was expected after export and domestic consumption. Mr Du Plessis said 5 078 000 tons of the 1981 maize crop was exported at a loss of R 267 300 000. Nearly three million manhours were lost through strikes in 1980 and 1981, the Minister of Manpower, Mr Fanie Botha, said. Replying in writing to a question by Dr Alex Boraine (FFP Pinelands), Mr Botha said 47 444 workers went on strike in 1980 resulting in the loss of 1 287 716 manhours. Last year 80 932 strikers caused the loss of 1 669 349 manhours. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 82 p 4]

CSO: 4700/1284

STATUS OF SECURITY APPARATUS VIEWED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 10, 12 May 82 p 5

[Text]

The security apparatus

Shortly before Zimbabwe's independence it will be recalled that Zambia negotiated the purchase from the Soviet Union of Mig 21 and 23 aircraft worth about \$180m. There were three apparent reasons for the purchase: 1) the government clearly expected the war in Zimbabwe to continue for longer than it did 2) the defence capability of the British Rapier anti-aircraft missiles sold to Zambia in 1978 was reckoned insufficient (certainly they did not deter Rhodesian air-transported forays into Lusaka. The Rapier system, which should be very potent, has not been maintained and is now inoperable we understand), and 3) as Kamukama rightly insisted, the Soviets were approached after Zambian requests for western aircraft had been rebuffed. The Soviet military connection has now grown into a wider-ranging field: Soviet surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) have been installed in newly built missile sites around Lusaka, Kabwe and the copperbelt. Although technical training is complete we understand that up to five Soviet technicians for each site remain in Zambia. East Germans (who habitually work with their less amiable Soviet counterparts in "diplomatic" offices) and Czechoslovaks are also involved with technical training.

Estimates of the number of Soviet, East German and Czechoslovak advisers in Zambia vary from a few hundred to a thousand. Certainly a large group of Soviets and their families still occupies *Andrews Hotel* outside Lusaka, and at least one hotel on the copperbelt (the *Survey House* in Ndola). The Mig sale has been followed by several ship-loads of trucks, armoured personnel carriers and weapons to Dar-es-Salaam, from where the hardware goes to Zambia via the Tanzania railway.

Payment terms probably include a large element of the standard Soviet formula of a fixed interest rate and long-term maturity. But it is not certain that there was any grace period. We understand that some off-balance sheet barter business (in the form of air-freighted cobalt) has been done.

Army and airforce

However the armed forces remain, by widespread consensus, hopelessly inefficient. The total strength of the army and the airforce, including support and administrative personnel, approaches 20,000. We understand that nearly 2,000 of the combat and semi-combat troops are women. The army commander, Lt. Gen. Mubumba Mubumba (a Leet) is rated poorly. The airforce commander, Maj. Gen. Lungu, who was deputy to Maj. Gen. Christopher Kabwe before the latter was arrested on now dropped treason charges, has had little time to prove himself. A lack of qualified Zambian Mig pilots (despite training in the Soviet Union and East Germany) and of evasion fuel anyhow means that the Mig squadrons take off from their base at Lusaka airport.

Paramilitary

Divided into self-sufficient units with armoured personnel carriers and helicopters if necessary, the force numbers 3,800-4,000 and appears to normally operate in units of up to 1,000. With headquarters close to Lusaka it has permanently stationed units at

Kabwe (an increasingly important military base) and on the copperbelt. It is regarded as well-disciplined and effective and more potent than the entire army. Following last year's reports of Tanzanian troops on the copperbelt there has been no satisfactory evidence to support the thesis, although curiously the government never denied the reports. Possibly, observers confused the paramilitary (who wear a distinct fine-striped battle-dress) for Tanzanians. Its role as a domestic trouble-shooting force is established.

Special Branch

Established in the early 1970s by the former secretary to the cabinet, Valentin Mwaikanya (who is a leading defendant in the treason case) along traditional British lines, and directed initially by the former foreign minister Vernon Mwaanga (who resigned from government and now runs a successful business empire), the force has grown more rapidly than any other branch of the security apparatus. Its recent expansion includes a large new five-storey headquarters (at a guess the building has space for about 3,000 people), the purchase of fairly sophisticated electronic equipment (not all of which is working we understand) and a certain amount of east European assistance. Its main task is to monitor "dissidents", a job which was considerably uprated following the smothering in 1980 of the alleged coup plot. A country-wide network of informers appears to be in place, if obviously and usefully in many cases. The quality of full-time recruits is known to have greatly improved of late. Recruiting officers spare little effort to get university graduates. The Special Branch director is A.K. Mbiye (a Chewa, like his boss, Grey Zube), whose qualities appear to be those of a trusted lieutenant rather than a spy-master. ©

CSO: 4700/1290

AGRICULTURAL SITUATION SAID TO HAVE IMPROVED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 10, 12 May 82 p 3

[Text]

The food factor

Largely by dint of increasing agricultural product prices, notably the maize price (last year, K16 per bag) agriculture is the one sector of the economy which has improved. The ministry of agriculture is dominated by Tongas, the southerners of farming stock who rival the Ndebele as Zambia's arch capitalists. Last year's marketed maize crop of about 7m bags (of 95 kilos), which includes perhaps 2m-3m bags of smallholder production which is consumed in rural areas, provided more than enough for domestic consumption. The average planted down to maize increased in the 1981-1982 planting season by 25%, but because of the drought not more than 6m bags is likely to be marketed this year. The government has recently contracted with Zimbabwe to buy 2m bags to cover the expected shortfall. (Although the Zimbabwean crop is expected to be down by about half from last year's record crop of over 20m bags, Zimbabwe still has large stocks). With average rainfall the marketed Zambian crop this year would have been about 9m bags.

However, a good pricing policy is not by itself enough, especially with a population growth rate of about 3%. The amount of unused potential farming land is enormous. Much can be cleared, the land tilled and maize planted within a season, so that good producer prices are quickly responded to. But Zambia cannot at present cope with a total maize crop of more than say 10m bags because of inadequate storage silos and shelters. Canadian aid and World Bank funds are meant to be financing a network of shelters, although we understand that work is going ahead only slowly. The problems therefore of insufficient fertilizer supplies (the Kafue ammonium nitrate plant is due to come on stream this year with an initial capacity of 140,000 tonnes compared to the national requirement of 200,000 tonnes) and weak, not secondary to storage and marketing (45% of the population is now urban — hence a lot of marketing). Once the latter is sorted out, agriculture can expand more rapidly.

A more complicated and sometimes politically sensitive area is agricultural finance. Now that the days of state farms appear to be conclusively over since they all proved disastrous, attention has been turned to ways of financing small-scale farmers, who produce the bulk of the maize crop, and for example commercial farmers wanting to invest in irrigation for wheat. (Demand for wheat-bread for overseas wheat production, which was about 13,000 tonnes last year). At present the government arm for agricultural finance is the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC), a subsidiary of the Rural Development Corporation. Last year it lost K28m compared to applications of K260m. No more than 40% of due repayments were made. AFC's problems are 1) the political appointment at its head 2) the consequent interference in its management and lending policy. For example we came across a case where a special branch employee was given a large AFC loan for agricultural equipment even though he had no land. 3) Far too few farm inspectors to check that farmers are using the credit properly. The smaller counterpart to AFC is Barclays Bank, which last year started its own scheme for small-scale farmers. It lost K2m and got

95% of it back. This year it intends to lend K4m.

Agricultural policy also involves the breaking down of the large inefficient organisations ranging from state farms to the *National Agricultural Marketing Board (NAMBOARD)*, which instead of buying maize, paying farmers for it (in the form of vouchers which took sometimes nine months to cash) will now concentrate on distributing fertiliser so that local cooperative unions can organise the buying and storage.

With the pricing mechanism working (bar the odd hiccup: the tobacco price announcement was four months late this season), agricultural income tax down from 25% to 15% and selective employment tax on farmers abolished, storage and marketing bottlenecks under attack and agricultural education improving slowly (the Swedes are laboriously doing a feasibility study for developing the *National Resources Development College*), it is likely that Zambia will be an established albeit modest food exporter within the next five years. Self-sufficiency alone is a weapon of utmost political importance in southern Africa. ©

CSO: 4700/1290

POTENTIAL FOR POLITICAL UNREST SAID TO HAVE INCREASED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 10, 12 May 82 pp 1-7

[Excerpts]

Since the beginning of the year Zambian politics have become markedly more complex. They are now under the spotlight following Kenneth Kaunda's meeting with South African prime minister Pieter Botha. Although his government has regained some equilibrium following last year's confrontation with the trade unions and the tension created by the treason case and other arrests (AC Vol 22 No. 22), the potential for unrest has increased for a number of reasons:—

1. The ruling *United National Independence Party* (UNIP) has antagonised parliament, the trade unions and the church through a combination of manipulation, corruption and marxist rhetoric.
2. Policy splits and personality clashes within the UNIP central committee have become more evident.
3. The number of well-known political figures dismissed or voluntarily retired from mainstream politics is growing progressively.
4. The security apparatus continues to expand its capability for political repression.
5. The elections due next year are now the focus for anti-government policy campaigns.
6. Despite an improved agricultural policy, the severe regional drought is expected to result in a national maize shortfall of 2m tons and widespread food shortages next year. The overall economy continues to decline.
7. Kaunda's all-embracing foreign policy has not improved cool relations with the Zimbabwean government, Zambia's most important neighbour. A major showdown in Zimbabwe could well make it hard for Zambia to stop ZIPRA guerrillas returning to Zambia.

The crux of Kaunda's dilemma is that politically he has to rely on a caucus of longstanding but inept party figures, most of whom are increasingly derided by the public and by the younger and much better educated technocrats and aspiring politicians. Although he continues to be widely respected for his integrity, in sharp contrast to a number of leading UNIP officials, the machinery for his rule appears irretrievably vested in the existing central committee, no matter how low its public standing and its mismanagement of the economy. The lack of leeway for anything more than cosmetic change in the composition of the ruling élite appears to partly explain

Kaunda's recent crusade for "scientific socialism". In the absence of practical policies, because of UNIP's paralysis, it is clearly designed (like the less explicit Humanism ethos) as a political cohesive.

Evidence so far suggests that it is likely to be a costly political misjudgement, although it is unlikely to cost Kaunda the presidency. But it will mean in the future an increasingly pervasive party and security apparatus to enforce policy. Sooner or later it will lead to serious confrontation with the unions and the churches, both of which will be buoyed by the growing number of "opposition" political aspirants.

The irony of scientific socialism as now officially endorsed by the party and on the way to being firmly written into the school syllabus, is that the supreme example in Zambia of capitalist corruption lies in the party itself. Is the crusade for socialism voluntarily proposed by Kaunda or has he been put up to it by those "advisers" who see it as a necessary extension of party control to ensure that they retain their privileged positions? There are a number of theses on the matter.

1. Kaunda cannot intellectually accept atheism as part of socialism but for political purposes believes that the church and religion must be partially sacrificed in the interest of a stable one party state.

2. Kaunda believes that as a leader he must always espouse a national cause and that he cannot risk the admission that Humanism has been impossible to achieve.

3. Kaunda is preparing the ground for a radical change of policy from socialism to purely pragmatic nationalist policies (without foregoing regional diplomacy over South Africa), but that first it should be more conclusively shown that Humanism or scientific socialism is at present impractical. Before the elections he would announce in a "milestone" speech that Zambia has been forced to devote all its resources to improving the economy.

4. A group of central committee members, perhaps led by minister of state security Grey Zulu, one of Kaunda's most longstanding colleagues, insisted that state security could only be maintained by using the political apparatus to the full, and that scientific socialism would not only provide the means to acquire the extra political leverage but it would also fit well with the military tales and assistance from the Soviets and East Germans who are playing a widening role in security generally.

We discount both the thesis that it is a ploy to precede a policy reversal and the thesis that Kaunda has been put up to it by those who want him out. Political scheming on this scale is not in his nature. Although he is often intellectually indecisive, he has probably convinced himself that after 20 years of leading the country he cannot forgo his idea of "free" socialism without making a real effort to impose it. Point 3 cannot be totally discounted; point 4 undoubtedly was a strong consideration. While the Soviet military connection can be exaggerated, Kaunda by force of events has become increasingly security-conscious.

In inner circles it is common knowledge that Ham-

phrey Mulemba, secretary-general of UNIP, and Grey Zulu are antagonists on many issues. Mulemba like Zulu has been part of Kaunda's entourage since independence, but as a wealthy businessman with sizeable industrial interests he is far more the technocratic pragmatist than the simplistically stubborn ideologue that Zulu is. At an early stage Mulemba appears to have come out against scientific socialism. For instance in March he made a public speech attacking what he called ideological excesses. To some observers the rivalry is noticeable in the way third parties' channels of communication with Kaunda appear at times to have been blocked.

There are five other central committee members who have significant influence: 1. Nehamias Mwaanga (Losi), the prime minister and once a leading opponent of UNIP before the 1973 Choma declaration. Almost a pragmatist by definition, having risen through UNIP ranks from opposition, he is unlikely to support scientific socialism. Last year for instance he made a country-wide tour to hold "workshops" on economic policy, and confirmed unambiguously his liberal views. 2. Eusebius Kamanga, the party foreign affairs spokesman and chairman of the political and legal committee of the central committee. Like Zulu he is a Chewa and was born in the eastern town of Chipeta (at 52 he is five years younger than Zulu). As a hard-boiled party man and a staunch proponent of socialism/marxism he clearly sides with the Zulu "faction". 3. Elijah Mwaanga, chairman of the central committee economic and finance committee. A Tonga, born in Choma, he is not a die-hard party man. He was once accused of harbouring presidential ambitions but survived what appeared to be a move to oust him from the central committee. 4. Alex Shapi, the central committee member for Copperbelt province. Although he was born in Luapula province he is apparently of wholly Bemba blood. Lately his influence appears to have increased, partly because of the importance of his province and the successful negotiations he led for the release of Zambians detained in Zaire. Gregarious and amiable by most counts he is not regarded as an ideologue. 5. Anon Saka, the administrative secretary of UNIP. He could be expected to take sides with Mulemba.

With few exceptions the rest of the central committee is remarkable only for its self-serving nature (at times in the most unwholesome sense). It seems therefore highly unlikely that such a small group of socialist proponents (as noted above) could persuade Kaunda to exhort socialism against his own inclinations.

The trade unions and the churches have unanimously and swiftly opposed scientific socialism

as proposed by Kaunda and the party.

The trade unions

Last year party strategy was clearly to demonstrate to the *Zambian Congress of Trade Unions* (ZCTU) and the *Mineworkers Union of Zambia* (MUZ) that the party cannot tolerate union objection to party decisions, no matter whether or not the unions are consulted beforehand. At the time of the detention of ZCTU leader Frederick Chiluba, ZCTU general-secretary Newstead Zimba, his deputy, Chitale Sampa and the then aspiring leader of the MUZ, Timothy Walumba, the party gambled successfully on the odds that the MUZ strike could be cowed to an end.

It will be recalled that the then MUZ president, David Mwila, was not detained, presumably because the party believed he would be able to curvace successfully for reelection as MUZ president and beat off the challenge from the firebrand but detained Walumba, whom the party recognised as a much more forceful leader. In fact Walumba's detention seems to have ensured his victory over Mwila, by 51 to 37 votes.

Walumba, who is a mineworker by profession, has already demonstrated that he has much more MUZ rank and file support than Mwila had. At a well-publicised mass meeting of MUZ members on the copperbelt in April he tore up to great applause from MUZ members a pension scheme pamphlet produced by Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) management. Significantly he then swiftly ironed out the scheme's problems with ZCCM. (And he appears to get on well with Francis Kaunda, the highly respected chairman of ZCCM). It was therefore a muscle-flexing exercise to a) reinvigorate MUZ and b) to warn the party that from now on MUZ must be treated with care. (Although the copperbelt is associated with the Barotsa tribe, it should be noted that whereas Barotsa-speaking people account for about 30% of the Zambian population, the Barotsa tribe proper accounts for less than 10%. Thus the tribal aspect of MUZ and the copperbelt tends to be exaggerated).

Chiluba and his trusted lieutenant Zimba meanwhile appear to have been quietly organising ZCTU in line with the increased potency of MUZ. Since his detention Chiluba has clearly become more determined to counter party policy. We understand he has resigned his membership of UNIP. More recently, as a reaction to scientific socialism, he has made a point of going to church almost every day. To spur ZCTU's influence, the possibility of establishing a ZCTU newspaper is likely to be more actively considered, especially if the party's Press Bill (see footnote) is passed into law during the next parliamentary session. ZCTU cooperation with the churches in opposition to scientific socialism can also be expected to gather momentum. (Following a brief but prompt ZCTU rebuttal of scientific socialism in April, a lengthier motion against it is expected at the ZCTU annual congress to be held later this year). To finance its growing anti-party commitment ZCTU may also attempt to establish its own industrial projects, a scheme that has been tried in the past.

The churches

In all there are 15 religious groups. About 75% of the 6m population are practising Christians. Of these 2m belong to the *United Church of Zambia* (UCZ), 2.5m are Roman Catholics, 75,000 Anglicans, 85,000 Reformed Church and 85,000 African Methodist Episcopal. All the above churches are part of the *Christian Council of Zambia* (CCZ). The key church figures are the Roman Catholic bishop of Lusaka, Emmanuel Milingo, who is *de facto* senior bishop because of his diocese not because he has any formal role as the leading bishop; president of the UCZ, the Rev. Deyee Musumba and the Rev. Kingsley Mwendu, the CCZ

secretary general, through whom the party and government has to work in all dealings with the church.

CCZ and individual churchmen are unequivocally opposed to scientific socialism as was made clear in an essay called "Marxism, Humanism and Christianity" published jointly by all the churches in 1979. Unconfirmed reports say that the Pope was persuaded to write a letter recently to Kaunda in support of the churches.

It appears that the number of churchgoers has significantly increased during the last few years. Clergymen report that the young account for most of the newcomers (partly that must be because with a rate of population increase of about 3% a year, the number of young increases as the proportion of the total population). But the youth members of UNIP are clearly not cohesive in their allegiance to party policy. We understand that the central province Party Youth Committee recently called for scientific socialism to be dropped, and accused Kaunda's "advisers" of interfering with the presidency.

The CCZ is adamant that scientific socialism is incompatible with religious freedom and does not believe that Kaunda can himself genuinely reconcile the two. Various independent MPs have tentatively suggested that they might lead a parliamentary campaign and national debate to pressure the party into dropping the policy. In any event the Church is gearing up to fight the issue if need be by telling congregations not to vote for Kaunda in next year's elections. In the past the strength of the church and the number of churchgoers has been underestimated by the government.

Kaunda has always gone through an agonising process of self-examination when trying to reconcile his humanist spiritual beliefs to political reality. Sometimes it seems to result in uncommon niceties. Earlier this year for instance we understand that he considered retiring his economics adviser, the novelist Densate Mulaisho, at the same time as dismissing Nephos Tembe (former minister for lands and natural resources), John Chafwa (former minister for labour and social services) and suspending Ludwig Sombashi, minister of state for legal affairs and solicitor-general. Shortly before the due announcement Mulaisho's father reportedly died. On grounds of compassion, we are told, Mulaisho retained his state house seat, although given his intellectual (at least) opposition to scientific socialism it is probably getting quite uncomfortable again.

In his book "Kaunda on Violence" Kaunda admits in a series of universal statements to a bewildering amount of confusion and self-contradiction. "It is rare", he says, "that a political decision or action can be demonstrated from first principles to be right or wrong. Only in the light of the consequences of carrying it into effect can its value be seen. This is why so much squabbling about ideology is a waste of time . . . either the policy works or it does not; either the nation and its people benefit from it or they do not. But such a yardstick is abhorrent to the saint who sees things quite differently". In another passage on the same theme he says "history (. . .) supports the view that the saint in power tends to create an authoritarian regime. So drunk is he with the truth he sees, that if he cannot get the people to

see it too he will put out their eyes to aid their vision . . . the more I come to value cowardice or at least the capacity to perform a graceful *volte face* as a political virtue". Later on in the book he again makes the same sort of point in a different context: "the rich and powerful have a wide variety of weapons at their disposal which are denied to the poor (. . .) the violence of the top-dog is often subtle and invisible. It spans a range which takes in international economic pressures, control of the media, manipulation of the education system and psychological conditioning, as well as the more visible strong-arm methods".

With an almost ineradicable stigma of corruption and inefficiency attached to the collective party élite, a burgeoning security apparatus (see box on page 5), the strong possibility of a Press Bill which sets out to forbid any criticism of the party whatsoever, and now the introduction of scientific socialism and its enforcement in the national school syllabus, points to extreme desperation on Kaunda's behalf.

He has no disciple of enough standing who will espouse the sort of humanism-socialist now exhorted. That supports the view that he is making a last stand. The possibility of a political *volte face*, which he referred to in his book, is diminished by the frailty of the top party edifice and its almost certain demise if there was to be a policy reversal which vindicated what the educated ranks of businessmen, and the growing number of senior ex-politicians are saying.

Few observers believe that Kaunda will voluntarily retire from the presidency into the role of elder but non-executive statesman. (Years ago he did temporarily resign, only to be called back by popular acclaim). Nor is speculation about presidential health of any consequence in Kaunda's case: a test-taller and non-smoker, aged 58, he is regarded by his doctor, Dr. Kasanda (the permanent secretary for health) as extremely fit.

Conventional wisdom says that Kaunda will obtain the majority of the votes cast in the 1983 elections and hence be returned for the next five-year presidential term. If as in the past protest votes are registered by not voting, his reelection is assured. In 1973 he got about 20% of the 40% of registered votes cast, in 1978 about 65% and 65% respectively. This time his margin can be expected anyhow to drop again. However, unlike before, scientific socialism has provided an intense cause for his opponents. Most crucial is the churches' ability and will to confront him by asking people to vote against him. Irrespective of cooperation between the churches and ZCTU, if as feared there is to be a food shortage starting in mid-1983, the populous and unionised Copperbelt

province is likely as always to feel the brunt of the shortages. Clearly that would also be an electoral liability for Kaunda.

If in the unlikely event that he fails to obtain a majority of the votes cast (in 1978 the party claimed he received 80% of the votes cast —25% more than that claimed by the electoral commission after 100 of the 125 constituencies had been counted), the constitutional procedure is conventional: the party secretary-general takes over for up to three months, during which a new presidential election takes place. But the party cannot re-nominate the defeated president. The obvious presidential candidate would be 1) Mulemba 2) Mundia and 3) Zulu. With the overwhelming advantage of controlling the party apparatus as the temporary national chief executive, coupled with his administrative talent, Mulemba would presumably stand the best chance of election, with Mundia second and Zulu a token third.

Mulemba's valid reputation as an astute businessman is held against him by those politicians who believe that constitutionally it should not be permitted for somebody in high office to retain private executive business posts. Aside from his industrial interests he was chairman of the controversial TIKA steel company (whose costorted history is now privately well-documented). With past scandals such as the Zincco bonds redemption saga and the Wingate episode, still fresh in some memories, the business class is still open to a lot of criticism. Coming from the small Kaonde sub-tribe of the central plateau region, he is not susceptible to charges of tribalism. He is anyhow personally unconcerned about the subject.

Mundia's assets are a) as a former opposition potentate he does not have the stigma of being bound to the "old guard" b) as a Lozi he has firm support in the west and because of his past connections to Simon Kapapwa, the former Bemba leader and Kaunda's chief rival, in the north as well, and c) he is a more straightforward politician without many business trappings and the charges of corruption usually connected to them.

Zulu's electoral liabilities are a) as minister for state security he heads the increasingly repressive security apparatus b) his rivalry with Mulemba and the technocrat ranks c) his reputation of limited intellect and his position as the henchman of the old guard and d) the recent public humiliation he suffered when he was fined a token amount for contempt of court over the treason case.

One of the possible changes to Zambian politics in a post-Kaunda era could be the scrapping of the central committees. The subject has been raised before, but for reasons already noted it cannot be scrapped at present. It would not be difficult to justify a)

because of the weight of public opinion b) the legendary interference in day to day government by central committee members c) the need to attract a new generation of younger politicians — the central committee is the most powerful deterrent, and d) the boost of popular support it would give to a new government.

However, for now the president and the central committee hold complete power. The National Assembly is practically a rubber-stamp institution. Of a total of 135 MPs, 10 are nominated by the president, 25 are ministers, 26 ministers of state and 16 district governors, thus leaving a total of 58 MPs who are not bound to follow the party line. On this basis the government has a minimum majority of 19 at all times. By shuffling the bureaucracy, recalcitrant independent MPs can often be accommodated into the party apparatus. Appointing them district governors is an easy ploy. The number of forthrightly critical MPs is thus small. (With some encouragement from the veteran National Assembly speaker, Robinson Nabulyate, they include ex-cabinet minister Dingswaye Banda of Manderu, Daniel Mankemwe of Choma, former journalist Titus Mukupo of Pula province, Francis Nkhoma, permanent secretary of finance before he joined *Barclays Bank Zambia*, where he is now general manager, and the Rev. Ben Zulu, from eastern province).

On breaching the system

It is unlikely that independent candidates could get themselves elected to the central committee, although according to the UNIP constitution it should not be so unlikely. The central committee is made up of the president, the secretary-general of the party, the prime minister, 20 members "elected" at the party's five-yearly general conference, and three members nominated by the president. Before the conference, at which there are several thousand delegates, the central committee has to agree on who it will back as candidates for the central committee. In practice, because Kaunda more or less picks all central committee members, the central committee merely has to officially confirm his choice, so that when it comes to the conference vote there are no "independent" candidates. Conceivably — and this has been talked about by frustrated Zambian politicians — four or five well-known MPs could stand up at the conference (preferably a bit before it) and declare themselves candidates. If the central committee somehow approved them and if a secret ballot was properly conducted, they would be elected.

With increasing numbers of sacked or disillusioned politicians filling the ranks of the "business class", the reserve of political experience waiting in the

wings is growing. (Those involved in the treason case² reflect this frustration). Some of them are bound to re-enter politics when the time is right. Alex Chikwanda, for example, the former minister of finance and planning, launched a big debate last month with a long essay in the *Sunday Times of Zambia* on the deficiencies of present Zambian policy. Significantly Elijah Mudende a few days later, commending Chikwanda for his contribution to open debate, echoed his worries about instability unless economic management was improved.

While most pragmatists of similar ilk to Chikwanda find it impossible to influence events from outside government or without a strong base in industry (those such as Elias Chipima, former permanent secretary for foreign affairs and later chairman of *Standard Bank Zambia*, have been systematically barred from employment), there are a few who manage to hold great power. Among them, for example, is Lishomwa Lishomwa (Losi), the former adviser at state house who now runs *Sander*, the agent for *Datsun* among other things. Daniel Liale (Losi), the fairly independently minded central committee chairman of the appointments and disciplinary committee and predecessor to Munda as prime minister, is married to Lishomwa's sister and has interests in *Sander*. Both Liale and Lishomwa are close friends of L.S. Musaka (Losi), the effective No. 2 to James Mapeera, the chairman of the huge state holding company *Zimco* — the 54th largest company in the world. We understand that Musaka is the most influential businessman employed by the state.

The gulf between professional people and the government in general means that not enough senior civil servants understand enough economics. They include the finance minister, Kobby Mwasoketwane (unfortunately for the finance ministry we hear that his able permanent secretary, Freddie Kamanga, may shortly go to Brussels as ambassador), Dominic Mutshiko, Francis Wabwila, deputy secretary to the cabinet in charge of economics and finance, and Bitwell Kawani, the governor of the *Bank of Zambia*. The latter, who was governor before in the early 1970s (he was then retired because of charges connected to his wife's textile business, although he was later acquitted), is battling with the competent deputy governor, Mutema, who is evidently worried by Kawani's uneconomic governorship. Kawani reportedly wants the post of deputy governor to be permanently scrapped. The deal is now attracting sides in the party élite. The IMF, which does its down to earth business with Martin Sakala, the central bank director of research, and Mutema, is also evidently unimpressed with Kawani, whose days now look numbered.

With the background of increasingly heated politics at home, Kaunda and his government has so far this year had a most active regional diplomatic agenda. Below we set out a brief summary of the regional score-card:—

Angola: for some time the MPLA government and its armed forces were anxious that Zambia was turning a blind eye to UNITA movements in and around north-western Zambia. (It will be recalled that Joana Savimbi once had a "safe house" in Lusaka. UNITA probably still has a low-level representative there.) Earlier this year the Zambians invited Angolan military officers to inspect the north-western region, an area which has for years hosted the notorious gangster, Admasen Mashala, who according to some police marksmen, magically deflects bullets (AC Vol 22 No 15). They accepted and returned apparently satisfied that Zambia was not at all in collusion with Savimbi. In mid-April the Angolan central committee member and secretary for foreign affairs, Afonso van Duven Mshada, arrived in Lusaka with a sizeable delegation to meet his Zambian counterpart, Reuben Kamanga, and sign a protocol of cooperation between the two countries. Linked to the protocol we presume is the intended repatriation of about 800 Angolan refugees in north-west province. Then last week Kaunda visited Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda.

Malawi: relations between Dr. Hastings Banda and Kaunda have always been cool, despite Kaunda's Malawian descent from the same Chewa tribe. In 1979 in a proud political move, Banda gave Zambia 2m bags of maize for free, thus demonstrating the superiority of Malawian economic management. Perhaps with the favour owed him in mind, Banda last year (AC Vol 22 No 17) revived more forcefully Malawi's claims to Zambian territory in the Lungu valley area. Thus at first sight the incident at the end of last year involving the exiled Malawian opposition leader, Otton Chirwa, and his return to Malawi in doubtful circumstances from Zambia (whose special branch undoubtedly knew the score) looked embarrassing for Zambia. First it is thought that prime minister Munda as a consequence of the incident made an unpublished visit to see Banda. Soon after Kaunda embarked on a short tour of Malawi. It appears that after all Zambian involvement in the Chirwa affair was not contrary to Banda's wishes, rather to those of his ambitious understudies. In the following issue we will examine the affair in more detail from the Malawian end. But the net result seems now to be a mild personal rapprochement between Kaunda and Banda.

Zaire: traditionally Zambia's most troublesome neighbour, the kidnapping of Zambians and exchange of fire on the Shaba border (AC Vol 21 No 6) at the end of February and early March resulted in the border closing for a time. Since relations between Kinshasa and Lusaka, and above all between Kaunda and Mobutu, have for years been beyond reproach, negotiations over the incident were conducted between Copperbelt provincial officials and their counterparts from Shaba. The Zambians were eventually released in April. Potentially such incidents could mushroom, for several reasons:— 1) the traditional maraudings into Zambia of hungry Zairens has now instilled universal dislike of Zairens by Zambians 2) Zambian army units on the Copperbelt are sorely tempted to carry out hot pursuit action into Zaire 3) the Zambian treason trial has produced a lot of evidence linking the treason plot to the *Front National pour la Libération du Congo* (AC Vol 22 No 24). In mid-April the treason court heard evidence from two Zairean state witnesses, code-named by the court as Mr. Bread and Mr. Butter, who claimed to belong to a splinter group (FNLC-M) of the FNLC. They confirmed the plan to help the alleged Zambian coup plotters in return for subsequent Zambian help to overthrow Mobutu.

One widespread perversion to Zambian-Zairean relations is the well-organised smuggling rackets of Zambian goods into Zaire.

Last December the solicitor-general and north-western province MP, Ludwig Sondashi, claimed in public that a central committee member was involved in regular smuggling of goods (including cooking oil, soap and penicillin) to Zaïre. (Despite the overwhelming evidence, Sondashi was relieved of his duties in government). Then there are the Senegalese emerald smugglers who cross via Zaïre to the Copperbelt. This international racket has its main market in the middle east — via Dar-es-Salaam. At any one time there are up to 300 of these well-hoisted Senegalese in Zambian jails.

Zimbabwean Zambian reliance on the rail link through Zimbabwe to the South African ports of East London and Durban, and in the short-term the need for Zimbabwean maize, means that Zambia has to act smartly to satisfy Robert Mugabe's fears that Zambia is allowing ZIPRA guerrilla's of Joshua Nkomo's former army to filter back into Zambia, or worse, to use Zambia as a base for future attacks on Mugabe's Zimbabwe. We understand that the Zambians have already sent back to Zimbabwe a number of ZIPRA men, but relations between Harare and Lusaka remain cool. Kaunda has made no public overtures to Zimbabwe.

Between: Kaunda got a frosty reception from President Maseru and the Botswana foreign minister, Archie Magoje, when he suggested that his meeting with South Africa's prime minister Botha be held in Botswana, "because Botswana is a neutral country". The initial Botswana reaction was for public consumption. Realpolitik dictates Botswana's amicable attitude to South African diplomacy (we examine this subject in a wider context in the next issue).

South Africa: Kaunda's meeting with Botha earned him rebuke from Julius Nyerere and Mugabe. It appears that Kaunda's motives are largely his conviction that a dialogue with South Africa must be an ever open option. Following the split in the South African National Party, the meeting undoubtedly raised Botha's mood at a crucial time in his battle against the extremists of the Afrikaner tribe. Zambia's direct involvement in Namibia has through its limited military support for SWAPO. The South African military (Gen. Magnus Malan and Lt. Gen. P.W. van der Westhuizen attended the meeting) not unreasonably links Zambia's Soviet and east European military connection to the support for SWAPO. Of longer standing friction is the African National Congress's Lusaka-based headquarters although the ANC now feels safer in Angola. With the Tansen railway to Dar-es-Salaam in progressively worse repair and the extremely intermittent functioning of the Benguela line to Lobito in Angola, South Africa will continue to have powerful leverage over Zambia. In return for enriching Botha's public relations record, South Africa could be expected to be more lenient with Zambia on for example Zambia's slow unloading and sending back of South African rail-wagons. Conceivably Kaunda may have tentatively asked Botha for a preferential trade agreement. Further talks are a possibility.

Footnotes

1. The bill has been talked about for two years, and some doubt that after so long it will be introduced. However it now appears to be in final draft. We understand that it stands a good chance of getting onto the parliamentary legislative calendar. Previously its proponents have reasoned that Zambia, not Lesotho, should own the *Trans of Zambia*. Lesotho has said in the past that if Zambia could afford to buy them out, they would sell. The extreme authoritarianism of the bill, which would forbid, it appears, almost any reference to religion, has we understand worried Mubamba, whose wife was a former secretary to the director of *Multi-media*, the publisher of the church newspaper "The Advertiser" and a forthright opponent of many government policies.

2. Hearings of the state witnesses are expected to be over by the end of July. After various defence submissions and hearings and a month in which Justice Bessie Chirwa, the trial judge, can ponder his verdict, final judgment could be made in September. The speed of the proceedings under the highly competent Chirwa has surprised observers.

TOP SECURITY AIDE ON ELIMINATION OF ARMED DISSIDENTS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 May 82 p 9

[Text]

HARARE. — Zimbabwean Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe's top security aide, the Minister of State, Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa, claimed at the weekend armed dissidents would soon be "wiped out" throughout the country.

He told a rally at a school in the remote Zhombe area, west of Kwekwe, government forces had flushed dissidents out of the Chinayi and Gokwe areas, north of Harare, reports the Zimbabwe Information Service.

Security forces will now move south to the Zhombe and Sibohle areas to attack dissidents there.

Mr Mnangagwa blamed the current widespread lawlessness on "dissident Zebra forces".

"These armed bands are habitual thieves who joined the liberation struggle and are now back in the country, unfortunately armed," he said.

He said a training camp for a locally recruited militia would be

established at Zhombe so the people could defend themselves against troublemakers.

Commenting on a statement by Zanu leader Mr Joshua Nkomo that operations against dissidents should be left to the police, Mr Mnangagwa said the government would use whatever means it had to ensure the safety of innocent people.

In Bulawayo, PF-Zanu president, Mr Joshua Nkomo said there was no split in the PF-Zanu leadership although two of its senior officials had recently accepted ministerial posts from Mr Mugabe, without first consulting the party's central committee.

Mr Nkomo was commenting on a newspaper report that PF-Zanu was divided.

"What has happened is that two of our senior members, Dr Callistus Ndelu and Miss Jane Ngwenya, were poached by Zanu (PF) when they accepted ministerial appointments from the Prime Minister without consultation with the party's central committee.

"The matter has,

however, been put to rest after the central committee's recent mild reprimand of the two members."

Mr Nkomo said it had been necessary to reprimand the two because no self-respecting party could allow its members to accept such posts unilaterally.

"We are a viable organisation with our own principles and policies and no one has the right to question our right to discipline."

He dismissed reports that the former Minister of Transport, PF-Zanu vice-president, Mr Josiah Chinamasa, had been appointed to the Cabinet by Mr Mugabe, without prior consultation with him.

"I was consulted on that appointment and I personally had submitted Mr Chinamasa's name for the post."

On whether the appointment of two other senior officials, Dr Ariston Chubbart and Mr Arthur Chabingwa, as diplomats had not been like that of Dr Ndelu and Miss Ngwenya, Mr Nkomo said: "That matter was handled by the PF-Zanu secretary-general.

OFFICERS INVOLVEMENT IN KIDNAP CASE MINIMIZED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 82 p 9

[Text]

MARABE. — The acting commander of Zimbabwe's national army, Major-General Josiah Tumbani, and Brigadier Matanga will not appear in court to "answer" charges of kidnap and assault, the Attorney General, Mr Geoffrey Chidyauzema, has disclosed.

He said he had investigated the possibility of charges following the detention of 14 hawks players after a match in December last year, and an assault on one of them.

Mr Chidyauzema said he had formally declined to prosecute the two officers for kidnap because their detention of the players was legal in terms of the Defence Act.

The Act gives "contingent police" the right to arrest and detain any civilian inside, or within, two kilometres of a military establishment.

"The complainants were in a military con-

tainment without the written authority of the contingent commander and were therefore committing an offence themselves in terms of Section 98 of the Defence Act," he said.

There was no evidence against Gen Tumbani in respect of the assault charge and he had issued instructions for the Brigadier to be invited to pay a deposit fine of R100 in respect of this count.

"I have indicated to the legal representatives of all the complainants that they are welcome to proceed with a private prosecution against the officers if they disagree with my action.

"In fact, I could prosecute the complainants for contravening the Defence Act if I was going to be petty. But I do not want to bring in racial overtones. The case must be decided on the facts.

LACK OF SECURITY WORRIES COMMERCIAL FARMERS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 May 82 p 9

[Text]

Commercial farmers in Zimbabwe's Matabeleland province are very worried by the deteriorating security situation in the area, the president of the Commercial Farmers' Union, Mr Jim Sinclair, said in Bulawayo.

He told the semi-official news agency Ziema, that the widespread dissident activity was hampering farmers' operations.

The farmers have called a meeting to discuss measures that may be taken to ease the problem.

Attacks, killings and robberies directed at commercial farmers are affecting normal farming operations, and the situation has been aggravated by the widespread drought which has hit the province.

The meeting follows the shooting and serious wounding of Mr Robin Groves, 44, as he left his farm store at Nyamandhlovu, North West of Bulawayo, on Monday Night.

On Tuesday another farmer, Harry Staffen, 67, and his 24-year-old son Dean, lost an attack by five armed raiders on their farm at Dene, north of Nyamandhlovu.

On Thursday a White truck driver employed

by the National Railway Road service was seriously wounded when armed bandits ambushed his vehicle on the Nyamandhlovu road.

Mr George Botson, of Bulawayo, was said to be improving in Bulawayo's central Hospital. His condition was critical when he was admitted, said the medical superintendent, Dr John Taylor.

One of Mr Botson's assistants was slightly wounded, and the truck was looted.

Sinclair has also quoted a police spokesman in Gwanda, south-west of Bulawayo, as saying the security situation in parts of the area was very tense. He appealed to the public to help the police fight the lawlessness.

At least three men had been shot dead and a number of people robbed in the district, he said. On Wednesday one man, believed to be a dissident, was killed and another wounded when police returned fire after shots had been fired at them.

Many of the dissidents are believed to be deserters from the National Army who have left their units since the ousting of Mr Joshua Nkomo from the Government.

ZIMBABWE

BICKLE FINED, FREED FROM JAIL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 May 82 p 8

[Text] HARARE--Mr Colin Bickle, the Bulawayo businessman who unwittingly flew a South African agent into Zimbabwe, was fined a total of Z\$3 000 [word illegible R4 300] day for offences under the Immigration Act and Customs and Excise Act.

Regional magistrate Mr Tom Smith, who earlier this week acquitted him of failing to report the presence of a foreign agent to the police, said flying men illegally into the country was nevertheless a serious offence which would normally warrant imprisonment.

The most important consideration in his decision not to imprison Mr Bickle was that he had already served a period of imprisonment. He had been held in custody since February 15 and had spent 54 days of this period in solitary confinement.

He said evidence had been led about the effect this had had on Mr Bickle and this had not been challenged by the state. He had therefore already been severely punished.

Mr Smith fined Mr Bickle Z\$1 800 (or 40 days) for illegally flying two Zimbabwean men into the country from South Africa. He also imposed a prison sentence of four months suspended for four years.

Mr Bickle was also fined Z\$1 800 (or 40 days) for leaving the country illegally with a Bulawayo firearms dealer, Mr Alec Mc-

Farland, and Z\$200 (or 10 days) for assisting the men to leave the country illegally.

He was fined Z\$200 (or 10 days) for bringing whisky back into the country illegally and Z\$200 (or 10 days) for smuggling firearms out of the country to South Africa.

Mr Smith said he did not think the firearms smuggling was a particularly serious offence as they had been civilian weapons, not arms of war. There would have been no onus duty on them, had they been taken out of the country legally.

CSO: 4700/1287

MOVE TO END DUAL CITIZENSHIP REPORTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 May 82 p 4

[Text]

HARARE — The Zimbabwe Government has started moves to scrap dual citizenship. A departmental draft of a new Constitutional Bill, released with the Government Gazette yesterday, says the effect of two clauses will be to repeal the provision in the current constitution permitting dual citizenship.

A high proportion of the estimated 180 000 Whites remaining in Zimbabwe hold second citizenship, either South African or British.

The Lancaster House Constitution, which paved the way for the 1980 elections, the swept Mr Robert Mugabe to power, specifically protected this section of the new constitution from change for five years.

A majority in the House of Assembly can now allow the change to go through.

The move will be bitterly contested by most White MPs, said Republican Front member Brigadier John Probert. "This move could tip the scales and persuade many skilled Whites to leave the country just

when they are most needed.

"They might have remained while they had the reassurance of dual citizenship," he said.

A spokesman for the South African trade mission in Harare said that technically South Africans were not allowed to hold dual citizenship without Ministerial approval.

"But we know that over the years many South Africans living here have become citizens of this country and held two passports."

The change in the constitution seems to follow Minister of Justice Mr Stanlake Mumba's questioning of the need for dual citizenship.

He pointed out in a speech that many senior civil servants held dual citizenship and their loyalty could be questioned.

The government also introduced regulations to prohibit the employment of apprentices who held dual citizenship after complaints that Whites were leaving the country immediately after completing their training.

MOZAMBIQUE-ZIMBABWE PIPELINE DAMAGED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 May 82 p 9

[Text]

HARARE. — The Mozambique-Zimbabwe pipeline, which could end Zimbabwe's reliance on South Africa for petrol and diesel fuel, has been damaged by saboteurs for the second time in six months — before it has pumped a litre of fuel.

Repairs of the damage caused by the last attack in November were completed on December 21.

The pipeline has remained closed while the Zimbabwe and Mozambique governments and the Lonrho subsidiary, which owns the pipeline, have been involved in complicated negotiations over tariffs.

The Minister of State for security in the Prime Minister's office, Mr Emerson Mhangwira, told the Herald newspaper that about 1.8 metres of the pipeline had been damaged.

The Portuguese news agency, Anop, reported

that a slight loss of pressure had been detected on May 14. An inspection showed that there had been a sabotage attempt, but Mozambique sources said the damage could be quickly repaired.

The pipeline was originally opened in 1984 to carry crude oil from Beira to the Faria refinery at the border town of Mstara. After operating for just over a year, however, it was closed in 1986 when oil sanctions were enforced against the then Rhodesia.

Last year it was decided to use the line to import refined petrol and oil from Beira, reducing heavy rail costs and increasing rail capacity for other imports.

Lonrho spent more than (£12.5-million) repairing the pipeline, and another on fuel depots at Beira and Mstara.

CSO: 4700/1287

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 06 -)Sub-Saharan Africa Report, No. 2
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