

# Climbing out of the morass

AMARNATH SINGH, staff writer on the FM, looks at the hopes for stability in a continent still not clear of its post-colonial hangovers.

Political upheaval and social and economic tribulation will no doubt be recurring features in Africa in the near future. But "we must give ourselves time", said Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda recently, explaining "but not excusing" the fact that it is only 23 years since the first black African state, Ghana, achieved independence.

A legacy of slavery, imperialism and turbulent decolonisation largely laid the seeds of future conflict and also left the continent as a whole bereft and ill-prepared for the lurch into modern industrial

Namibia and SA, the 17th summit was generally described as "empty and disappointing": The Chad issue was handed over to the UN and the Western Sahara imbroglio shunted onto a special committee to avoid an OAU split.

A year after its return to democratic rule, Nigeria shows every sign that it will maintain its liberalism and point the way for the rest of the continent. In neighbouring Ghana, however, a year of uneasy civilian rule, internal party squabbles, huge foreign indebtedness and lack of economic and political direction places the Limann government on very shaky ground indeed.

Last year saw a mix, with the positive perhaps outweighing less encouraging developments.

## Civil war

Early in the year, the Rhodesian civil war ended after elections in which Robert Mugabe's Zanu Patriotic Front party overwhelmingly won power to form the independent socialist republic of Zimbabwe. The settlement effectively ended the military destruction which had spread to Zambia and Mozambique and significantly reduced instability in central Africa. Zimbabwe's agricultural and industrial potential is widely recognised and the country is tipped to become Africa's commercial hub in the Eighties. In Mozambique, opposition guerillas based in the north-west of the country were in the news in 1980 though the extent of the threat they pose to ruling Frelimo remains to be seen.

On December 15, Uganda went through the motions of the democratic process in an election which, as the Commonwealth observer team noted, was "as free and fair as could be expected under Ugandan conditions." Under the guidance of military chief Paul Muwanga, ex-President Milton Obote was returned to power nearly 10 years after his iniquitous regime was overthrown by the butcher Idi Amin. The now repentant Obote is the first deposed African head of state to have bounced back into office. His manifesto promised reconstruction and was noticeably free of his original African socialist rhetoric. Muwanga has been named Vice-President and Minister of Defence. Ex-President Godfrey Binaisa, overthrown amid continued chaos and bloodshed by Muwanga's

society.

Yet Africa watchers are bullish on political settlements being reached in the not too distant future. In this regard the forthcoming Lancaster House-style talks on Namibia, due in Geneva later this month, could see a loosening of SA-Swapo intractability. A settlement in SWA/Namibia (by late 1981, says one observer), would benefit Angola which would then be spared SA raids on Swapo bases in the territory. The Unita movement could then find itself in a vacuum — especially if Swapo should come to power. Whether SA is prepared to countenance UN-supervised elections — let alone a Swapo victory — remains to be seen.

Regional conflicts in Chad, Western Sahara and the Horn of Africa also persisted through 1980. Referring to them, Nigeria's President Shagari said at the 17th summit

Military Commission in May, was released from house arrest with Obote's blessing — a move indicative of growing liberalisation in African politics.

A month earlier, on November 15, Guinea Bissau notched up Africa's 25th coup since 1970. President Luis Cabral was overthrown by Major Joao Bernardo Vieira, leader of the Revolutionary Council, in what appeared to be a racial backlash by the indigenous segment of the ruling Marxist party against their erst-



Milton Obote . . . bounced back into power

while mestizo comrades who tended to be in the forefront.

Halfway through his year of chairmanship of the OAU, Liberia's President William Tolbert was killed in a coup led by Master Sergeant Samuel Doe on April 12. Doe represents the indigenous population's disaffection with the dynastic Creole elite, and the coup showed the weakness of Liberia's century-old political institutions.

A palace coup in Mauritania saw Lt-Col Muhammed Haidalla replace President Louly four days into 1980. Haidalla can only be described as progressive, consid-

conference of the OAU in Sierra Leone in July: "Our capacity to do violence to ourselves has not diminished." In Chad, however, a settlement seemed to have emerged towards the end of the year after Libyan-backed President Goukoni Oueddei defeated the southern rebels led by Hisense Habre. A peace conference was scheduled for Lagos in late December.

A new feature in the Western Saharan conflict, Chad and elsewhere is the growth of Libyan leader Colonel Gaddafi's African ambitions. Gaddafi has replaced Algeria in backing Polisario independence against Morocco, which seems nevertheless to have gained the upper hand in Western Sahara.

Apart from the unanimous welcome accorded to Zimbabwe's PM Robert Mugabe as the OAU's 50th member state, and stepped up support for the "liberation" of

ering the reforms he has undertaken. In July his Military Committee abolished slavery. Africa's fourth coup of the year occurred in Upper Volta when Colonel Saye Zerbo replaced the elected President Iamizana in November.

However, the signs of political "maturity" noted this time last year, when the dictators of Uganda, the Central African Empire and Guinea were dispatched, continue to be in evidence. In the Africa of the Eighties, says one observer, political stability and human rights protection will increasingly be seen as indivisible.

At the end of 1979 Togo voted for a constitution which ended 13 years of emergency rule, and General Eyadema was elected President of the Third Togolese Republic. In Cameroon in April, President Ahidjo was re-elected to office; though there are signs of an ethnic struggle similar to Chad's developing there. Botswana, always high on the African democratic scale, saw a smooth succession to government under President Quett Masire following the death of founding president, Sir Seretse Khama on July 13, and Kenya's President Moi has effected a smooth transition after Kenyatta.

## Bridges

Economically, the continent as a whole has many bridges to cross. Compounding existing woes and balance of payments deficits will be the oil price rises and reduced aid from Western nations hit by recession. In addition, drought afflicts the length of East Africa; Kenya, for instance, has been wrenched from the brink of food self-sufficiency to having to import grain. But more realistic efforts at regional economic co-operation have started, particularly in West and southern Africa.

The coming years will see stepped-up drives by the Frontline states to reduce their dependence on SA and develop an economic momentum of their own. The development initiatives of the nine southern African states set in motion this year were significant. However, SA's trade with black Africa is likely to improve from its R1.5 billion total last year, as economic relations are increasingly seen as a neutral, business phenomenon. Yet following the geopolitical developments of the Seventies, pressure on SA to change its race policies will be undoubtedly strengthened.

TANZANIA, which has long been held up as a model of African socialism, this year celebrates its 20th anniversary of independence from Britain against a background of worsening economic crisis.

The country has virtually no foreign exchange and a long list of foreign creditors. The consequent shortage of essential imports has closed factories and processing plants and led to an upsurge of corruption and black marketeering.

Dr Julius Nyerere, President since independence, has been particularly stung by suggestions that the malaise is due to his socialist policies and he accused Tanzania's detractors of being one-sided and unfair.

A recent government statement admitted great economic problems and the growth of magendo (the black market), but said Tanzania would solve its difficulties without being deflected from the path to socialism.

The statement pointed out the achievements of Dr Nyerere's ruling revolutionary party which included the provision of piped water in 40% of rural villages, the introduction of universal primary education and the organisation of shops and dispensaries in the countryside.

There was, however, no attempt to hide the seriousness of the economic crisis.

The country's foreign debt arrears total between R165 and R187-million with unpaid letters of credit amounting to perhaps another R112-million.

Export earnings are stagnating around R390-million a year, a trend which according to the World Bank will continue into 1981, while imports have risen to about R975-million — including R225-million for oil this year.

The main reason for the slump in earnings is an average fall of 20% in the 1970s in the production of cash crops — sisal, coffee, cotton, cashew nuts, tea and tobacco — which together account for 80% of exports.

To balance this are foreign aid inputs — among the highest per capita in the Third World — running at about R25-million a year.

Last September, after 12 months of sometimes bitter negotiations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) granted Tanzania a standby credit of about R195-million.

But the second instalment of R18-million special drawing rights which was payable this month has been delayed by the

# Nyerere Won't abandon Socialism

fund while it investigates whether Tanzania stuck to IMF conditions, among which was a pledge not to increase its commercial arrears.

There are signs that 1981 will see major efforts to increase cash crop production. Already prices paid to growers have been raised, in some cases by several hundred percent, and moves are afoot to dismantle the giant, inefficient National Million Corporation (NMC), which is responsible for crop procurement and distribution, and replace it with independent peasant-run marketing cooperatives which apparently worked quite well until they were disbanded in 1976.

Almost 85% of Tanzania's 17-million population are farmers and it is in the countryside that Dr Nyerere attempted his most publicised socialist experiment — the creation of communal villages.

Between 1973 and 1975, 9-million people were moved into such planned settlements, but these days the concept appears to have been virtually forgotten and at least 95% of the land is farmed individually as before.

French agronomist Mr Rene Dumont issued a report recently blaming the compulsory resettlement programme for hampering production. Many villages, he said, were too large and too far from fields. Soil erosion was another major problem, he said.

The minimum urban wage is about R45 a month while a university lecturer takes home about R187.

Because of inflation, minimum wage-earners have suffered an actual salary decline of 40% over the past decade.

Junior bureaucrats, customs officials and police, may ask for chai (tea) money to process documents or perform services while, higher up the scale, those awarding contracts sometimes require sizeable percentages.

The situation is nowhere near as bad as in some African states, where magendo has become institutionalised from the top, but it is a tarnish on Tanzania's shining socialist ideals — Sapa-Reuter



# Obote and Moi meet

NAIROBI — The Ugandan President, Dr. Milton Obote, and Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi, exchanged bear hugs at their common border yesterday and held their first summit meeting since the Dr. Obote came to power last month.

The talks were held in a tented camp overlooking the Webuye Falls.

Dr. Obote pledged, on taking office last month, that he would attempt to improve relations with Kenya which has been concerned about the chaos in Uganda since the overthrow of Idi Amin in 1979 and about Dr. Obote's close ties with Tanzania.

Dr. Obote noted, however, that Uganda was land-locked and had to look to Kenya for most of its commercial ties with the outside world. — UPI.

# Bridges into Africa

Have South Africans become the victims of their own propaganda? Accustomed for so long to ringing denunciations of apartheid from the UN, the OAU, and even the Western allies, our self-image has been corroded to the extent that we appear to have accepted our role as the "polecat" of the south.

Not, of course, without a struggle. Indeed, the Info machinations were a deliberate design to whitewash the situation — with all too predictable results. To our list of "crimes" was added crassness and folly. We ended up as a combination of JR Ewing and Uriah Heep.

Now, reading the signs, there is a new attitude in Pretoria. And it is one to be welcomed. Under the Botha administration there is definitely less conniving at recognition and more determination to talk and trade on a realistic basis, while effecting necessary changes at home.

Strategically, it has been recognised that Africa cannot at this stage be seen to be supping with Pretoria. Yet, while no trumpets are being sounded, SA's dealings with the continent are at their highest level ever — not just in terms of trade, but even at presidential level. Relations are guarded, but realistic. And this pragmatism has benefits not only for SA, which is gaining a new sense of security in Africa, but for the African states with their chronic shortages of food, consumer goods, foreign exchange and technical and medical know-how.

The statistics of the exercise speak for themselves. According to Safto, exports to Africa (including the Indian Ocean islands) were set to reach R1 200m for 1980, some 65% up on 1979, and comprising 10% of the total. Because of misleading documentation, the total could be higher yet.

Indeed, we trade to a greater or lesser extent with 75% of the African countries, and that trade is on the increase. A key city is Salisbury, a high-powered contact point, where SA's mission meets men from the four corners of the continent.

As *Business Week* pointed out last September, there were 3 500 SA freight trucks in Zimbabwe alone — after diplomatic relations had been formally severed. Our grain goes to Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Kenya and elsewhere — up to 800 000 tons of the 1978-80 crop. Yet Pretoria is not seeking to make political capital out

of the situation, knowing full well that this could backfire.

All this amounts to a neutralisation of trade relations — good-neighbourliness, accompanied by the recognition that there is no need to flaunt the links being forged every day, even with apparent arch-enemies like Nigeria.

In the long run, this is the safest course. SA's *quid pro quo* — apart from the unquantifiable commercial one — is the hope that, eventually, there will be a normalisation as the Republic is accorded its rightful position in the political constellation.

Suffering as they do from single crop economies, minerals exports dependent on the vagaries of the world economy, countries such as Zambia have to deal with SA. Indeed, for black Africa to attain true independence (including independence from SA) means, at least in the medium term, that it needs SA's aid, paradoxical as that may sound. It cannot be otherwise; with only 6% of Africa's population, SA generates 50% of the continent's electricity, manufactures 74% of its railway trucks, 42% of its motor vehicles, 94% of its books and newspapers — and so on. It is an African

trade giant, however much this may be ignored in the anti-apartheid media.

Its products are tailor-made for African conditions; its medical facilities are geared to coping with the research and immunisation needs of the continent; it is the most sophisticated market for money management skills in the region; and it has become a mature negotiator.

Most of the secret diplomacy, in fact, appropriately takes place at the UN — which is why, after all, SA has maintained its presence there through all its years in the wilderness. Note, for example, how frequently Ambassador Riaan Eksteen is recalled for each round of negotiations over SWA. Effective contact in New York takes place in the corridors, not in the Assembly.

There are those who would argue that the whole exercise smacks of hypocrisy and that SA's black contacts should "go public," or be otherwise exposed. The FM feels that the international climate is such that this would be inappropriate — for the next five years at least.

Thereafter, with needed changes effected in SA, and most importantly by a SA unconstrained by radical pressures, the ties will inevitably become known. But, hopefully, there will then be no rush to break links and apportion blame.



RPM 6/1/31 ①

# African commission to hold conference

**'Mail' Africa Bureau**  
MASERU. — Two hundred Ministers from the southern and eastern regions of the Economic Commission for Africa will meet in Maseru later this

month to discuss commerce, industry and trade.

The discussions will be held in three sessions one on January 12, the second on 16th and the third on the 19th

A party of five officials ar-

rived in Maseru yesterday.

They are Mr W Matuka, the regional advisor, Mr S Ochola, the liaison officer, Miss E B Kangaga, the administrative officer and two secretaries, Miss

H Kangwa and Mrs B Kaulongomic.

They will hold a preparatory meeting to pave the way for the conference which will be held on January 19 and will be attended by the 200 Ministers

## Ethiopia's big test:

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# Can collective agriculture work for them?



By DAVID B OTTAWAY of The Washington Post. **ETHIOPIA** — With the prudence of a revolution already burned by excessive zeal, Ethiopia is pressing cautiously ahead with a plan to collectivise agriculture in the image of other communist countries whose ideology and institutions it has embraced.

Unlike the Soviet Union or China, where collectivisation entailed massive upheaval, coercion and famine, Ethiopia is approaching the formation of collective farms initially on an almost experimental basis. It is even making it extremely

tough for peasants to qualify as bona-fide members of what are known here as "producers cooperatives."

The Ethiopian effort to form collectives is an excellent example of the impact of communist ideology on a poor Third World country. Ethiopia stands as a good test case of its relevance to the increasingly crucial problem of agricultural production that is plaguing all Africa. It remains to be seen whether Ethiopia will ever resort to a "green terror" to force peasants into collectives and destroy the Kulaks, as rich peasants are called here.

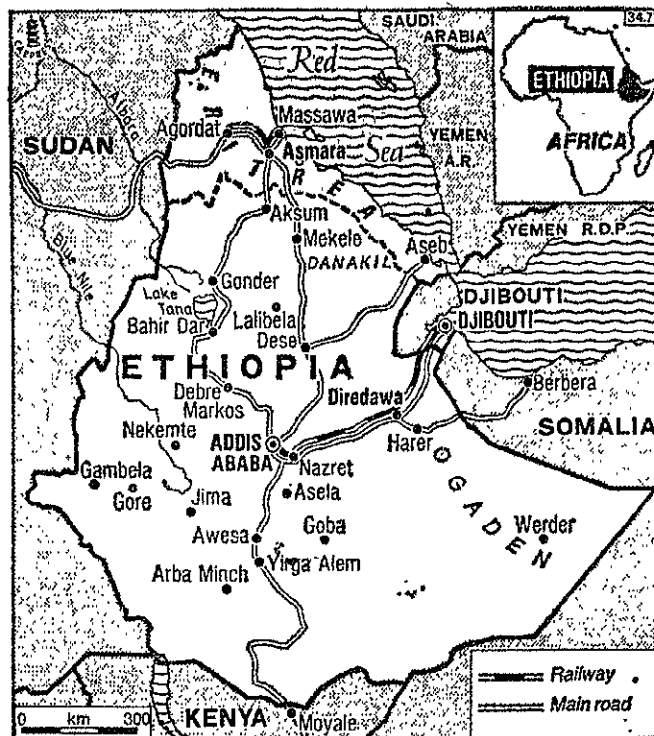
But so far there is no sign the government is thinking in such terms, and the present intense concern about boosting production has ended, at least temporarily, a

vitriolic campaign in the state-controlled Press against those "capitalist" peasants. After 18 months of persuading, enticing and, in a few instances, pressuring Ethiopian peasants into the new East German-inspired cooperatives, the government in November released the latest figures underscoring the modest progress made so far in turning a cherished communist principle into a fledgling reality on the tough Ethiopian soil. Only 41 cooperatives, having just 5 000 members and covering about 30 000 acres, have been officially certified as collectives, although another 506 are being formed that include 39 400 peasant families. Ethiopia's peasantry, which accounts for more than 90 percent of the country's 32 million population, is estimated

to include between four million and five million households. This means less than 1 percent has been affected so far by the drive for collectivisation. "It is an extremely delicate political matter," admitted one Ethiopian official, noting how opposition to the military-led government had initially exploited the issue to scare some peasants, particularly in the south, into selling or slaughtering their animals and burning their crops. "We must go slowly."

So it has gone, for the first time in a 6-year-old revolution most noted abroad for its violent destruction of Ethiopia's ancient monarchy, as well as for its radical land reform pitting

● To back page



Intervention by Libya in the Chad civil war, and now its unity pact with that country, has set 1981 alarm bells ringing in the West and particularly in France, formerly the colonial power in Chad.

Libya's known pan-Islamic aims south of the Sahara have provoked speculation also that the domino theory — as applied to Southeast Asia by the communists — could have an African echo.

Many African states have expressed fears to Paris over Libya's continental designs. French action in sending four Jaguar supersonic fighter bombers to Gabon was a first response to this unease.

It is still not clear exactly how strong the Libyan intervention in Chad was. Colonel Gaddafi backed President Goukouni Quedde against the forces led by the president's former Defence Minister, Hissen Habre. US military sources talk of 3 000 — 5 500 men.

Goukouni's forces captured the capital, N'djamena, with Libyan help and Habre was forced to retreat across the frontier into Cameroon. He then signed a ceasefire agreement in Yaounde the Cameroon capital, saying at the same time that the "struggle goes on".

Libyan forces in Chad are said to have Soviet-built Sukoi jets, US Hercules C-130 transport aircraft and French Mirage.

The news from the former French colony has been all bad for months. The civil war has claimed hundreds of victims and an already impoverished country is being driven

# Gaddafi sets alarm bells

## Rings in Paris

The fall of N'djamena, capital of Chad, to forces led by its president and backed by Libya, and now the unity pact between the two countries, is alarming many African countries and also the French. MICHAEL LEWIS reports from Paris.

daily deeper into economic and political chaos. Many ceasefires before the one in Yaounde have failed to hold up.

France never found a way of preventing the regional and tribal squabbles in its colony. A series of military interventions — the last of the French land forces were withdrawn from Chad only last May — settled nothing.

Libyan intervention added an extra dimension to Chad's tragedy and there is now concern at the possible destabilisation of several countries surrounding Chad. These include the

Central African Republic, where President David Dacko, installed on the crest of a French-backed coup, has not yet succeeded in stamping his authority on the former empire of Jean Bedel Bokassa.

Another is Cameroon. There President Ahmadou Ahidjo is known to fear a resurgence of tension between the rival national communities whose ethnic origins and religious tendencies reflect those across the Chari River in Chad.

A third is Niger, which has a strong ethnic Touhou population in its eastern areas closely link-

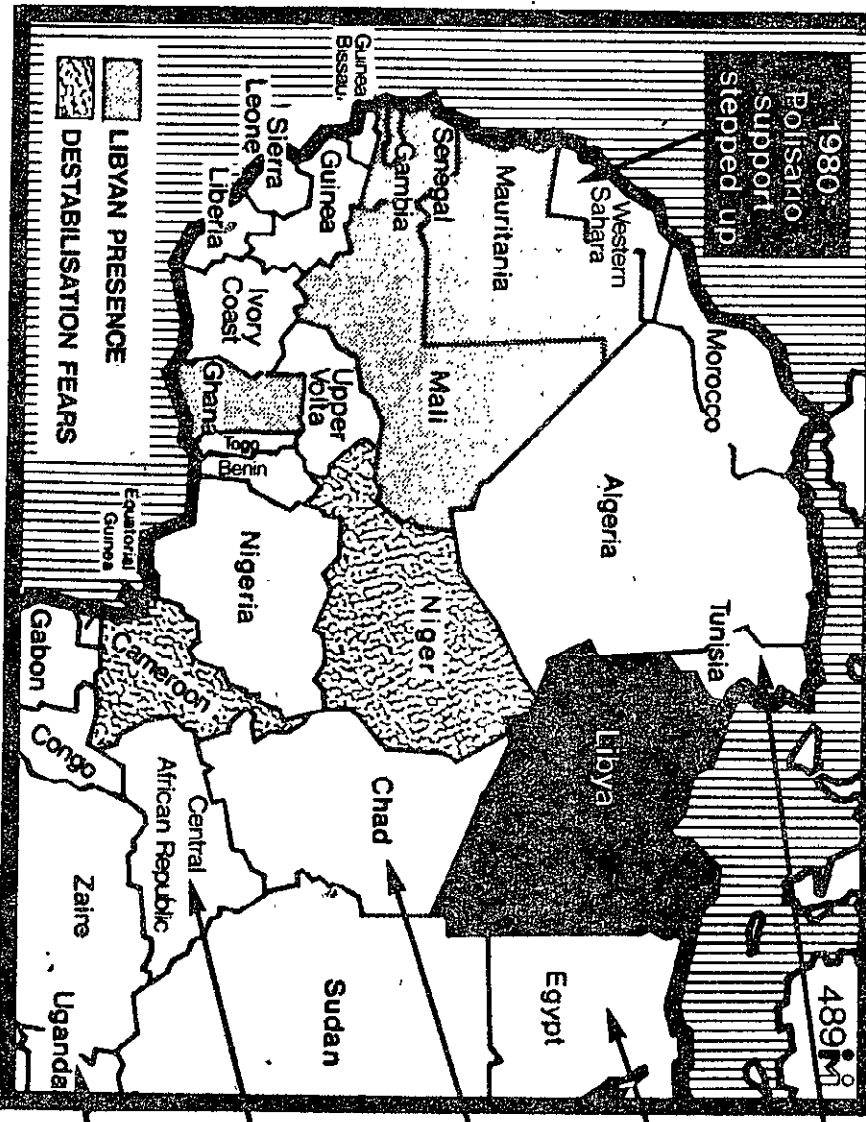
ed with their brothers of Chad's northern Tibesti region and with the Libyan Fezzan.

Only a month or so ago Gaddafi was almost inciting the people of Niger to rebellion, by broadcasting attacks on their government and accusing it of a repressive policy against the Touhou and Tuaregs in its territory.

Tripoli, also, has been stepping up its arms supplies to the Saharan guerrilla movement, Polisario, which is fighting for the independence of former Spanish Sahara, annexed by Morocco.

In this desert war Libya appears to be taking up the running from Algeria. Polisario's principal backer over the past four years, but which now appears to be distancing itself from the conflict. Gaddafi's Islamic

### West Africa: The hand of Libya



brigades have multiplied their interventions in Africa for the past three years. There was the three-days war with Egypt in July 1977, and military aid to Idi Amin of Uganda in the dictator's last days in 1979.

Gaddafi also rushed to the aid of the doomed Emperor Bokassa. His Islamic envoys beat a discreet retreat in the face of the French paratroops, which saw off the Central

African Empire in September that same year. But it is since the beginning of 1980 that Gaddafi has spread his tentacles in every direction across the northern half of the continent. His hand was seen behind the Tunisian dissidents who invaded the southern Tunisian town of Gafsa in February in an attempt to topple the aged President Bourguiba.

Libyan presence has been detected also in Mali, Mauritania, Ghana, Senegal and Gambia. Even Africa's giant, Nigeria has not escaped Tripoli's attentions. Libyans in the country have been accused of buying food and other materials for shipment to Chad without the government's knowledge.

So far Gaddafi's attempts to spread his Islamic message and overthrow what he considers to be neo-colonial regimes, have ended in a series of humiliating failures. Despite this, Paris is taking the Gaddafi threat seriously.

But to many observers France's policy of rushing in with armed aid to keep certain regimes alive, is seen as unlikely in the long term to help Africa overcome its chronic problems of instability.

1979 bid to aid Bokassa

1979 bid to aid Amin

1980 civil war intervention

1977 3 Day war

1980 support for rising



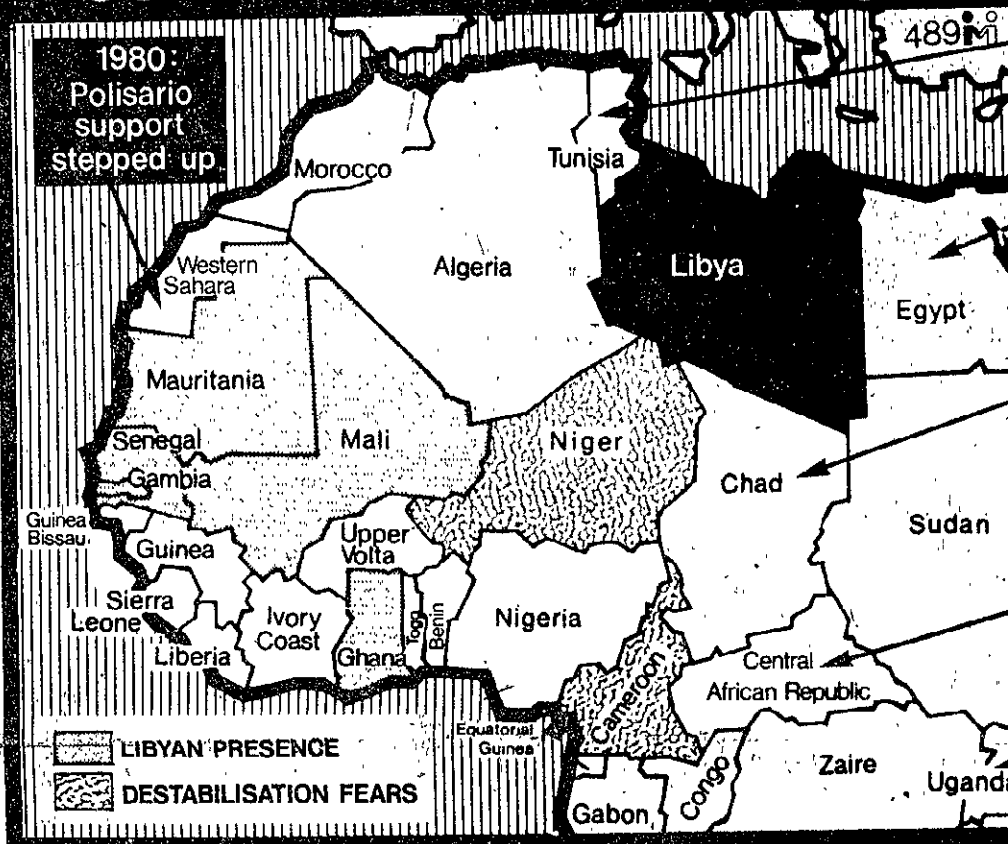
# Africa's meddler



Muammar Gaddafi

**THE FALL** of Chad's capital to forces led by its President and backed by the Libyans is causing unease in Africa and outside it. Much of West Africa is alarmed by the intrusion of Libya into many countries' domestic affairs. The French, former colonial masters of Chad, are alarmed, but their interventionist policy seems to have died.

## West Africa: The hand of Libya



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## Gaddafi rings the alarm bells in Paris

Michaël Lewis: PARIS

**INTERVENTION** by Libya in the Chad civil war has set 1981 alarm bells ringing in the West and particularly in France, the former colonial power.

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said to have Soviet-built Sukol jets, US Hercules C-130 transport aircraft and French Mirages.

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These include the Central African Republic, where President David Dacko, installed on the crest of a French-backed coup, has not yet succeeded in stamping his authority on the former empire of Jean Bedel Bokassa.

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For many observers France's policy of rushing in with armed aid to keep certain regimes alive is not in the long term likely to help Africa overcome its chronic problems of instability, although French intervention in Chad is considered unlikely.

GEMINI



# Fight to stop rhino being wiped out

RDM  
5/1/81  
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**DAR ES SALAAM.** — Ruthless poaching has reduced Tanzania's rhinoceros population to only 50, according to the government, which has announced a new campaign to save its rhinos from extinction.

The Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism, Mr Isaac Sepetu, told a Press conference the campaign starting on January 26 would stress the economic value of tourism and game, and try to persuade people living near game parks to help the authorities catch poachers.

At the same time, the government party newspaper *Uhuru*, announcing that Tanzania had only 50 rhinos left, denounced poachers as the "enemies of our people" and said it was every Tanzanian's duty to preserve the animals.

Only 12 months ago the official Tanzanian Press estimated there were still between 1 000 and 2 000 rhinos in the country.

Previous campaigns to stop the wholesale slaughter have had little apparent effect, although they included the in-

roduction of stiff jail terms for poachers and big rewards for information leading to their capture.

Prices of up to about R450 for 28g of rhino horn in Hong Kong make the risks well worth taking.

Though the indigent villager who actually kills the animal is paid only a tiny fraction of that amount — perhaps about R187 a kilo — a pair of horns will bring him more than he can earn in several years of agricultural toil.

Rhino horn is prized in the East as an aphrodisiac and an ingredient in traditional Chinese medicine.

In January last year, the former Minister of Natural Resources, Mr Solomon Saibull, announced the establishment of a task force to study ways of preserving the animals.

It was presented with several ideas, none of which were considered totally practical.

Most observers agree the only real chance of saving Tanzania's rhinos is by massive reinforcement of the under-

manned and outgunned anti-poaching squads and the placing of a virtual round-the-clock guard on the few remaining rhinos in national parks.

Mr Saibull said in an interview that the main problem was financial, and added that although game rangers had been killed in battles with poachers, most were still armed with ancient bolt-action rifles.

"In the past poachers came in twos and threes with poisoned arrows or spears. Now we are having to deal with commando gangs up to 15 strong, armed with automatic weapons," he said.

In Tanzania, as in neighbouring Zambia and Uganda, the favourite poachers' weapon is the communist-made AK-47 assault rifle left over from a dozen African guerrilla wars.

In some regions, poachers are said to have discovered that Soviet-made RPG-7 rockets are even more effective against rhinos and elephants than against their intended targets — armoured vehicles. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Libya builds up troops to 'foil France'

RDM  
16/1/81  
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BEIRUT. — Warning that any French move against Libya or Chad will draw oil and economic reprisals, Libyan leader Colonel Moammar Gaddafi said this week he has reinforcing his troops in Chad to counter French military deployments in the neighbouring Central African Republic.

The Libyan Government yesterday also rejected an African call to get out of Chad, amid reports of increased tension and troop build-ups on the Sudanese-Libyan border.

The Bahraini newspaper Gulf News said Sudan, one of the African countries opposed to the proposed merger between Libya and Chad, has started to airlift troops and tanks to its north-western frontier.

"Tension is building up rapidly between Sudan on one hand, and Libya and Chad on the other. Sudan is airlifting troops and tanks to its border with Chad and Libya," the newspaper said quoting "informed sources" in the Sudanese capital of Khartoum.

The Organisation of African Unity has for the first time condemned Libya by name for its intervention in the Chad civil war and denounced a proposed merger of the two countries.

After a one-day OAU summit

held in the Togolese capital of Lome on Wednesday, 12 African leaders called on Libya to withdraw its troops immediately from Chad.

A nine-point communique said Libya's proposed merger with Chad "violates the letter and spirit of the Lagos accord," a 1979 agreement which set up a transitional Chad Government led by President Goukouni Oueddei.

Commenting on the African call at a meeting on Wednesday with Libyan students, Col Gaddafi said it was "nothing more than a piece of paper".

"The Libyan troops will stay in Chad. Only (Chad) President Goudouni Oueddei, who called us in, has the right to ask us to leave," Col Gaddafi said.

At the meeting, Col Gaddafi also warned France against further "interfering in Chad's internal affairs".

While the OAU meeting has condemned Libya by name, France was implicitly criticised for recently sending extra troops to its military base at Bourr in the Central African Republic.

The OAU statement said African countries, especially those bordering Chad, should not allow their territories to be used by non-African powers. Bourr is near Chad's southern

border

France has dispatched troops to the Central African Republic to counter the Libyan military presence in Chad. Col Gaddafi called for a French pull-out from the region.

He threatened economic sanctions and an oil embargo against France if Paris continued with its "hostile policies".

The Libyan leader said he was rushing reinforcements to his southern neighbour to "confront the occupational forces of France on the Chad border".

"If France ever decides to make any stupid move that threatens Libyan security we shall fight it with all weapons we possess, particularly oil, and that will lead to an economic boycott of France," Col Gaddafi was quoted as saying.

France buys two million tons of oil or 2% of its total oil imports from Libya each year.

In Paris French officials said France might move if Libyan troops in Chad moved out to invade other African states, but intervention would depend on "circumstances and context".

France has offered to protect any African state that asks for military aid and already has reinforced its military base in Bunjai at the request of the Central African Republic. — UPI.

In this projection for Africa 1981, Henry Reuter of The Star's Africa News Service, writing from Nairobi, forecasts a stormy year for most of the black states which includes declining economies, famine, the threat of revolution, invasion and possibly even the break-up of the Organisation of African Unity as a result of the turmoil.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) which, through its 17-year history has gradually degenerated into an increasingly ineffectual political talk shop, could be heading for a split this year which would herald its break-up.

The crunch, so far as African unity is concerned, will come in Nairobi, in July. As last year's summit ended in Freetown, Sierra Leone, 26 member states were smarting at being outmanoeuvred by Morocco over their demand for recognition of Polisario's Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic. Half of them were saying they would walk out of this year's Nairobi heads of state summit meeting if, when they arrived, there were no seats allocated for SADR delegates.

Eleven West African states, led by Senegal and Morocco were equally determined to quit — some said the OAU itself and not just the summit meeting — if the "phantom" non-existent SADR state became the OAU's 51st member.

Subsequent reconciliation attempts have had no result. All indications are that the foreign ministers' meeting which will precede the Nairobi summit will find the situation still deadlocked. The Ministers will pass a face-saving resolution to enable the summit meeting to at least begin. Then it will be a case of the split being averted by another face-saving compromise.

Even if the OAU's ever-weakening bond of unity — combined opposition to apartheid and everything South African — holds the organisation together once again on this issue, it will immediately face yet another crisis.

This will be a move by Arab member countries to oust Egypt from the OAU because of its treaty with Israel. Many black states will be angry at Arab attempts to bring their own squabbles into the African organisation but will keep quiet for fear of cuts in their oil supplies. But those who are not reliant on Arab oil or have been victims of Libyan subversion attempts will put up sufficient resistance to reject the expulsion move.

This will be achieved with the help of heads of states who do not attend the summit — those who do attend are getting fewer and fewer — who will instruct their emissaries that the thing to vote for is anything to preserve African unity.

The summit will, in any case, pass about 40 more resolutions, many of these

# A year of turmoil threatens Africa

calling for measures against South Africa, including trade and oil embargoes.

Kenya stepped in to host the summit meeting after Guinea had said it could not afford to, bearing in mind that other African countries had virtually bankrupted themselves hosting previous summits.

Kenya alone in Africa has the facilities and infrastructure to make a profit on an OAU summit meeting. This is one of the few bright spots in the country's 1981 prospects.

Tourism is stagnant, much of Kenya's industry is threatened with closure due to government delay in approving import permits for raw materials. In approving import permits for raw materials, cash crop production is falling, there is a nationwide shortage of the staple diet — maize meal — and population growth estimates, the highest in the world, have just been increased from 3.5 to 3.9 percent annually.

Development plan targets have been revised, downwards, and Kenya faces a 1981 in which more and more people will be competing for fewer jobs and in which ominous rumbles of public discontent will become louder unless the unprecedented maize and rice shortages, allegedly exacerbated by high-level corruption and the smuggling of Kenya's harvests into neighbouring countries' black markets, can be ended.

Discontent with Julius Nyerere's socialist regime in Tanzania and its impoverishing effect on the nation will grow in 1981 notwithstanding the recent "general election" in which all candidates were nominated by the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) Party, which retained the right to reject candidates even after their election.

At independence, 19 years ago, the average annual per capita income of

Tanzanians was estimated at R140. Today, with inflation running at several hundred percent since then, the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs has just launched a five-year plan which estimates the average income at R243,40 and aims at raising it to R271,5 by 1986.

But Tanzanians, once described by a colonial governor as "a great malleable mass of Bantu," a people bombarded daily and exclusively with government propaganda, will do nothing about their plight in 1981, except grumble.

For Uganda 1981 may well begin as a year of hope and end as a year of tragedy. There the recent even more farcical general election returned to power Milton Obote and his Uganda Peoples Congress. The UPC originally came to power, forming Uganda's first independent government, in 1962. It proceeded to ban the opposition, declare a one-party state and create a socialist, secret-police-ridden terror regime.

Back in power last month, Obote professed to have seen the error of his ways. He has since been making all the correct moves to restore order from the chaos left by Idi Amin. His policy is diverging to the right compared with that of his mentor, Julius Nyerere. His main opposition, the Democratic Party, has been sufficiently convinced to drop its cries of "we wuz robbed" for calls for co-operation.

Today Uganda is hopeful. There is light in the tunnel. But the big question is how long a rein will Nyerere, who still has a 10 000-man occupation force in Uganda, allow his protegee to have. Any reversion to socialist tyranny will cause a blood-bath.

Sudan's President Ghaafur Nimeiry will also have a stormy political



Colonel Gaddafi... empire builder.



Julius Nyerere socialist dreamer.

year. For years he has been beset on all sides by political intrigue but has been faster on his feet than his opponents. His recent overtures to communist bloc Ethiopia will pay no dividends in 1981 in relieving him of the

## S Africa still common enemy

burden of some 400 000 Eritrean refugees settled inside his borders.

Although it is claimed that in recent talks he has nudged the Ethiopian government and its Marxist secessionists, represented by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front nearer a negotiated settlement, it will not come about this year, if ever. Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam would not dare to hold a public plebiscite on Eritrea's future. As for the rest of the settlement suggestions, both sides are too intractable.

Mengistu's Russian-backed regime will have increasing troubles in 1981 with the Tigre Peoples Liberation Front which demands autonomy for this most neglected of Ethiopian provinces, and which Mengistu has attempted to brush aside in the past. The TPLF grows increasingly stronger and is now the strongest of Ethiopia's separatist organisations.

More than 80 000 peasants are now living in the wild mountains and backing the guerrilla force to the hilt.

For Somalia, 1981 will be a year of humiliation and disappointment. President Siyyad Barre has just begun a new round of negotiations with the

US for 3 000 million dollars worth of military and economic aid, as the price of providing Indian Ocean bases. But the Reagan administration will be harder than Carter's. Any aid he gets will be mainly in food etc for his refugees, and will be worth less than a quarter of the sum demanded.

Provision of the military hardware would result in the alienation of neighbouring Kenya, which considers itself threatened by Somalia, and the US has made it clear that in such a clash of interests its relations with Kenya come first. Barre's adulation of the Kremlin before the Russians decided to swap their Somali bases for others in Ethiopia is still borne in mind.

The tiny state of Djibouti will lead a precarious existence this year in continual threat of being overrun either by Ethiopian-backed Afar tribesmen or Somalia-backed Issas, the two main tribes which comprise its population.

Thousands of Afars are being trained by Cubans and armed by the Soviet Union in a vast military camp on its frontier with Ethiopia. And Libya has been making mysterious arms shipments to the Issa-dominated Djibouti government, to the anger of France which finances Djibouti's economy in return for a naval and air base and which is not being consulted by anybody.

Egypt, with Kissinger now involved in the negotiations, is expected to consolidate its Camp David Treaty with Israel in the next few months and to make some progress in 1981 in ending its isolation by the rest of the Arab world.

Across the north of Africa, Chad, Mali, Upper Volta, Mauritania, Senegal, Gambia and Cape Verde will once again request food from the international community to combat ever present famine. An international committee to combat the Sahel drought has complained that in 1980 only 19 percent of the need was supplied by developed countries.

The eighth Sahel country, Niger, is better off because of its uranium exports. One of its largest customers for uranium is Libya which has been accused of attempting political subversion in all the other Sahel countries. Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, now entrenched in Chad, is expected to continue in 1981 his attempts to create a Libyan empire.

Of the potential west African 1981 trouble spots Sierra Leone carries the highest risk. The capital, Freetown is simmering

with public discontent at government corruption and deteriorating living standards. President Siaka Stevens' All Peoples Congress one-party republic is under continual attack by students, anti-government demonstrations are commonplace and the past few months has seen the formation of an externally active opposition group calling itself the National Alliance Party.

Senegal, too, is restive following the resignation of President Senghor, and in 1981 the new President Abdou Diouf, an uncharismatic economist, will be lucky to maintain control at a time of economic crisis in a country with an economy based on groundnuts.

Zaire can expect a big injection of IMF capital — probably one billion dollars — early in 1981 following its repayment in 1980 of most of its massive overseas debts, which exceeded 470 million dollars. A new 114-member central committee of the ruling MPR party will ease the legislative council out of power thus tightening even more president Mobutu's control of the country.

Master Sergeant Samuel K Doe's revolutionary Liberia will have a year of unprecedented economic recession, for no other reason than much of its capital has flown since Doe's coup and investors trusts the Master Sergeant sufficiently to bring it back.

In Ghana, even after building up for years other military government confrontation, as clashes between the Peoples National Party government of Dr Hilla Limann and Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, the man responsible for the last military takeover, become ever more bitter.

Limann and Rawlings are playing a deadly cat and mouse game. Pushed out of power, Rawlings boasts that he can call on the army and take over again whenever he wishes. The threat becomes very real one in the light of the country's continuing economic downslide. Limann's failure to bring about reforms, promises when he took power over a year ago.

Fanatical Muslim disturbances in the north of Nigeria will have a year of steady development progress under President Shehu Shagari. Various federal states last beginning to renege and benefit from mounting oil revenues.

As it maintains its largest army in Africa, Nigeria will continue to seek reasons or justifications for using it, one way or another, against black Africa's common enemy, South Africa.

It will head an economic onslaught against the Republic, and politicians will look outwards for public diversions unrelated to take the spotlight off various internal tensions.

Work on the nation's new capital, at Abuja, 800 km from Lagos, will continue apace, if for no other reason than to ensure it is finished before the country sinks in its own excrement.

# Zaire, Zambia freeze cobalt price

LUSAKA: — Zaire and Zambia, the world's two major cobalt producers, will maintain the producer price at \$25 a lb in the coming year, says the Government-owned Zambia Daily Mail.

It quotes Mr Lawrence Mutakasha, managing director of the Metal Marketing Corporation of Zambia, as saying the decision was reached at a meeting last November in London between Memaco and its Zairean counterpart, Sorzacom. He said producers all over the world had agreed that in spite of substitution in the chemical and magnet indus-

tries, cobalt consumption in the high-temperature alloy industry would grow at an annual rate of 5%.

Mr Mutakasha expected a revival of the cobalt market in 1982 and that Memaco expected to sell about 1 000 tons more cobalt in 1981 than the 2 000 tons it sold in 1980.

He said Zaire now held a stock of 12 000 tons of unsold cobalt and Zambia 1 500 tons. Although cobalt was being sold at discounts by some producers, Zambia and Zaire had to adopt long-term policies aimed at restoring order and stability to the market.

"Zambia and Zaire cannot afford to sell at any price because we will be putting at risk other investment in cobalt producing facilities scheduled to come on stream in the near future," he was quoted as saying.

The State-controlled Roan Consolidated Mines hopes to have a vacuum refining system for cobalt installed at its Chambishi plant by the end of this year to improve the grade of its cobalt, according to mining industry sources. Some of the cobalt now being stockpiled at Chambishi will be re-refined. Mr Mutakasha said Memaco

had successfully concluded its sales campaign for 1981. Terms and conditions the company announced last September had formed the basis of all Zambian contracts.

"We have maintained our principle of charging premiums over the London Metal Exchange prices," he said.

Attempts to resist Zambian terms "fizzled out in complete disarray," he added. Zambia would sell slightly more than 600 000 tons of copper, about 30 000 tons of zinc (sable II and IV grades), 10 000 tons lead and about 3 000 tons cobalt in 1981.

Mr Mutakasha complained bitterly about what he called the "ridiculous levels" of copper prices which were lower today in real terms than they were in 1974.

"The whole market has been taken over by chartists and speculators," he was quoted as saying. "Some of these guys have moved all their money out of copper and put it on deposit in banks where they are getting a much better return because of high interest rates."

This left the copper market without adequate financial activity to support it. — Reuter.

# Frontline states warn SA against aggression

12/1/68 5/16-1

## Own Correspondent

**SALISBURY** — The leaders of five Frontline states and representatives of Angola and Nigeria have warned South Africa to cease "unprovoked aggression" against their countries.

At a summit meeting in Lusaka, they also called on the Western contact group — Britain, the United States, West Germany, France and Canada — to apply economic and political pressure on Pretoria to resolve the Namibian independence dispute.

The frontline states expressed concern at South Africa's "destabilisation policy" and complained about the training by the Republic of dissidents from Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The one-day talks in the Zambian capital were attended by presidents Nyerere

(Tanzania), Machel (Mozambique), Kaunda (Zambia), Dr Quett Masire (Botswana) and Zimbabwean Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe.

Angola was represented by Mr Pascoé Luvuvu, a member of the Political Bureau and Central Committee of the MPLA, and Nigeria by Mr Emmanuel Oba, Nigerian High Commissioner to Zambia.

At the end of the meeting, the delegates issued a communique which "unreservedly condemned" the recent South African commando raid in Mozambique and the aggression by South Africa against the people of Angola, Zambia and other Frontline states.

"They expressed deep concern at racist South African destabilisation policy in the region, particularly the continued training of dissidents from

Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe," said the communique.

Cautious South Africa against unprovoked aggression, the Frontline leaders restated the "dire need" for them to close ranks in the face of the challenge posed by South African aggression.

They called on Pretoria to resolve the problems of South Africa and Namibia instead of "trying to divert world opinion by unprovoked attacks against the frontline states."

Turning to Namibia, yesterday's meeting attributed the failure of the recent Geneva conference to South African "continued intransigence."

Swapo, which was represented by its president, Mr Sam Nujoma, received praise for its "commendable and statesmanly"

behaviour during the Geneva talks.

"The meeting of the Frontline states and Nigeria concluded that with the failure of the Geneva conference, Swapo had no alternative but to intensify the liberation war in Namibia and in this connection reaffirm their unflinching support for Swapo," the communique said.

The summit also appealed to "all peace-loving people and freedom-loving countries of the world" to assist Swapo in political, economic, diplomatic and military fields.

On his return to Salisbury last night, Mr Mugabe said: "We believe that the Western powers have a role to play in respect of Namibia and that their responsibility to push things in the correct direction and bring pressure to bear on South

Africa, is a vital responsibility, so they should not be allowed to forget that they have that responsibility."

He would not reveal the course of action agreed upon, but he said that on an individual and bilateral basis the states would pursue a diplomatic and political course that could bring about the pressure to influence events in Namibia.

● Sapa-Reuter reports from Lisbon that the Zairean Minister for State Security, Mr Nkema Lillo, is in Luanda for talks on security with Angolan Government officials.

Mr Lillo said that the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and Unita no longer existed in his country.

He said Angolans now living in Zaire were refugees.

**WORLD NEWS SPOTLIGHT**

RDM 19/1/81 (1)  
**Egypt shows its alarm at Libya's Chad 'takeover'**

**Own Correspondent**

CAIRO. — Egypt has been discussing with France plans for action over Libya's attempts to dominate Chad, Cairo said yesterday, and it is expected that the Egyptians will soon begin supplying arms to Chad forces opposed to Libyan encroachment.

Mr Kamil Hassan Aly, the Egyptian Foreign Minister, said Egypt supported the resolutions of the African foreign ministers' conference held in Lome. These called on Libya to withdraw its troops from Chad.

But Libyan leader Colonel Muḥammad Gaddafi's defiant reply was an announcement that in fact reinforcements were being sent in.

The depth of Egypt's concern was made clear on Saturday when it became known that Mr Hussein Habre, the former Foreign Minister of Chad who led the fight against the troops of the Libyan-supported President Goukouni Oueddei, flew to Aswan for a two hour meeting with President Anwar Sadat.

The Egyptian fear is that the Sudan will be the next target of Libya's expansionist policy.

In the past, Libya has stirred up trouble on the Sudanese border and has attempted long-range infiltration in an attempt to destabilise the regime of President Jaafar Numeiry.

President Sadat and President Numeiry have maintained close relations, despite Sudanese opposition to the Camp David agreements.

Sudan has been used as a dispersal country for Egyptian planes, and Egyptian troops stationed in the Sudan were the decisive factor in quelling a revolt against Numeiry.

Above all, Egypt reacts strongly whenever it sees unfriendly forces in a position to take control of the upper waters of the Nile.

President Numeiry has called for a special summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity to discuss the situation in Chad and Egypt has already said that it will take part if it is invited.

Other African countries of the Sahara are likely to support President Numeiry.

Nigeria has been alarmed at the thousands of refugees pouring across the small border it shares with Chad.

It also blames Libyan influence for the bloody Muslim uprising which took place in Kano.

Mauretania, Niger and even Gambia have all uncovered what they described as Libyan "subversive groups" working against their governments.

All fear that after his failure to achieve unions with other countries by diplomatic means, Colonel Gaddafi is now out to form a "Saharan federation" by force of arms.

Colonel Gaddafi, in the view of Egypt and many African leaders, still sees himself as an unrecognised second Nasser.

David Haddon Prize  
 For the best student of

Miss C Tredgold

in third year.

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize  
 For the best woman student

P A Rappoport

satisfactorily completed  
 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

Helen Gardner Travel Prize  
 For a student who has

P F Dunckley

Sixth Year

Cape Provincial Institute  
 of Architects' Prize  
 For the best student in :-

ARCHITECTURE

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE



# Gaddafi's shotgun wedding with Chadangers neighbours

LONDON. — The lively West African city of Lome, capital of Togo, seems certain to become one of the main conference cities of the continent, but few meetings there are likely to have the underlying significance of the gathering of African leaders that took place there during this last week.

Ostensibly it was to discuss the shotgun wedding between the shattered state of Chad and the ambitious state of Libya which so many of Chad's neighbours are declaring to be illegal, null and void, and even rape. Fundamentally it concerns both the theory and the practice of the right claimed by African states to settle their own affairs.

On the face of it, Chad represents one of the most resounding failures of inter-African negotiation. The slow build-up of civil war in Chad has been going on for 20 years, first between government and different Moslem groups of the largely desert northern areas of the country, and then when the black and French-supported government collapsed the struggle fragmented into one



From  
**ANTHONY DELIUS**

between a dozen different groups and their armies. Meeting after meeting between Chad's worried neighbours plus other West African states to reunify Chad proved abortive.

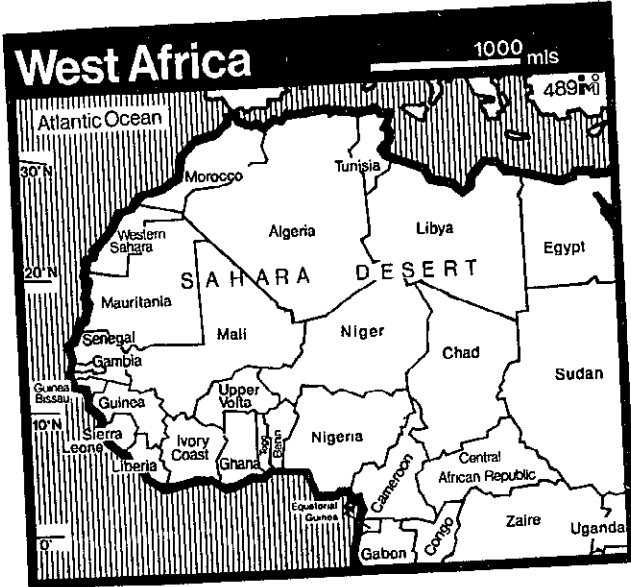
## French pull-out

Arguments by the Nigerians, by far the biggest and richest of Chad's neighbours, did succeed in persuading the French to pull their troops out of Chad, against the warnings of some of the more influential French-speaking African states, like Ivory Coast and Senegal. The point made by the Nigerians and others was that the Africans would have a better chance of settling things if intervention by the former colonial power was seen no longer to be part of the tangled affairs of Chad.

But the vacuum left by France was immediately filled by Libyans and an Islamic Legion organized by Libyans. Backed by them and their tanks and heavy mortars, the country's transition president, Goukouni Oueddei, promptly knocked out his main rivals.

At this point it became clear to many both in Africa and outside the continent that President Gaddafi of Libya had been allowed to achieve a fairly easy victory in pursuit of ambitions which went far beyond Chad. It appeared, in fact, that Gaddafi had been able to annex Chad and extend the territory under his control deeply into the heart of Africa. From this position he would be able to disturb Moslem opinion west and east across the Sahara, and probe south as well.

Both the Nigerians and the French saw at once, and perhaps too late, that they had made a grave blunder in taking Gaddafi too lightly. The French have tried to repair some of the damage by rushing reinforce-



ments to garrisons they kept by agreement in neighbouring francophone states in West Africa, and offering military equipment to the Sudan. The Nigerians have had to rush troops to Kano, in North Nigeria, to put down an uprising of Moslem fanatics that Lagos newspapers now believe was promoted by Gaddafi agents. The Nigerian government has now led other African states in expelling Gaddafi's new-style embassies.

The Nigerians, however, are not only the leaders of West Africa, but also consider themselves the leaders of all black Africa. They are cautiously, some say parsimoniously, using a certain amount of their enormous riches from oil exports to support their own influence in Africa as well as the influence of the black states they most favour. They have done a great deal to assist Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, and only recently they provided the cash to buy out the South African share in leading Zimbabwean newspapers.

The civilians who now rule from Lagos, headed by President Shehu Shagari, have access to funds nearly as great as Libya's, but they are not as free to throw them about as he does. They have democratic constitutional obligations under a complicated federal set-up, and the needs of 90 million or more fellow-Nigerians to satisfy. Gaddafi has dictatorial control, for all his various "people's committees", and only some three million Libyans' needs to meet.

## Repair fences

In addition to Gaddafi's Islamic revolutionary ideals, considered a bit airy-fairy by the great majority of mature Moslems, the Libyan leader also has very considerable supplies of Soviet arms to back up people he wishes to support. However, the Russians would not be very happy to see these arms being used too obviously to destabilize Nigeria, whose friendship the Russians have long cultivated. In addition the Russians may regard Gaddafi as a useful stirrer-up of troubles, but they are not sure that he may not turn out more crazy and unpredictable than even Moscow secretly believes.

Obviously the Nigerians and the French must repair their fences in West Africa, but the Nigerians see dangers in co-operating to restore the influ-

ence of a former European colonial power. Shehu Shagari and his men want whatever action they take in concert with nearby states for the integrity of Chad to be seen as Africans acting to help brother-Africans. They will therefore not agree very much with those French-speaking states, like Ivory Coast, Senegal and Niger, which would like to see the independence of Chad restored by French arms.

In addition the Nigerians and their supporters realize that Gaddafi can claim to be a fellow-African himself, in spite of his pan-Arabic dreams. What's more he can, and does, say that he moved in at the request of another fellow-African, the transition president of Chad, who had every constitutional



Colonel Gaddafi... has extended his influence in Africa

right to appeal to him. And now these two fellow-Africans claim to have settled everything on their own and don't require any further assistance from other Africans gathered in Lome.

Then there is an awkward fact of life common to nearly all Chad's neighbours and near-neighbours in West Africa and on the other side of the continent as well. They are in varying degrees mixtures of Moslem populations and Christian or animist populations. The two most clearly defined mixtures are those of Nigeria and the Sudan, each of which

has Moslem majorities but large Christian and animist minorities. Senegal and Ivory Coast, like the state of Chad at independence, contain Moslem majorities ruled by Christian minorities.

In Chad itself at present there is still an influential Christian group, led by Colonel Kamougue, which stood by the Moslem President Goukouni Oueddei. They in fact helped him when, with Libyan forces and Russian arms, he finally wiped out the resistance of Hissen Habre, a Moslem leader they distrusted more. Now that they find they are part of a state devoted to Islamic revolution, Colonel Kamougue's followers are preparing to fight against the new union, and alongside the fiercely anti-Gaddafi Hissen Habre.

Undoubtedly the Nigerians are best equipped by race and population mixture to lead Christian, Moslem and animist Africa in an attempt to get an indigenous solution for the Chad problem. It would be more convincing than a French attempt — and, in any case, the French have failed to find a solution for the country over a longer period than any power or group of powers. But the process of finding one may prove extraordinarily complicated for a great part of Africa, especially now that Gaddafi has moved in.

# Well-fed Africa an ally not an enemy—De Loor

Stom  
2/1/68 (1)

A well-fed Africa was an ally, not an enemy, and African states were realising more and more that Russia could not fulfil their expectations, Dr Joop de Loor, Director General of Finance, said in Pretoria today.

Speaking at the Agricultural Preview Conference, Dr De Loor said this was reflected in the decrease in trade between African states and Russia and the increase in trade with the West, as well as South Africa, reports Sapa.

"Here is a golden opportunity for South Africa to expand its export trade in agricultural products and this opportunity has already been grasped."

South Africa presently exports goods to the value of more than R1 000-million to Africa, Dr De Loor said.

"If we take into consideration that the demand for agricultural exports is strongly influenced by weather conditions, it becomes obvious that we should look for markets in Africa, as we have the advantages of delivery time, price and quality."

The doctor said that the African markets were open and their demand for agricultural products were only thwarted by a lack of funds. Political objections were crumbling and this presented opportunities for South Africa to build bridges.

"It would be a pity if we allowed these opportunities to pass," he said.

"But, if we want to serve these markets in the long run, it is essential that we increase and protect our own agricultural potential."

A considerable amount of valuable agricultural ground was recently consolidated in the national states. In order to main-

tain our production and exports, this ground will have to be kept in full production or brought back into production.

"It would be shortsighted to promote land consolidation for other reasons if our agricultural production was not fully protected," Dr De Loor said.

Land consolidation provided a livelihood and work opportunities for a great number of people, but production was often below previous levels.

"Not only is the result of such consolidation without retaining its agricultural potential inflationary but, unless this potential is carried through on a large scale, our strategic independence with regard to food production will be adversely affected and will also prevent us from supplying life giving food to Africa."

Dr De Loor said measures to encourage agriculture in the pre-independent states as well as in Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana would have to enjoy the highest priorities.

"We have to be practical, as wonders cannot be performed overnight. It is a long and difficult road but, considering our history, achievements and victories over apparently insurmountable obstacles, I am confident that these problems will be overcome to the benefit of our black states, of South Africa and for the rest of southern Africa."

# Quiet gold role for SA in Ghana is hinted at

By Bob Davis

South Africa's mining expertise has opened up the back door into black Africa

Ghana may call on this country to help revive and expand its potentially enormous but flagging goldmining industry.

Political considerations may be thrust aside in a desire by the West African state to develop the full potential of its gold wealth.

## OFF RECORD

A South African mining consultant, Mr Hans von Michaelis, just back from a seminar in Ghana, says he and two colleagues were well received and the Ghanaians were adamant that they would go to any reasonable lengths to get their goldmining industry back on its feet.

Politicians said off the record that the Ghanaian Government might denationalise the mines and

return to the free enterprise system, provided it could be a partner in the enterprise.

Mr G O Kesse, director of the Ghanaian Geological Survey Department said his country's goldmining potential was tremendous but mining techniques and machinery were outdated.

## IDEAL HOST

Ghanaian miners were largely untrained and up to 20 percent of the annual production was stolen by workers and sold on the black market in neighbouring Togo at up to eight times the official price, he said.

Mr von Michaelis, who is based in America, said South African capital would be welcome in Ghana, provided it came by the "back door." South African expertise was highly-respected, but it

would have to find a non-political way in.

Mr von Michaelis suggested that Mr Lloyd Quashie, deputy managing director of the Ashanti Goldfields, be invited to South Africa to talk to the mining industry. Mr Harry Oppenheimer would be an ideal host, he said.

Mr von Michaelis said Ghanaian miners could be trained here, but without fanfare so as not to upset Ghana's political enemies.

According to Mr Quashie, Ghana's high-grade gold-bearing belt covered 20 000 square miles.

## COLLAPSING

He envisaged the current production of 400 000 fine ounces a year expanding to 2-million ounces, saying that known reserves would last more than 700 years.

An expert committee said 14 new mines could be opened in the next 20 years at a cost of R2 500-million at 1980 prices.

The committee blamed the decline in Ghanaian gold mining on mismanagement, poor planning, outdated plant and machinery and lack of finance and skilled labour.

Only four mines were still in production and drastic action was needed to rescue three of them from collapse.

Agency reports say the Ghanaian Government was adopting a "pragmatic approach" to the question of possible South African involvement in developing Ghana's gold.

Companies represented at the gold conference included Consolidated Goldfields of Britain, and Charter Consolidated in which Anglo American has a large stake.

# Gadaffi plea for mergers to unite Arab states

RDM 32/1/81

BEIRUT. Libyan leader Colonel Moammar Gadaffi has defended his country's plans to merge with neighbouring Chad, but said unity was not around the corner.

Libya and Chad announced plans to merge into a single state last month, triggering criticism from France and a number of African countries.

Libya already maintains a military contingent in Chad which was sent to help President Goukouni Weddeye oust opponents led by rebel Defence Minister Hissene Habre.

Soon after Libya and Chad announced their merger plans, France dispatched troops to the Central African Republic to counter the Libyan military presence.

The pro-Libyan newspaper As Safir and the state-run Jamahiriya news agency reported yesterday that Col Gadaffi had said: "Personally, I do not expect or imagine there could be union between Chad and Libya before unity between the Arab states, or at least some of the Arab states."

They said he had made the remarks at the closing session of the Arab People's Conference in Tripoli on Monday night.

The conference was attended by scores of Leftist political parties from Arab countries. Col Gadaffi said it was natural for Libya and Chad to merge into a single state "because we are both African states and members of the Organisation of African Unity."

But such a move, he was quoted as saying, should be preceded by more important mergers between Arab countries themselves.

"The important thing is the realisation of Arab unity, or unity at least between a number of Arab states. After that, we can work on the realisation of unity with Chad," he said.

Libya has also announced plans to merge into a single state with Syria, but little has been done to consolidate this move since the unity plan was unveiled more than four months ago.

Col Gadaffi also defended his country's special relations with the Soviet Union, but said: "We are not communists."

He also spoke out against Washington's Middle East policies, but said the Arabs should give the new administration of President Ronald Reagan a chance.

From the political standpoint, the new American administration should be given a chance. But President Reagan cannot move America from the Israelis to the Arabs, or from the Right to the Left — unless a miracle takes place," he said.

He said Washington's Middle East policies could change in two or three years, but not in the near future. — UPI

# Libyan 'blitz' to promote Chad merger

RDM 23/1/81

By ANTHONY RIDER  
Mail Africa Bureau

**SALISBURY.** — Libya is conducting a diplomatic blitz of African countries in a bid for support for its proposed union with Chad.

While the Foreign Minister, Dr Ali Tureiki, has been explaining Libya's position in Angola, Guinea and Senegal, another official has been visiting Southern and Central Africa.

The official, Mr Abdul Ati Floheidi, secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison, yesterday met the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Mugabe, in Salisbury.

It was his seventh stop on a lightning tour that has taken him to Ethiopia, Madagascar, the Seychelles, Ruanda, Burundi and Mozambique.

From Salisbury he flew to Lusaka to put the Libyan case to President Kaunda.

Libya's leader, Colonel Gaddafi, who has been under attack for dreams of empire, dispatched the two envoys after last week's condemnation of his intervention in the Chad civil war by the Organisation of African Unity.

A one-day OAU summit in Lome, the Togolese capital, denounced the proposed Libya-Chad union.

The meeting followed the January 6 announcement by Col Gaddafi and President Ouéddeh that their two countries, which share a 900km border in the

middle of the Sahara, would work for complete unity.

Libyan troops helped President Ouéddeh in the final stages of his victory over rebel defence Minister Hissene Habre.

In Salisbury yesterday Mr Floheidi said he had explained to Mr Mugabe that no steps towards union would be taken until the people of both countries had been consulted through referendums.

He said the OAU condemnation of the move was the result of a misunderstanding.

He alleged that France had influenced African leaders to believe Col Gaddafi's regime was a threat to their countries. It was also an excuse for French intervention.

Asked about Soviet influence, Mr Floheidi said: "There is another misunderstanding that Libya is playing a role for the Soviet Union. We never take dictation from the Soviet Union."

Mr Floheidi said there were enough Libyan troops in Chad to resist French intervention. He said Libya had no ambitions in Africa except "to make Africa strong and resist foreign influence — whether from West or East".

Going against his government's position, the Chadian ambassador in Cairo denounced the proposed merger of Libya and Chad yesterday and said the Chadian people "should rise against Libya's treachery." — UPI.

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John Perry  
For the best Architectural Surveying) of Profess D H Pryce  
S A Read  
For the best General J  
D H Pryce  
of Profess Architectu David Hadd  
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in third

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**Doe slams**  
RDM 23/1/81  
**former No 2**

MONROVIA. — Liberian head of State, President Samuel Doe, said yesterday the country's former Vice-President had changed his name, moved to the Ivory Coast and was busy spreading anti-Doe propaganda.  
The President also criticised "anti-revolutionaries" living in the United States for assisting the former Vice-President in spreading "cheap propaganda" against him and government. — UPI.

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# Build Africa trade ties, says De Loor

RDM 23/1/81

By GERALD REILLY  
Pretoria Bureau

RICH African markets were wide open, and as political objections crumbled bridge building opportunities were presented, the Director General of Finance, Dr Joep de Loor, said in Pretoria this week.

Opening the "Agricultural Outlook 1981" conference, Dr De Loor stressed the growing need for food on the continent.

He warned that food in the 80s would be like oil in the 70s — scarce and costly.

Inflation, he stressed, would remain the greatest headache.

By November the inflation rate was running at 15%, while food prices over the same 12 month period rose by 27.6%.

It had become necessary, therefore, to hold food prices in check. This would make one of the biggest contributions to combating inflation.

However, South Africa could look forward to another satisfactory year — perhaps not as hyperactive as last year, but still satisfactory.

The growth rate would flatten out to a level, which could

be better maintained over a longer period, of between 5 and 6%.

This demanded that the State kept a tight check on spending, and the private sector did not shuttle from over-optimism to over-pessimism.

"As soon as there is a small cloud on the horizon, the prophets of doom are there in hordes."

Dr De Loor said his plea was for a better perspective and longer term economic view.

South Africa had just had one of its best growth years.

Although final figures were not available, last year's growth rate should have reached 8%. This was one of the best economic achievements anywhere in the world, and compared with a growth of less than half in 1979.

During the first three quarters of the year, imports also increased sharply, but gold production saw to it that there was still a record surplus on current account of over R3 000-million.

The increase in gold and other foreign reserves, with the sharp increase in bank credit in the private sector, had caused

an unhealthy increase in the money supply.

Various methods were used by the authorities to slow down the excessive increase in the money supply. For instance a substantial amount of the State's income was sterilised in the stabilisation fund.

The De Kock Commission, Dr De Loor said, was still busy studying methods of controlling the money supply, and of placing the monetary system on a sounder basis.

On food production, Dr De Loor said during the past 20 years production had doubled in volume while the population had grown more slowly.

He stressed the per capita food production in Africa had decreased by 10% since 1970.

South Africa, he emphasised, could make a still greater food contribution to Africa.

African states had begun to realise that Russia could not fulfil all their expectations. There was a fine opportunity for South Africa to strongly expand its export trade in food.

It was obvious that the opportunities had been realised ... South Africa exported

goods worth more than R1 000-million to Africa last year.

Over the first 11 months of last year, total exports to Africa increased by 38%, while the export of agricultural products and raw materials doubled during the first nine months of last year.

Dr De Loor stressed that African markets were "open".

Their demand for agricultural products were only limited by shortage of foreign exchange, not crumbling political considerations.

Dr De Loor said imports would continue to rise this year and export volumes could stagnate, but because prices would be higher, and with an expectation of a gold price of \$500 or more, there should be a sound surplus on the current account, although smaller than last year.

Two factors would have to be watched closely during 1981 — the degree to which the quality of labour could be upgraded to relieve the shortage of skilled workers, and the extent to which inflation could be curbed.

David Haddon Prize

Miss C Tredgold

in third year.

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① FM 23/1/81  
EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

## The cost of repair

East African businessmen view the election of Milton Obote as President of Uganda as the only auspicious sign in what will otherwise prove to be a very gloomy year. Obote could very well be the linchpin needed to revive trade relations among the three East African states of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. This in turn would stimulate industries that have been stagnating in tiny domestic markets.

The Ugandan president lived in Dar es Salaam for nine years after being overthrown by Idi Amin, and became a close confidant of Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere. Since reassuming leadership of Uganda, a bankrupt country that has been in a state of virtual anarchy for nearly two years, he has also mended fences with Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi, who enjoyed cordial relations with Amin's regime before it was toppled by Tanzanian troops in April 1979.

For 10 years these three East African states shared common transport and communications services under the umbrella of the East African community. Then in 1977 political differences between socialist Tanzania and capitalist Kenya brought about the collapse of the community and prompted Nyerere to close his border with neighbouring Kenya. It is still closed today.

Since then the region has been burdened with the heavy costs of rebuilding national infrastructures. They have also been haggling over the division of the assets and liabilities of their former economic union, which includes buildings, rolling stock and airplanes. The main stumbling block has been Kenya's refusal to accept the decision of a World Bank-sponsored report that the country is responsible for over 60% of the hundreds of millions of dollars of liabilities. A frosty Nyerere has shunned attempts to bargain and steadfastly insisted that the two countries' common border will not be re-opened until the community debts have been settled.

Kenya has been the heaviest loser in the

stalemate. This comparatively well industrialised country is missing out on \$100m in trade with Tanzanians and another \$25m in trade with the Zambians every year. Tanzania, less efficient and struggling to keep its economy afloat, is losing about \$20m in trade with Kenya.

Now that the region is facing serious foreign exchange shortages, co-operation has become a necessity that could transcend ideological differences. Last Saturday, the presidents of the former partner states and Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda congregated in the Ugandan capital of Kampala for a first-ever meeting.

The get-together proved to be little more than a public relations exercise in goodwill. The four heads agreed to work towards greater economic co-operation and covered points such as clamping down on cross-border smuggling. They also announced that the World Bank report on the community would be scrutinised once again. However, a meeting to discuss this issue had already been scheduled for the first quarter of this year well beforehand.

A revived federation — which would cut down on costs for all three countries — is still a distant eventuality. Even if an agreement is reached, it has been estimated that at least \$100m — nearly all of which would have to be provided by donors from the developed world — is required to put humpty dumpty back together again.

# Alma FEMALE 29/1/81 ① CIRCUMCISION

IT is difficult to believe that such brutality as the infliction of circumcision on young girls still exists, but, according to a report by an officer of the Eastern Mediterranean Region of the World Health Organisation (WHO), 'there is no single continent in the world which is exempt from this ancient custom'.

national Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) in London gave much-needed publicity to female circumcision.

The report details frankly what happens. Usually the clitoris, and sometimes the labia, is cut away with a dirty knife, a razor, a fingernail, or even a piece of glass. It is commonly done during or before puberty, and in some areas is carried out on new-born baby girls. It outlines how young girls, aged seven to ten, in East Senegal, West Africa, are made to sit with their legs wide open whereupon an old woman from the blacksmiths' caste in the village gets hold of each clitoris and labia and cuts them off, sometimes needing assistants to hold down the screaming child. Traditional dressings are then applied without antiseptics.

British gynaecologist Dr Joseph Verzin has estimated that female circumcision is done eight days after birth in Ethiopia; ten weeks after birth in Arabia; at three to four years in Somalia and three to 10 years in Egypt; at 10

years in Peru; and so on. He has also estimated that Pharaonic circumcision, or infibulation, 'is almost universal' among Moslems in the Sudan, who represent 70 percent of the female population. Infibulation, widely practised in the countries of the Horn of Africa, is also known to exist in Kenya, Mali, and Nigeria. It is even more drastic in the mutilation it inflicts. A Belgian paper reported in 1972 that little girls were first excised and then infibulated 'on a production line' in Somalia's hospitals. A Belgian doctor described the operations at first hand in Mogadishu's main hospital, which is run on EEC money.

The gruesome practice involves sewing together the two sides of female genitalia, the labia usually being held together by thorns of an acacia tree, or stitched up with catgut, or even metal wire. The reopening, or defibulation, is then done by the husband on the wedding night, or by the girl's mother, who slashes the area with a knife. In some countries, the IPPF investigation reports, the girl's legs are tied together after the operation to enable the wound to heal. In other countries she is 'stitched up' every time her husband goes away on a journey (like to work in South Africa), and then 'reopened' on his return.

This most archaic method of preserving virginity in children, which predates the chastity belts of Europe, can also involve — instead of sewing flesh together — the use of hot and usually unclean, poultices so that the raw tissue in time forms a congealed scar. Forty days later a slither of wood, usually a matchstick, is extracted which leaves a hole for bodily functions to operate through. Because no proper antiseptics are applied after the local surgeon has done her task, the report says, the wound is an open door for numerous germs. Septicaemia

and tetanus are the most frequent types of infection, sometimes causing death.

The dangers these millions of children run are clear: shock, haemorrhage, urinary trouble, gynaecological and obstetric problems, pelvic infection, painful intercourse, psychological disturbance and frigidity. Yet it is clear that it will have to be a powerful campaign, fully backed at the highest international level, to stop this maiming of children: the report's authors, French gynaecologists Alain and Sylvie Epelboin, point out that in remote villages any questioning of excision was greeted with astonishment and even laughter in the disbelief that it was not ever so, and that 'real women' everywhere were circumcised.

Each had a story to tell, say the authors (who were specially commissioned by the IPPF) of deaths caused by it, but none would consider abandoning the age-old custom. The Epelboins told how female circumcision is regarded in Africa as a sign of purity and it is thought of as shameful not to have had it done, so much so that in some countries the operation is done in travelling hospitals and even at child clinics. In the Upper Volta, a vast arid area of West Africa, the notion of the impurity of the uncircumcised girl is indeed widespread, and a particularly insulting term of abuse there to a woman is to tell her 'you stick out like a clitoris,' and also, 'You are dirty, you haven't had the operation.'

At a conference on obstetrics and gynaecology in 1977, two doctors from neighbouring Somalia admitted that the entire female population of their country was infibulated. A year before this, some officials of Somalia accredited to the United Nations admitted at a conference in Vancouver that their wives had been 'sewn up' as also have the

wives of all the senior officials in the present revolutionary government of Somalia.

A French doctor in the Sudan, another area where the practice is common, described over a hundred years ago what remains patently true today. 'A feast is prepared to which female friends and relations are invited.' Prior to this the child is put in charge of a woman who is to perform the operation.

'When the hour comes, the child is laid on a bed and held down, while the matron, kneeling between the patient's thighs, slices off the tip of the clitoris and the edges of the inner lips, then the razor shears along the rim of the outer lips removing a ribbon of flesh about two inches wide. It lasts between four and five minutes, in order to drown the shrieks of the girl the assembled guests raise the loudest and shrillest din conceivable. Then, when the flowing blood has been staunched, the girl is laid flat on her back, her legs extended and tied firmly so she cannot walk, otherwise the desired effect would not be produced.'

Cases of female circumcision are now being seen in England but Robert Booth, secretary of the Royal College of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, feels that not enough research has been done to establish whether a woman loses her sexuality or not when she has had the operation. Two British doctors who feel it has no, or little, effect on the girl's sex life are Dr Caroline Deys, wife of a former director of the IPPF and one of Britain's leading vasectomists, and Dr Philip Cauthery, an expert in psychosexual problems. Both have girl patients in Britain who have been circumcised.

## OFTEN KILLS

Dr Deys admits that it is a 'horrible and brutal practice, which often kills' but believes it does not have any effect on the girl's sex life. 'The fact is that the majority of women do not have regular orgasms anyway, but women without a clitoris can still have an orgasm and this I believe is beyond doubt. I know several girls in this country who have been circumcised, and they can still have sexual pleasure.'

'But the point is,' she continues, 'that this tribal operation will probably maim a girl emotionally, which may in fact harm her sex life. I would not like it done to me, I can tell you. The thing that is so revolting and disgusting, is that men encourage it to be done on girls believing they can control their sexuality, or even deprive them of it. Women who have been circumcised have told me they feel pretty horrible and confused afterwards. They are of course unable to use tampons properly when menstruating be-

cause there is no lip to hold them in, and intercourse is painful for a considerable period.'

Dr Cauthery, who is a consultant physician at Birmingham's Aston University, has seen several cases of circumcision and infibulation while treating girl students from the Third World. Cases are coming up in increasing numbers in Britain, he says. Dr Cauthery points out that the girls he has seen are quite adamant that their sex life has not been affected by the operation, which they wanted done, but that their views are undoubtedly somewhat prejudiced. It is obvious, he says, that the operation can only do harm because 'removal' of the tissues which contribute sensation must take away something from one's sex life.'

However, Dr Cauthery feels the operation is not likely to make a woman frigid and that whether a circumcised woman feels pleasure or not 'must be a psychological question because the main source of physical pleasure has been removed.' He believes that 'sex is very much a psychological thing in women', and that it is well known that a woman can attain an orgasm by fantasising. Dr Cauthery points out that female circumcision was known in Britain at the turn of the century and that one now notorious gynaecologist, 'habitually snipped off the glans clitoris of girls if he felt they were not studying well, or were suffering from a nervous disorder.' The gentleman is referred to in *The Anxiety Makers* by Dr Alex Comfort, who mentioned in it that one girl who fell under his scissors later said, 'I know why he did it, but it has not marred my pleasure.'

According to Dr Cauthery, the orthodox gynaecologist believed, like many Africans today, that masturbation in women was the worst possible sin and that excision improved the morality of women and made for more attentiveness at school.

Delegates from the UN and UNICEF attended a week-long conference on female circumcision held in Khartoum this spring, which ended by falling even to issue a firm condemnation of the ritual practices for fear of offending countries which have not yet outlawed the custom.

Nobody suggested cutting off UN or EEC aid to the countries which continue to encourage the mutilation of children. Claude Cheysson, a leading socialist member of the Commission of the European Communities, is still handing out aid to much of Africa on behalf of the EEC, despite saying himself only recently that it was 'intolerable' that EEC humanitarian aid was used for such barbaric purposes.

MALE circumcision is the partial, or whole, removal of the external female genitalia, the result being that the child is mutilated, with the risk of death through the septic conditions under which the operation is carried out, or is liable to a lifetime of urino-genitourinary difficulties — particularly childbirth.

This is the device whereby mothers and grandmothers, the amateur surgeons, ensure no blame is brought on the family; that the bride-price paid remains paid and that the girl's cultural entry into womanhood is customarily celebrated. Only eight years ago, the director of Egypt's hospitals actually encouraged a practice of female circumcision to comfort men and limit their sexual appetite.

New laws state that it can now be only carried out by qualified staff in hospitals, but in spite of a ban on back-street circumcision of baby girls, in 1977 a doctor at Cairo University estimated that a third of all Egyptian women undergo circumcision.

Between the wars the church of Scotland began

the first intensive campaign in Africa against female sexual mutilation. In 1958 a United Nations commission on the status of women called on WHO to take measures to end these rituals. Again, in 1960, a UN seminar called for a world-wide study of this persistent ritual brutality. Only eighteen months ago a Swiss-based humanitarian action group, Terres des Hommes, sent a comprehensive dossier to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim detailing the cruel initiation rites undergone by children in South America, Asia and Africa. Illustrating their theme with pictures of the gruesome habit, they criticised the 'scandalous inaction' of the UN. Perhaps it is not too surprising that this custom retains its hold when one considers that the late President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya encouraged female circumcision as part of Africa's 'natural heritage' in a chapter on the cultural aspects of the subject in his book first published in 1938, *Facing Mount Kenya*. It was a position he later abandoned, outlawing the practice in Kenya in 1957.

## CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

In January last year, a special report by the In-

# SADCC may reject Zaire's application

GABORONE. — Leaders of nine Southern African countries were likely to turn down an application from Zaire to join their fledgling economic community when they gathered here this week, conference sources said yesterday

Zaire formally requested membership of the Southern African Development Conference (SADCC) earlier this year.

The sources said none of the existing SADCC members was enthusiastic over Zaire's application.

Zaire has a long-standing territorial dispute with Zambia, it failed to back Angola's ruling MPLA during its independence civil war and President Mobutu Sese Seko and President Julius

Nyerere of Tanzania are far apart politically

President Nyerere, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, President Samora Machel of Mozambique and President Quett Masire of Botswana and the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, will attend the summit.

Their main purpose is to review SADCC's progress, to approve the appointment of a nine-member permanent secretariat headed by a Zimbabwe diplomat, Mr Arthur Blumeris, and to consider applying to the United Nations for formal recognition.

SWA/Namibia has already been designated as SADCC's 10th member after its independence. — Sapa-Reuter

# Another back door into black Africa

RDM 12/2/81

11  
74

**SIGNIFICANT** Improvements in South Africa's thriving semi-secret trade with West Africa are likely this year. A new container service is to be established next month between the Far East and West Africa.

South African trade with black West African states stands to gain because Durban is on the sea route between Taiwan and Lagos.

But at this stage conclusions can only be tentatively drawn because of the extraordinary cloak-and-dagger histrionics which accompany the establishment of shipping routes of this kind.

Although nothing can be admitted officially, it is obvious that the container ships will call at Durban before going on to Lagos, and will stop at Durban again on the return journey.

The usual precautions will be taken to launder the identities of the ships' ports of call, their payloads and their documentation. This will be necessary to protect the militant political postures of the more important West African states, notably Nigeria.

The new container service is to be run by the Taiwan-based Orient Overseas Container

Simon  
Willson



Down to  
business

Lines (OOCL), which is owned by Hong Kong's C Y Tung shipping agency, the third largest shipowning firm in the world.

The service will start at the Taiwanese port of Kao Hsiung and ships will call at Hong Kong, Singapore, Dwala (Angola), Lagos and Abidjan (Ivory Coast), and return by the same route.

But unofficially, Durban can be inserted on the schedule. This will not appear on OOCL's advertisements and shipping schedules.

It has been a long haul for OOCL to initiate the service. Negotiations with South Africa started in 1978, but were suspended in the same year when Nigeria froze all its imports as part of an economic austerity programme.

The freeze was lifted in July last year, and the talks were resumed. The only barrier was Nigeria's nominal ban on accepting cargo from any ship docking in South Africa fewer than 42 days of arriving in Lagos.

But that regulation, as with so many others imposed by black Africa on relations with South Africa, is largely a political posture.

The first ship in the service is due to leave Kao Hsiung in the third week in March and will dock in Durban in the first week in April.

For C Y Tung and OOCL, there are certain risks involved in linking their services, however covertly, with South Africa.

But the level of anti-South African zeal in West Africa may be related in proportion to the performance of the black economies. As an analyst said of this dilemma a few years

ago: "Most African countries are so poor they can't afford to be moral."

On the basis of the success of the Durban stop-over, OOCL is believed to be considering a permanent Hong Kong-Durban container service.

The Orient Africa Shipping Agency will act as agents for OOCL's service in South Africa, and Afship Maritime will act as sub-agents in Durban.

Figures are not available, but Nigeria occupies a senior rank among South Africa's trading partners in black Africa. The value of trade between these ideological opposites topped R1 000-million last year.

SA trade relations with Nigeria have always been slightly low-key.

A United States business magazine ran a list of South Africa's main black African trading partners last year, and Nigeria featured prominently as alleged importer of South African meat products. The magazine said the Nigerian authorities regularly used double invoicing and false certificates of origin to launder their South African imports.

While giving way on material considerations, such as trade, the Nigerians have clamped down on less tangible links with South Africa instead.

Nigeria is the only barrier to a scheduled Concorde service to Jan Smuts — it will not allow Lagos Airport to service South Africa-bound airliners.

# African merger steams ahead

RDM 13/2/81

PARIS. — A fortnight after President Giscard d'Estaing's television statement that the Libya-Chad merger was impossible and would simply not take place, all the evidence indicates that it is, on the contrary, steaming ahead. Not only has France been humiliated abroad by Libya but newspaper reports this week reveal that despite events in Africa, Libyan pilots are going regularly to Marseille for training in the handling of French helicopters — in the context of existing arms agreements between the two countries.

The satirical weekly Canard Enchaîné commented: "What better way (for Mr Giscard) to thwart Gaddafi than by giving him arms. If Mr Giscard sends our brave little soldiers to war against the Libyans at least the French will have the consolation of being sniped at with French weapons."

For the time being French Foreign Office spokesmen are anxious to minimise the situation. Despite the increasingly aggressive noises being made by President Goukouni Oueddei and the invitations to France from the Libya-Chad allies to withdraw her allies from Africa the problem, according to the Foreign Office is "an African one, to be settled by Africa".

What then, in a crucial pre-electoral period, is France doing about the Chad-Libya merger?

The official answer is that France has already acted. "The Libyan invasion of Chad does not mark the failure of French policy in Africa. France will only intervene militarily if invited to do so. The African is in charge of Africa," said a Foreign Office spokesman. More bluntly, Mr Oueddei in an interview to the French magazine le Point said:

"If France attempts to intervene in Chad she will be smashed to pieces. We have already fought the French in bush warfare with limited means and we were not afraid."

"They must know that the power situation has now changed in our favour."

During his television talk the French President said the Chad-Libya merger was impossible because of patriotic forces in the south of Chad who were not prepared to let the Libyans remain.

But this view has been contradicted since by European observers. They have found forces in southern Chad too divided and badly armed to offer real opposition to Libyan troops. The obvious French counter, given the impossibility of military intervention, has been to take diplomatic initiatives.

But British reports that President Giscard tried to encourage Italy to sacrifice her privileged commercial relationship with Libya in an attempt to "punish" Gaddafi are pooh-poohed by official French sources. The Foreign Office is similarly cynical about reports that France is placing her bets on an increasingly aggressive attitude from the United States now that President Ronald Reagan is in office and the Iranian hostages safely out of the way.

When asked what exactly France will do the Foreign Office retorted that France already had taken action — by condoning the conclusion of the Lome conference calling for withdrawal of Libyan troops.

The tactic behind the wait-and-see French attitude is that of putting responsibility in the hands of the OAU. But even if the OAU manages to settle the affair, thereby saving some face for the French Government the problem still remains. Much of French opinion is ironically in agreement with Mr Oueddei when he declares that France, through successive and incompetent interventions in Chad, is largely responsible for today's chaos and that in one way or another she will pay the price.

UOST



DOM 17/2/81

# Mugabe off to Frontline talks

Mail' Africa Bureau  
SALISBURY. — Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, leaves Salisbury for Lusaka today to attend a one-day summit of leaders of the Front-line States.

This is the first time the Frontline heads have met since the collapse of the SWA Namibian peace talks in Geneva and the raid by South African Commandos into Mozambique. Both issues are certain to dominate discussion in Lusaka.

Mr Mugabe will reiterate his government's support for Swapo as the sole legitimate representatives of the Namibian people and for the (black) nationalist parties in South Africa.

Zimbabwe has signed security and defence pacts with Zam-

bia and Mozambique which have assumed more importance since the Maputo raid.

Mr Mugabe has repeatedly alleged that Pretoria is harbouring about 5 000 Zimbabwean dissidents who are being trained to subvert his regime.

This common perception of the threat posed by South Africa to nearby black states is likely to lead to a resolution in Lusaka calling for greater economic and military assistance to the Frontline countries.

The issue of regional efforts by Southern African black states to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa is almost certain to be discussed.

The Frontline leaders are also expected to be briefed by their Foreign Ministers on the ministerial meeting of non-aligned states held in India.

Auditing B

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SCIENCE  
BUSINESS

D Lurie

(Accounting C)

Best Student in Final Accounting

Accountants Prizes

The Cape Society of Chartered

D Lurie

Best Student in Accounting C

A Karabus

Best Student in Accounting B

G R Kettles

Best Student in Accounting A

Burroughs Prizes  
For B Com and/or CTA students

ACCOUNTING

J S Borok

To the most outstanding final  
year B Com student.

Kwea Long Prize

COMMERCE

THE FACULTY OF COMMERCE

Corporation Medals  
For the best student in each  
of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

Miss G C Littlewort

Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss N C Davidson

Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

P M Salmon

T J Cumming

D P Weeks

J H Rens

B F McClelland

Professor George Menzies Prize  
Awarded on results of final  
examinations to the best male  
student in Land Surveying or  
Civil Engineering.

J H Rens

Sammy Sacks Memorial Prize  
Awarded to the student with the  
best classwork in Engineering  
Drawing.

L Menegaldo

A E & C I Prize

For the first year student  
obtaining the highest average  
mark.

G L Cragg

PDM 18/2/81  
Frontline  
states  
condemn  
attacks

'Mail' Africa Bureau

LUSAKA. — The meeting of the leaders of the Frontline states yesterday told South Africa to resolve its internal problems and the South West African issue, instead of trying to "divert world opinion by unprovoked aggression against neighbouring countries".

In a communique issued after their four-hour meeting in Lusaka, the leaders of Botswana, Tanzania, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia and representatives of Nigeria and Angola condemned attacks on Frontline states "by racist South African soldiers", including the recent raid in Mozambique.

They repeated their own need to close ranks "in the face of the challenge posed by South African aggression".

The meeting expressed deep concern at "South Africa's destabilisation policy in the region". It also claimed South Africa was training dissidents from Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe to overthrow some Frontline states.

The meeting, which also discussed the fighting in Zimbabwe and was attended by the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, deplored the failure of the recent Geneva conference, attributing this to "racist South Africa's continued intransigence".

"Swapo has no alternative but to intensify the liberation war in Namibia and in this connection we reaffirm our unflinching support for Swapo," the communique said.

CIVIL

# UK and Nigerian Ministers

## talk trade

LAGOS. — Britain's Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, held talks in Lagos yesterday with his Nigerian counterpart, Mr Ishaya Adu, which had been expected to centre on African issues and bilateral trade.

Eight top British businessmen and bankers went with Lord Carrington to meet Ministers and industrialists and assess economic opportunities in Nigeria, which is already a major British export market.

Africa's most populous country, Nigeria is eager to attract foreign investment in agriculture, infrastructure and industry for its R112 000-million economic development plan from 1985 to 1990.

Britain sold goods worth about R2 100-million to Nigeria last year — about seven times Nigeria's exports to Britain — and Nigerian Ministers are expected to press for more British purchases.

Britain is among Nigeria's biggest non-oil export markets and the leading buyer of cocoa, rubber and palm oil. But it has cut back heavily on imports of crude oil, Nigeria's main export, because of the development of North Sea fields.

The future of Cote d'Ivoire, Zimbabwe and Chad, which borders Nigeria, were expected to be discussed, as well as world issues such as economic relations between rich and poor nations.

Lord Carrington is scheduled to meet President Shehu Shagari, who is to pay a State visit to Britain next month, and is due to give a Press conference today. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

C L E Swartz

Third Year (Silver Medal)

A H Dabrowski

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

For the best student in each of the following years:-

Malan Chemical Engineering  
Medals

(Continued)

CHEMICAL

**ETHIOPIA**  
**Rising power**

US plans to establish a military base in Berbera, on the Somali Republic's Indian Ocean coast, should have been welcomed by countries such as Kenya, also pro-West. In fact, the government in Nairobi is almost as alarmed at this development as its radical left-wing neighbour, Ethiopia, which has expressed its opposition to the US naval plans in no uncertain terms. Somalia, which has territorial claims on both Kenya and Ethiopia, as well as on the small country of Djibouti, has managed to unite neighbours which otherwise have little in common.

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Obstetrics and Gynaecology 1973 p.7.

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During top-level meetings in recent months between the governments of Ethiopia, Kenya, Djibouti and Sudan — which has no direct quarrel with Somalia — there have been increasingly hostile references to Somali expansionism, and the net result has been to improve relations in the Horn of Africa as a whole, regardless of ideological considerations.

Ethiopia's troubles in Eritrea persist, but the Eritrean liberation movements are split and were reported this month to have fought a serious battle against each other. Moves by Sudan and a number of Arab countries to mediate in the Eritrean situation now seem more likely to succeed.

As a result, the government of President Mengistu Haile Mariam has been able to pay greater attention to economic development, with considerable interest being shown in Western business circles in this potentially promising market. For instance, the contract for broadcasting equipment in a new educational experiment has gone to a British firm, against US and Japanese competition, funded largely by the International Development Agency, in conjunction with the World Bank. The new service will cover 1,3m km<sup>2</sup> to spread literacy and other primary knowledge among a population now estimated at close to 30m.

A delegation from Addis Ababa visited London in September and Ethiopia estab-

lished trade promotion offices in Britain, West Germany and other international capitals earlier last year.

Coffee accounts for the largest part of foreign exchange earnings and the 1979-80 harvest was estimated at 3,3m bags; but Ethiopia's quota under the International Coffee Agreement is considerably below this figure. The Soviet Union takes about a fifth of the crop on barter terms. Ethiopia's trade is in the red, partly because agricultural produce and even animal products are smuggled out of the country on a large scale — Foreign Trade Minister Wolle Chekol estimates the annual total loss from this practice to be about \$400m.

**Somali**

The portion which goes across the Somali border will be hard to stop because of the hostile relations, but the 1972 trade agreement with Sudan was recently reactivated and should stop the outflow in that direction. Kenya is also anxious to stop the illegal trade and talks between officials of the two countries, as well as Uganda, another coffee exporting country, are in progress to regulate exports. Ethiopian land reform following the 1975 revolution has created large State farms devoted mainly to raising export crops, but most agricultural activity is still carried out on small peasant holdings.

Ethiopia's economic importance to Dji-

bouti is indisputable: 16% of Djibouti wage earners are employed on the construction of an extension of Assab, Ethiopia's main Indian Ocean port. Currently, the country's trade still goes through the rail link with Djibouti and the line constitutes another source of revenue for the small enclave.

The January 10 visit to Djibouti by Ethiopia's Foreign Minister has caused considerable concern in Paris. The improvement in relations started last year, and to begin with seemed to be of little concern to the strategists in France. In the light of events elsewhere in Africa, however, it now appears to be more of a threat.

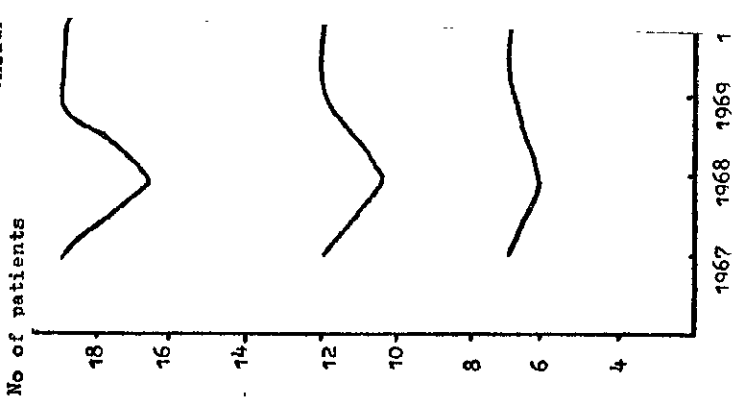
Djibouti is France's most important base with 4 500 French troops, almost twice as many as in all the other French African bases combined. Djibouti port is still the main anchorage of France's Indian Ocean fleet and the enclave's independence in 1977 included a treaty giving Paris the right of continued use of the installations.

But last year Libya gave Djibouti naval vessels and armoured cars, in themselves militarily insignificant, but worrying when taken in conjunction with the prospect of closer links between the former French colony and Ethiopia.

The government in Addis Ababa rejected a French offer a few months ago to

7) Jackson.

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mediate in the area to reduce the tensions arising from Somalia's claims. Ethiopia did not trust Western intentions. Despite these suspicions, there have been persis-

tent signs of Ethiopia wishing to re-establish its European trade links, and this has been welcomed by EEC business circles and governments in the Nordic countries.

Once the Eritrean rebellion is settled, there is no reason why the country should not return to its former role as the leading power in north-east Africa.

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# SA trade booms in black Africa

Last year the Polisario Front, which is fighting a guerilla war against Moroccan forces in the Western Sahara, captured some weapons from defeated Moroccan troops, the markings on which were unfamiliar to them. On closer scrutiny it transpired that some of the wording on the captured arms was in Afrikaans.

It was later discovered that the weapons were part of a consignment of arms — ranging from automatic rifles to armoured

cars — which had been supplied to Morocco by South Africa, with France acting as intermediary.

The deal with Morocco provides a dramatic illustration of the type of covert trade which is taking place between South Africa and independent black and Arab states to the north of its borders — countries which are supposed to abhor any sort of links with the "apartheid Pretoria regime."

Most of the business carried out is overt and

**In the face of a call for trade sanctions and despite the abhorrence of apartheid, South Africa is selling more goods, ranging from guns to jam, to black Africa than ever before. Nicholas Ashford, of The Times London, tells the story of South Africa's trade boom.**

less spectacular, consisting largely of foodstuffs, mining and other capital equipment, agricultural implements and spare parts. Despite the continuous railing by black Africa leaders against

apartheid and the growing chorus of voices calling for economic sanctions, trade between South Africa and black Africa is booming.

"I find businessmen in Africa very realistic," says

Mrs Sally Gallagher, an executive with the South African Foreign Trade Organisation, whose job has taken her to about 20 black states. "For them politics is one thing and business is completely separate."

Last year South Africa's exports to black Africa were worth R612-million, an increase of 52 percent over the 1979 export figures of 412-million. The previous year exports to Africa had risen by a massive 74 percent. South African imports from black Africa last year were worth only £155-million, leaving a massive balance in South Africa's favour.

The details of which countries South Africa trades with are kept secret because the South Africans do not want to embarrass the authorities in those countries. According to Mrs Gallagher, as many as 47 of Africa's 53 nations do business with South Africa, although the bulk is accounted for by southern African states such as Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, Mauritius, Zambia and Zaire. South Africa is the largest supplier to all but the last two mentioned of these countries.

Much of the trade is carried out openly — for example the huge tonnages of maize which are trucked north of the Zambezi, the mining spare parts which are air-freighted to the Zambian Copperbelt, or the processed foods which are sent to every country south of the Equator and often beyond.

Supermarkets in Maputo, Lusaka and other capitals invariably carry goods with Afrikaans labels. "I often find that South African labels on products are welcomed as they are regarded as a sign of quality," Mrs Gallagher says.

Much of the business, however, is carried on by subterfuge — using middlemen, relabelled articles, and false certificates of origin. One trading organisation in South Africa is reputed to have its own printing press which can produce almost any kind of bill of lading or certificate of origin.

Last year Kenya bought 135 000 tons of maize from South Africa, but not a mention of this can be found in Kenya trade statistics. The maize was loaded in East London taken to Maputo where the papers were altered and then transported onwards to Mombasa.

West Africans enjoying tins of jam labelled "Packed for H Jones Sofal Limitada — Mozambique" may not be aware that the preserves were made and packaged entirely in South Africa. Similarly, cans of South African apple juice with Arabic markings and stating Mozambique to be the place of origin are sold widely in North Africa and the Arab world.

When Zambia played host to the Commonwealth conference two years ago wines, food and even a red carpet were rushed there from South Africa. On a previous occasion when Zambia was hosting a meeting of the United Nations committee

on colonialism, toilets and other plumbing requirements were supplied by South Africa.

The expansion of trade has been accompanied by a growth in South Africa's air and sea links with black Africa. South African Airlines planes now operate scheduled flights to 10 independent African countries while the giant C130 transport aircraft of Satair, a freight line, visit many more. Last year Zambia Airways began flying to Johannesburg and Air Mauritius is to start direct flights soon. Two South African shipping companies, the Unicorn and Tropic lines, regularly ply the West African coast.

Why do so many countries, which are pledged to do everything possible to bring a rapid end to apartheid, continue to trade extensively with South Africa? And why is that trade growing?

There are a number of reasons. The most important is that South Africa is able to provide most of the items they need — and it can provide them more quickly and cheaply than Europe or the United States.

Top of the list is maize the staple food of much of Africa. Last year South Africa sold about 700 000 tons of maize to countries such as Kenya, Zambia and southern Zaire which were faced with severe food shortages. It also supplies wheat, meat, dairy produce, fruit and vegetables.

South Africa, with its sophisticated and expanding industrial base, can manufacture most of the goods which African countries require. "We are much closer to sub-equatorial Africa than Europe is and with the high cost of transport today it is much cheaper for them to do business with us than to go north to Europe," one trader remarked.

Another reason for the growth in trade is that most black states are chronically short of foreign exchange but often have surplus funds resulting from migrant labour or the provision of port services. At the same time, South African traders are encouraged to expand their business as a result of the protection offered by the Johannesburg-based Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation which provides insurance against default in payment by foreign purchasers of South African exports, whether for political or commercial reasons.

Mrs Gallagher is convinced that South African exports to black Africa will continue to expand this year and for the foreseeable future, a view shared by many exporting concerns.

Others disagree, however, arguing that Zimbabwe could become an alternative supplier of many items currently provided by South Africa. They point out that this year Zimbabwe will have a grain surplus of more than one-million tons to sell to its neighbours.

# Message ROM 21/3/81 to SA's black workers

'Mail' Africa Bureau

LUSAKA. — Black workers in South Africa have been called upon to resort to industrial unrest in order to weaken the very fabric of their white-controlled Government.

This call is embodied in a joint communique released in Lusaka yesterday by President Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia before the visiting president flew on to Kenya.

They agreed that in addition to the armed liberation struggle, "the working masses of South Africa should resort to industrial action as an effective means of weakening the very fabric of the racist regime".

The two presidents reviewed the situation in Southern Africa and "strongly condemned South Africa for her aggression against Frontline states and expressed concern over South Africa's refusal to implement the UN plan for the independence of South West Africa".

They called upon the Western contact group of five to exert more pressure on South Africa with a view to facilitating speedy implementation of the UN plan for SWA.

Meanwhile at a dinner for President Stevens, Dr Kaunda warned white South Africans that by denying freedom to the blacks, they were setting up a timebomb which was bound to explode.

"If freedom is delayed and it comes through the barrel of the gun, seeds of hatred will have been sown," he said.

In terms of South Africa itself, he did not think the Bantustan concept was viable and that it was based on unjustified fear.

Dr Kaunda said: "This region has immense political and security problems and at the root of these problems is the white regime of South Africa, which is resisting political change in SWA and South Africa itself.

"We are extremely disappointed with the failure of the Geneva Conference on the independence of SWA. We feel the UN plan offers an opportunity to resolve the SWA problem without further loss of life and property."

# SA sales to black Africa booming

Argus 3/3/81

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Argus Bureau

LONDON. — Britons who have been upset by Third World action against British sportsmen with South African connections have just discovered an ironic fact — trade between South Africa and the black states is booming.

The disclosure was made this week by Nicholas Ashford of The Times in an article from Johannesburg in which he notes that weapons captured from Moroccans fighting the Polisario Front in Western Sahara bore South African markings.

It was later discovered that the weapons were part of a consignment of arms — ranging from automatic rifles to armoured cars — which had been supplied to Morocco by South Africa, with France acting as intermediary.

## COVERT ACTIVITY

'The deal with Morocco provides a dramatic illustration of the type of covert trade which is taking place between South Africa and independent black and Arab states to the north,' says Ashford.

'(They are) countries which supposedly abhor any sort of links with the "apartheid Pretoria regime."

Ashford says most of the business carried out is overt and less spectacular than the Moroccan deal, consisting largely of foodstuffs, mining and other capital equipment, agricultural implements and spare parts.

'Despite the continuous railings by black African leaders against apartheid and the growing chorus of votes, calling for economic sanctions, trade between South Africa and black Africa is booming,' he writes.

## 'VERY REALISTIC'

Last year South Africa's exports to black Africa were worth R1 055-million, says Ashford. This was an increase of 52 percent over the 1979 figure of R710-million.

Ashford quotes Mrs Sally Gallagher, an executive of the South African Foreign Trade Association, as saying that she finds businessmen in Africa 'very realistic.' For them 'politics is one thing and business is completely separate.'

According to Mrs Gallagher, as many as 47 of Africa's 53 nations do business with South Africa, although the bulk is accounted for by Southern African states.

Much of the trade is carried out openly — huge tonnages of maize trucked north of the Zambezi, mining spare parts which are air-freighted to the Zambian Copperbelt, or processed foods sent to every country south of the equator and often beyond.

## SIGN OF QUALITY

Supermarkets in Maputo, Lusaka and other capitals invariably carry goods with Afrikaans labels and, says Mrs Callaghan: 'I often find that South African labels on products are welcomed as they are regarded as a sign of quality.'

Much of the business, however, is carried on by subterfuge — using middlemen, relabelled articles and false certificates of origin, says Ashford.

The expansion of trade has been accompanied by a growth in South Africa's air and sea links with black Africa.

The most important reason why the countries trade with South Africa, according to Ashford, is because South Africa is able to provide most of the items they need quicker and more cheaply than Europe or the United States can.

Another reason is that most black states are chronically short of foreign exchange, but often have surplus funds available.

# Unrest threatens socialist government in Madagascar

RDM 6/3/81

(1)

A MARCH of 4 000 schoolchildren in Madagascar ended in a riot in which one soldier was killed and others were seriously injured.

The march of the children through the streets of the capital, Antananarivo, was in support of a demand for reform in the country's educational system.

The incident was the latest manifestation of the general unrest there has been in the Indian Ocean island since last November, when Mr Monja Jaona, leader of the opposition Madagascar National Independence Movement (Monima) was arrested when he returned from southern Madagascar. It was claimed he fanned popular resentment against the government of President Didier Ratsiraka.

Monima's stronghold is in the south, which is also the birthplace and home of its 70-year-old leader.

In a show of support several hundred striking Madagascar University students marched through Antananarivo to the presidential palace demanding Jaona's release. They were joined by members of Monima.

They carried placards urging the government to stamp out corruption in official circles and to purge the "drones".

Jaona was arrested along with two other Monima leaders. His party was proscribed after it withdrew from the country's sole legally permitted political party, the National Front, for the Defence of the Revolution (FNDR) in June 1977.

Last December 40 people were arrested after shops in the capital were ransacked. According to the official radio the looters were "organised gangsters" but the official announcement on the arrests referred to them as "brigands".

The December riots started after an international soccer match between Madagascar and Kenya was stopped by the referee when Madagascar was leading 4-0. The referee claimed the Kenyans were guilty of foul play. The spectators went berserk. They surged forward and in the disorder clothes, food and electrical appliance shops were raided before riot police were able to take control.

Most of the looters were believed to be unemployed young people from the teeming slums of Antananarivo.

Madagascar's first civilian president, the late Philibert Tsiranana, was overthrown in 1972 after agitation by the urban poor supported by students. The present government also sees the poor as a threat to its existence.

Despite the government's socialist rhetoric it is apparent that Mr Ratsiraka's administration has so far been unable to meet the aspirations of the people. The country has had three successive military governments since 1972 and is still a military state.

Mr Ratsiraka has tried to introduce political and economic reforms since he assumed power after the assassination of President Richard Ramatsindrava in 1975. But factional fighting within the president's own party, the Avant-Garde de la Revolution Malgache (Arema), has retarded progress.

Arema's Rightwing, led by Agriculture Minister, Mr Simon Pierre, is particularly influential in the country. Many of its key figures are members of upper-class families from Antananarivo. Mr Ratsiraka himself is a member of the upper-class Betsimisaraka family from Tamatave.

They wield enormous influence and have reaped colossal benefits for their family businesses. They have frustrated government efforts to introduce radical reforms.

This wing easily switched its loyalties from the pro-French regime of the late Tsiranana to Mr Ratsiraka's socialist government. In sharp contrast, however, Monima, which has advocated an exclusivist nationalism (Madagascar for the Malagasians) favours the Chinese approach of organising rural populations for social change and progress.

But there are other factors which have worsened Madagascar's economic picture. The international economic recession has deeply affected the country and prices of food and other items have risen sharply. The recession has also upset supplies. Rice, the staple diet, oil, sugar and bread are available only sporadically.

When these items appear in state shops the result is chaotic. There have been long queues and at times ugly scenes as people besieged the shops to buy what little rice there was left.

Unemployment has mounted and job prospects for many young Malagasians remain slim for the immediate future. The government is trying hard to create greater employment opportunities but is hampered by financial limitations. Lately, the authorities have switched to Western sources, particularly France, for investment to alleviate some of the economic hardships.

The government is also worried about external threats to the country. In December it was announced there had been another attempt to oust the government. Five foreigners and two Malagasians were arrested. Among the alleged plotters were a West German and an Italian.

All of them were accused of "trying to undermine internal state security, illegal possession of arms and taking advantage of the trust of the state given them". At the same time two West Germans and an Austrian were arrested on charges of spying.

The Madagascar security authorities are extremely sensitive about internal security and about the proximity of South Africa which some of the arrested Europeans used to enter the country. — Gemini.



# Somali appeal for <sup>RDM</sup> 9/3/81 food ①

MOGADISHU. — Somalia yesterday appealed for almost 470 000 tons of food to meet projected shortfalls for 1981. Deputy Planning Minister Mr Mohamed Omar Giama also warned that the total needed could go higher if a current East African drought continues, or if the number of refugees pouring into Somalia to escape fighting in the disputed Ogaden desert increases.

Somalia is harbouring an estimated 1 500 000 refugees, most of them from the Ogaden, where ethnic Somali guerrillas are battling for independence against Ethiopian government forces.

Somalia has been receiving large amounts of food for the refugee population, but the total food requirement still comes to 469 337 tons, officials said.

"This critical condition for our people could be greatly exacerbated if the drought deepens further, or if there is a further increase in the flow of refugees," Mr Giama told 35 foreign diplomats and aid officials called in by the government for the appeal.

Mr Giama said his government is unable to meet the food requirements because of a drop in government revenues of 25-30%, because foreign exchange holdings have been spent and because of a serious fuel shortage caused by the Iran-Iraq war.

Some diplomats at the meeting were sceptical of the government's refugee figures, which they felt were inflated, but none denied the severity of the crisis facing the government.

One aid official with long experience in Somalia, speaking to reporters before the announcement was made, said: "The shortfall is not due to meteorological causes, but more to economic pressures coming from the rapid growth of the population from the refugee influx."

"Some wells, used either for water supply or agricultural irrigation, because of the increased pressure from the population and the falling water table due to the water shortage, are lower than they have been in 50 years."

"The food crisis is going to hit next month, by May 1, if the rains don't come."

Somalia's two main rivers, the Juba and the Shebelle, which support the country's agricultural region, are nearly dry.

Farmers are cutting dried and unripe crops in the hope of rescuing something just for animal fodder. Mr Giama told the aid appeal meeting.

FM 13/2/81  
GENERAL ELECTION

The trade tactics

TABLE I: INSTITUTIONS SURVEYED (contd.)

Institution	Information available: P.O. Survey Costs	Researcher
	From the HNP's point of view, zeroing in on the trade question is good election tactics. Many white voters find it difficult to understand why Pretoria permits deals which help maintain the political and social stability of countries which make it their business to slam SA at the UN, the OAU, and in other international forums.	
	But as Dr Deon Geldenhuys, assistant director of the SA Institute for International Affairs, points out, disgust is not confined to the far right. It also finds expression in letters to the Afrikaans press, in questions at political meetings, and even in parliamentary debates.	
	Two studies of the issue have been carried out for the Institute for Strategic	

Studies at Pretoria University (Issup) — a body whose board of control includes the Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan, the Director General of Foreign Affairs, Dr Brand Fourie, and the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller

The studies, both published in Issup's *Strategic Review*, are by Goldenhuys on the strategic implications of regional economic relations, and by Theo Malan senior economic researcher at the Africa Institute, on SA's economic relations with Mozambique and Zambia.

Both Malan and Goldenhuys point to the growing strength of regional economic relations despite the expressed desire of black states to reduce the ties. Mozambique, for instance, shows no sign of reducing its ties with SA, whatever its commitment to the so-called "counter constellation" of states.

As Malan points out, the line from Komatipoort to Maputo is being improved with SA assistance (using new heavy rails supplied by Iscor and Highveld Steel) and that when improvements are completed the line will have been upgraded from its present one way daily capacity of 35 000 t to 50 000 t.

"It appears safe to assume," says Malan, "that the Frelimo government has no intention of severing its transport links with the RSA. In fact, the Maputo port is

1. See paper no. 12, 'The Impact of Day Hospitals on the Cost of Treatment', G. Raine.

COST AND UTILIZATION OF SOME SOUTH AFRICAN HEALTH SERVICES

1. Introduction

There is little data on the comparative costs of individual institutions in Southern African health services such that the most advantageous way of providing a given service can be found. A study to provide such based survey to determine the by population groups living at services and with different in

In the absence of such studies based data is presented to give costs and coverage of some health

becoming more dependent on SA's imports and exports."

Zambia, although it did deliberately reduce trade with SA during the Seventies, has become more dependent on SA for transport links and (recently) for food supplies as well as mining equipment, expertise and explosives.

What are sometimes called the "hostage states" of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are tied to SA through the Southern African Customs Union. Geldenhuys says that in 1978-1979 the union provided 72.5% of Lesotho's total revenue, and is hardly less important to the other two states.

Zimbabwe is still largely dependent on SA, as was shown by Mugabe's "tacit agreement" to continue the 1964 preferential trade agreement which provides considerable advantages for Zimbabwe.

A superficial view of the facts could lead to the conclusion that the HNP is right and that SA could use economic blackmail to dissuade its neighbours from hostile actions and rhetoric. The experts

don't agree and Malan even states that it is "imperative that the RSA's internal policies be adapted so that African countries feel they can associate themselves with this country."

Geldenhuys does provide a list of 17 types of economic action that could be taken to provide black trading partners with either incentives or disincentives for particular actions. These range from import controls to complete boycotts or embargos.

But he points out that some would be inappropriate, or ineffective, while others could lead to unexpected repercussions.

"On paper," Geldenhuys says, "SA possesses an impressive array of economic techniques which can be applied for strategic purposes in the southern African context. In practice, application would be a complex issue in which a wide range of economic, political and legal considerations come into play. In short there are a host of constraints that need to be weighed-up carefully."

One of these would be that "tough SA

economic measures might in future induce some black states to throw caution to the wind and step up confrontation with the Republic."

In addition, SA action would cause an international outcry together with demands for political and economic retaliation against the country.

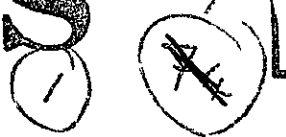
The HNP will, no doubt, continue to use trade relations with certain black states as a stick with which to beat the government. The Issup studies, however, make it clear that government is unlikely to be goaded into using economic sanctions against its neighbours — although some government candidates may make fierce election noises in an attempt to trump the HNP's card.

Letowa	✓	Mr Neil White
Holy Cross Hospital, Flagstaff, Transkei	✓	
Mount Coke Hospital, Ciskei	✓	
Charles Johnson Memorial Hospital, Ngutu, Kwa Zulu	✓	
Clinics in Sundays River Valley	✓	Ms G.M. Westcott

TABLE 1: contd./.....

# Now Egypt joins the rush for SA goods

S. Times  
15/3/81



SOUTH Africa's trade with Africa — already over R1 100-million — is all set for a mighty leap forward with Egypt poised to join the ranks of the country's major trading partners. Economic factors have over-riden political considerations as the north

African Arab state looks south for goods and services which it cannot obtain in Europe or the Middle East, for long its shopping area.

"Already South Africa sells luxury items, foodstuffs, construction equipment and machinery to Egypt," a trade expert said.

The ground work for trade has been laid by Egyptian delegations attending conferences in Southern African countries, where they have held top-level talks with South African exporters.

No Egyptian trade delegation has visited South Africa.

It was stressed by exporters that trading was done "in a round-about way" through third parties ... "and sometimes even fourth or fifth parties," the Sunday Times was told.

While there are no official figures on the amount of goods sold to Egypt, experts say that it could already be as high as R100-million.

● At present, South Africa's biggest trading partners on the continent are Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique, Zaire, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland

● Last year, South Africa's trade with Africa totalled R1 102,4-million and for the first two months of this year it is more than R160-million, with the official January figure — published here for the first time — standing at R77,5-million. The average figure for the first two months of the year are lower as all factories hadn't come on stream yet after the end-of-year holidays.

## Exports

Last year's figure represented a four percent jump in South African trade with Africa — and statistics indicate that this means a cut in exports to Europe, which dropped for the first time to just under 50 percent of all exports.

The Government's official trade figures for Africa do not mention states by name for fear of upsetting trade links, and this week officials declined to discuss trade statistics.

A South African Foreign Trade Organisation fact sheet on Egypt, specially prepared for South African businessmen, points out that a recent decision by Arab states to impose economic sanctions on the country has driven Egypt into the American trading camp.

"Increased aid promised by the United States, which is already Egypt's single most important source of aid, should reduce the (economic) impact.

"Egypt's medium-term aims, set out in its 1978-82 development plan, target R25 000-million for development spending — of which 40 percent is coming from foreign aid and investment ... the government's priorities are to improve the supply of food partly by imports of wheat, flour, meat, tea and cooking oil, agricultural production, improvements in construction, increased cement import, glass, timber, wood and metal window frames," says Safto.

## Inquiries

The organisation says Egypt offers itself "as a natural market for a wide range of goods".

Exporters this week said that "for the past nine months" there had been many inquiries from Egypt about South African goods and services.

As South Africa does not have diplomatic relations with Egypt, all business deals between the two countries are done through middlemen — "sometimes it is quite weird how South African goods reach Egypt, and for that matter other Arab states in North Africa," said an exporter.

"In every case so far there is no official South African connection. It is just impossible for South Africans to be identified as such. But trade is on the up and up.

"I believe we will end up doing a lot more trade with Egypt."

Another top exporter said that Egypt was "an open market" for South Africa as "by world standards our prices are very reasonable."

# FOCUS ON THE AFRICAN TRADE BOOM

S. Times

## Mozambique has

15/3/81

## helped boost exports

MOZAMBIQUE — recently attacked by South African troops searching for African National Congress officials — is the reason why SA's trade with Africa has shown such a big increase.

This is the opinion of the South African Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto).

"Mozambique has opened up trade with South Africa, and as a result, many other black states have followed," Miss Sally Gallagher, Safto's area manager for Africa, said this week.

"Mozambique's trade with South Africa is a fraction of overall trade, but what an effect it has had!"

Miss Gallagher said that Africa faced a decade of development — "and that is particularly true of Southern Africa" — and newly emergent African states realised that, to achieve total independence, they had to utilise available opportunities — South Africa.

She said it was a fact that European and American businessmen "do not service African states as they should" and that was a major reason why Africa had turned to South Africa.

"For instance, the United Kingdom is a long way from Mauritius, with the result that South Africa has now become that country's major supplier," Miss Gallagher said.

This week the Mauritian Minister of Housing, Lands, Town and Country Planning, Mr Ell-

zier Francois, paid an official visit to South Africa to negotiate loans.

He is accompanied by Mr Frederick Robert, an adviser to the Mauritian Government, and Mr M Espitalier-Noel, a prominent businessman.

South African trade with Africa was helped to a large extent by the country's knowledge of African conditions and problems.

"No government leader or decision-maker can take the chance of buying from countries that know nothing about their conditions," said an exporter.

"South African businessmen are always welcome. The decision-makers realise that South Africa has technology adapted to local conditions and in addition the South African businessmen, whether or not he is selling a product, is prepared to give help wherever possible.

"It makes sense that being an African state, we should give as much help as possible."

## Africa's shopping list

*St. Times 19/3/81*

① 7/4

THE main South African exports to Africa in the five years between 1975 and August 1980 are made up of:

- Vegetable products: R186,9-million.
- Machinery and mechanical appliances: R105,1-million.
- Base metals and articles of base metal: R102,3-million.
- Chemical and allied products: R84,1-million.
- Vehicles and transport equipment: R58-million.
- Live animals and animal products: R39,4-million.
- Artificial resins and plastic materials: R28,7-million.
- Mineral products: R26,5-million.
- Textiles: R21,9-million.
- Paper and paperboard: R21,3-million.

Other exports include animal and vegetable fats and oils, raw hides and skins and leather, wood, footwear and millinery, pearls, precious and semi-precious stone, optical and other instruments, and miscellaneous manufactured articles.

# How 'dirty tricks' threaten the peace of Southern Africa

CAPL Tins 9/10/82  
1

THE SWA/Namibia negotiations are fast approaching the point where all parties concerned will have to make up their minds to go ahead with the peace plan — or else face the prospect of a deteriorating Lebanon-style conflict throughout Southern Africa.

Although there is no formal linkage between the Namibia negotiations and the broader security concerns of the region, including the departure of the Cubans from Angola, all these things are in fact becoming inextricably intertwined.

In resolving the SWA/Namibia conflict, (if they succeed in doing so), the Western powers could also succeed in stabilizing the entire region, depriving the communist bloc of opportunities for mischief.

It is mainly an American initiative. Since the advent of the Reagan administration it has been the United States which has been making the running to secure a settlement. And it seems that what the Reagan administration now has in mind is a much wider resolution of conflict in the region.

It appears that there are no outstanding issues of substance in the negotiations about the mechanics of a ceasefire, UN-supervised elections and independence for Namibia. But the parallel negotiations between the United States and Angola about the withdrawal of

the Cubans from Angola are in a sticky patch. It seems likely that rather broader issues than merely the presence of the Cubans are under discussion.

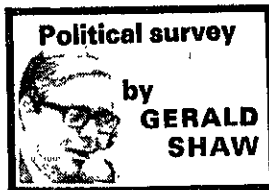
It is not only South Africa which is concerned to secure itself against aggression. So is Angola, which has acute security problems of its own, and so do all the other front line states.

South Africa's main security concern is to induce the black states in the region not to allow the guerillas of the African National Congress to set up bases from which to infiltrate into the Republic. The Cubans do not pose an imminent threat to South African security, but it seems that the Americans realize that Mr Botha needs their withdrawal as a sweetener for his own right wing if he is to come to terms on Namibia.

## Deliberate

The front line states, on the other hand, will want some kind of guarantee that South Africa will abandon what they believe is a deliberate programme of destabilization of their territories.

Without the knowledge or approval of the South African Parliament, it appears, this kind of thing is going on. If the better newspapers of the West are to be believed, South Africa is backing, among others, both the Unita rebels in Angola and the MNR rebels in Mozambique.



## Political survey

by  
**GERALD SHAW**



Mr Bill Casey, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, ... "working on a plan"

As discussed in this column on several occasions in recent months, the rather murky object of the exercise seems to be to keep our neighbours off balance, by disrupting their rail, transport and electric power systems and generally raising hell. A specific objective, it seems, is to thwart the attempts of these countries to become less dependent on the South African economy — and to make them wholly dependent on the South African transport system for the import and export of vital foodstuffs, oil and so on.

## Railway lines

This "dirty tricks" campaign, I would guess, has now become a central issue in behind-the-scenes diplomacy. If Angola is to send the Cubans packing, it will want some cast-iron assurance from the United States that South Africa will withdraw support from Unita's campaign to destabilize the food-producing regions of the South and keep the Benguela railway out of action.

Likewise Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi require assurances that support for the MNR will be withdrawn. This anti-Machel rebel group is virtually kept going by South Africa, according to some Western reports, and it is carrying out a murderous campaign of terrorism against civilians and civil installations, notably the railway lines and trains linking the Mozambique ports with Zimbabwe and Malawi.

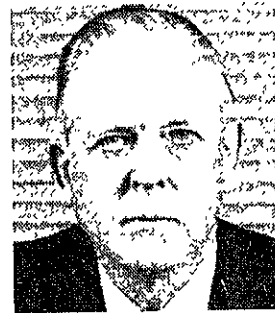
Denials that South Africa is involved are no longer believed in the West, particularly since the Seychelles fiasco provided a few glimpses into the kind of clandestine operation in which South African military intelli-

gence is involving itself.

This style of operation will no doubt be defended in some quarters as realistic, tough-minded and perfectly justifiable protection of South African interests. Is it?

This country is certainly entitled to protect its legitimate security interests by mounting hot pursuit and pre-emptive army and air force strikes across its borders, hitting Swapo camps in Angola, for example. Although it is not always clear whether the short-lived military gains achieved are worth the political and diplomatic candle, such operations, up to a point, are justifiable and defensible.

Clandestine operations, on the other hand, not mounted by the SADF



Mr Kobus Loubser ... unconscious of the bitter irony of his remarks about neighbour states' transport

against the ANC or Swapo, but set up in covert fashion under false colours or through surrogates and aimed against the transport systems of friendly neighbour states, are wholly unjustifiable and wholly indefensible.

Such operations undermine the moral legitimacy and integrity of this country's anti-insurgency effort, putting us on the same dubious basis as any wandering band of terrorists. Which is the main reason, perhaps, why such operations are not acknowledged and are hidden away from Parliamentary scrutiny under secret fund headings in the Budget as at the time of the Information scandal.

## Food threat

Mr Kobus Loubser, the efficient and likeable chief executive of South Africa's transport services, was no doubt wholly unconscious of the bitter irony of his remarks when he said at an FCI gathering recently that the need of our neighbour states to rely on South African transport links would rapidly diminish "if only they were able to operate their existing transport infra-

structure efficiently".

It is true that standards of efficiency are pretty uneven in these states, to put it mildly. But it is also true, as Mr Loubser himself pointed out, that the Beira line, which has been in good running order, is regularly sabotaged by the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MNR).

Mr Loubser also disclosed that Malawi was awaiting 20 000 tons of fertilizer to be delivered from Beira — and it did not look as if this vital cargo would reach its destination before the planting season begins. This squalid operation, threatening the food supplies of Malawi and forcing that country to use South African transport links, no doubt strikes the mandarins of military intelligence as a splendid blow for freedom, truth and justice.

## Cordon of states

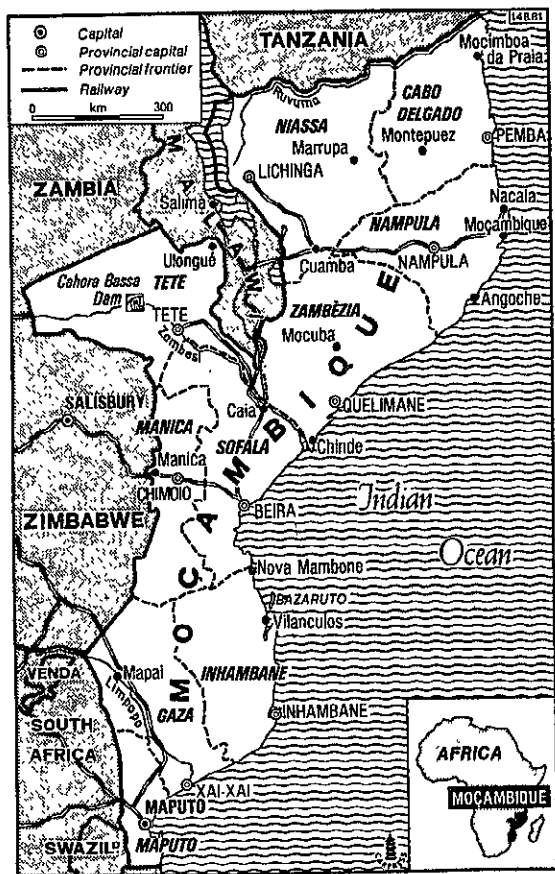
It seems, thus, that the front line states are seeking a guarantee from the United States that South Africa will withdraw its backing from the disruptive rebel groups operating in their territories and particularly Unita and the MNR.

In return, the United States is seeking a guarantee from these countries on South Africa's behalf that ANC camps will not be allowed in their territories. As our Washington correspondent reported a day or so ago, the head of the Central Intelligence Agency, Mr Bill Casey, recently visited Pretoria to work out a plan to create a cordon of states bordering the Republic which will be free of ANC infiltration.

This arrangement would mean that the ANC would be allowed to operate politically but not militarily in the front line states, (including Namibia) as at present in Zimbabwe. It sounds like an acceptable compromise. Let us hope that it is accepted by the Botha administration.

As the SWA/Namibia negotiations finally come to a head, an opportunity exists to stabilize the entire region, promising immense dividends in peace and security in years to come, and giving South Africa a breathing space to resolve its internal problems by negotiation.

If the opportunity is missed, thanks to the "dirty tricks" merchants, or on account of domestic political considerations, South Africa might as well face the prospect of a decade or two of regional and internal upheaval.



The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Relations between the United States and black Africa have deteriorated considerably since President Reagan's soothing remarks about South Africa

Just how far relations will continue to deteriorate is not yet clear but President Reagan's remarks could have far-reaching political and economic consequences for the United States.

Without having his top African policy advisor in place or holding a single meeting with an African head of state, Mr Reagan, with his pledge not to "abandon" South Africa has alienated even moderate black states that had adopted a cautious wait-and-see policy towards the new US administration.

Black Africa has responded with angry criticism.

# Reagan stand on SA angers African states

Black leaders' fears that Reagan would shelter South Africa from international pressure to grant independence to Namibia have been confirmed.

The United States' reassurance has made a mockery of calls from the Organisation of African Unity to impose economic sanctions against South Africa, according to the Government-owned Cameroon Tribune.

Mr Reagan's remarks, particularly his designation of South Africa as an old ally and supplier of strategic minerals, were

widely publicised in West Africa and universally denounced.

How far black African states will go in making their criticism felt is unclear but Nigeria has already expressed its willingness to use oil to bring Western countries into line on the Namibian issue.

According to a variety of sources Washington is gambling that current political and economic conditions in West Africa will limit the damage to US-African relations to angry words.

Arguments to support this supposition include the fact that apart from oil there is currently a glut of major African export commodities on world markets.

A senior Nigerian official however has warned that the belief that West African countries, particularly Nigeria, will limit their displeasure at US support for South Africa to words was a "very big mistake."

In addition to the disagreement over South African sanctions, the Reagan Administration's stands elsewhere in Africa have also angered some African states.

The decision to send helicopters to Morocco and the likelihood that the Reagan Administration will resume aid to Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, a pro-Western guerilla group fighting the Government in Angola, are two areas of concern.

Number of Farmers	Additional workers
-------------------	--------------------

at current wages:

Distribution of farmers by estimates of additional workers available

TABLE 42.

It has often been said that farmers always complain of a labour shortage. The farmers interviewed in this survey are a notable exception:

of 31 farmers, 15 said outright either that there was no shortage at current wages or that they personally did not suffer from a shortage; one said simply that there were fewer people asking for work than there had been 10 years ago; 7 said there were plenty of surplus workers around but either they were not prepared to work or they were not 'suitable' (sober, reliable, responsible and hard-working); 4 were not prepared to commit themselves and only 4 said they noticed a shortage, of both skilled and general workers. Asked how long it would take to double their labour forces (at current wage rates), 3 farmers said it would be impossible, 8 did not know and 19 gave replies ranging from a few days (to find 5 workers) to 3-4 months (to find 17 workers). However, several farmers added the rider that it would take considerably longer to find 'good' or 'trustworthy' workers. One farmer said it would take him 6 months to find any workers at all. When the question was asked in a slightly different form - 'How many additional workers could you find at current wages?' - the replies were:

# Black Africa goading West to greater pressure on Republic

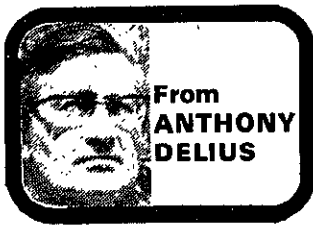
LONDON. — The Economist has suggested that the recent re-run of South Africa's ejection from the United Nations General Assembly six years ago might be called a "Pyrrhic defeat".

Although the UN majority in favour of ejection, was larger by 21 votes than it was originally, the Americans and the West Europeans were made to repeat their stand for South Africa's being allowed to make its case. What was more the new American administration, while still in the formative state of policy construction, had to back South Africa against a blatantly undemocratic move by the UN majority. Also an assurance was elicited from President Reagan that the US would "not abandon" the Republic — an assurance promptly used by Mr P W Botha in the election campaign.

So, one might ask, if this is defeat who needs victories?

As everybody knows, the African struggle at the UN is directed towards having world sanctions imposed on South Africa. Putting the pressure on for such an action in the midst of a world depression may seem to show the wildest kind of impracticability. Even the black states of Southern Africa, most of which have a fair amount of economic dependence on or trade with South Africa, are very uneasy about the wisdom of calling for sanctions at the present time.

If certain African states would be put to some inconvenience by them, sanctions certainly would mean very real loss and even military danger through loss of strategic minerals for Western powers. Furthermore the weight of providing the ships and aircraft



From  
**ANTHONY  
DELIUS**

for a blockade of the whole southern end of Africa would fall in great part on France, Britain and the US. Assuming the presently-remote chance that none of the three would veto any sanctions proposal brought before the sole authorizing body, the Security Council, they would not then allow the vast Soviet fleet the international prestige and strategic advantage of blockading Southern Africa on the world's behalf by itself. Western and Soviet "co-operation" could add new dimensions of difficulty to policing sanctions.

The International University Exchange Fund (IUEF), which has recently been penetrated by the South African security service to the credit of neither's good sense, is the latest body to produce a study of possibilities of sanctions. The very fact that the study requires 13 volumes gives some indication of the complexity of applying them. British and African workers are also expected to accept increased unemployment with only a modicum of unhappiness while the world discovers whether the guesswork of pro-sanctions professors is right or not. Going on the experience of Rhodesian sanctions, this could take some decades.

The formidable mess that could be created both internationally and inside South Africa by an attempt to impose sanctions has caused a number of African countries to mute their

enthusiasm. Yet they still hope against hope that the Western countries, possibly aided by an oil boycott put into proper effect by Opec members, will induce white South Africans to share the land and its opportunities more generously with the great majority of their fellow-citizens. At the moment they are using the threat of sanctions mainly as a spur to goad the reluctant British, Americans, Canadians, West Germans and French into tougher persuasiveness.

If the experience of applying sanctions to Rhodesia does give the Africans pause, it also gives them some encouragement. Even if those sanctions were broken by nations extending from the Americans to the Russians, they also provided a means of keeping the case against the Smith regime alive before the world and the African audience. The success by the Rhodesians in defeating sanctions provided a chance for international uproar. Finally it was the arguments by a Republican secretary of state, Dr Henry Kissinger, that began the end of Rhodesian resistance to real change, and the elections arranged by a Conservative British foreign secretary that brought about majority rule.

The question of South Africa's rule over SWA/Namibia has been before the members of the UN for nearly 35 years now. Each year has produced greater pressure in the UN, both on South Africa and on the West, for the Republic to relinquish its rule over the territory. Down the years the struggle has served as an additional means to raise the question of apartheid into greater prominence before the world. Dr Verwoerd's decision to apply the policy with the utmost logic

to the million folk of Namibia in fact produced a dozen "nations" where there was scarcely enough population for one. It offered a spectacle that convinced the world of apartheid's final absurdity.

Apartheid is now so completely intertwined with the Namibian issue that there is no question of South African race policy and Namibian independence ever being completely separated. The South African government may hope to retreat from Namibia slowly over the years and withdraw apartheid from international exposure as this happens, but matters seem to have gone too far for that. The Africans see it as quite logical that the march to world sanctions over Namibia will not cease if Namibia does become independent. The march will continue against the existence of apartheid in the Republic itself.

## Almost as ally

Inside South Africa, the states of the African continent see apartheid almost as an ally — grievances over its effect on them stir the blacks of the country to bigger and bigger attempts to throw it off. With each of these attempts world attention to what is going on in South African race relations has become greater and more scandalized. So the African states may tell themselves that the greatest yet of black outbursts of resentment will come in the 1980s. This could bring about the world reaction that will make the West in the UN unable to resist forceful intervention by sanctions in South African affairs.

Only some real signs that apartheid was being abandoned might upset these expectations



# Poverty amid plenty

NM 17/3/81

IF Lenin was correct about grain being 'the currency of currencies', then South Africa with its present record maize crop should be wallowing in its bargaining power. Obviously he did not foresee the effects of modern transport and marketing problems which in South Africa's case threaten to leave the country with a huge surplus for storage.

Ironically this is happening at a time when some 28 African countries are suffering from acute food shortages. Many, like Tanzania, are on the verge of famine and lack the precious foreign exchange to buy food for their hungry millions.

but

Meanwhile, as South Africa's large maize surplus has coincided with a record crop in Zimbabwe, it is thought likely that nearby markets which previously have bought maize from this country will now

look to Salisbury for their supplies. However, Zimbabwe is also having transport problems and might well have to turn to South African rolling stock to help deliver its goods.

The fact is that there is just no means at present whereby black states in southern Africa can unravel their economic ties with the sub-continent's richest component without causing complications somewhere along the line. Moreover hungry black states further north should be increasingly aware of the value of South Africa — already buying more than R260 million worth of goods annually from black Africa — as a provider of foreign exchange with which to buy desperately needed grain. More than ever their salvation could depend on burying politics and facing hard realities.

spread of disease, but in a sense it forms a free service to

probably mostly to protect the farmers' flocks from the

or shearing time along with their own animals. This was

supervise the workers attending to them) at dosing, dipping

cattle, the farmers would generally attend to them (or

where the workers were allowed to keep goats, sheep or

farmers' own animals.

tended to interbreed with, and reduce the quality of, the

not be kept separate from their own flocks and herds and

than sheep, goats or cattle, which, the farmers said, could

to and from the towns, seem to be more acceptable to farmers

them. Donkeys and horses, which workers use for transport

forbid workers to keep grazing animals, tend to discourage

on the farmers' land. Most farmers, where they do not

Seventy-eight workers (60%) had no animals grazing

(v) Grazing rights.

are reasonably accurate.



# New influx of refugees from Ethiopia

① 17/3/81 NM

By

Lisette Balouny el Torr

CRYING babies sucking on their mothers' dry breasts, toddlers with bloated stomachs, old men and women with swollen feet — all thirsty and nearly famished — trek daily into Sudan from Ethiopia.

They are the victims of the marxist regime of Ethiopian leader Col Mengistu Haile Mariam and the three-year war his Soviet-equipped army has been waging against the peoples of two eastern provinces — Eritrea and Tigray, both seeking independence.

## 40 a day

Relief officials say an estimated 415 000 Ethiopians have fled to Sudan since 1979. More arrive at an average of 40 to 50 a day at points along the 1 000 km border. Recently about 500 crossed the mountainous frontier.

The influx, the refugees say, is a result of a new offensive on the Tigray province and preparations for one on Eritrea, in continuing efforts by the Mengistu regime to crush the opposition.

The refugees speak of food shortages, of crop confiscations, intimidatory raids by Government troops and political harassment.

Doctors treating the esti-

mated 880 who have arrived in the past two months say 60 per cent suffer from tuberculosis as a result of malnutrition and anaemia.

'They are burning our houses and seizing our crops. They are shooting left and right at anyone and anything in their way. That is how my husband just died,' said Wobaye Tafaari, a young woman who in her mid-20's looks almost like a walking skeleton. Her three-month baby wailed and twisted as she tried to breast-feed him, but she could provide no nourishment.

'We have had nothing to eat for 18 days. Dry bread and a little bit of water kept us going,' she said.

Most of the refugees are women and children. Many are elderly.

'They are killing the flowers of our nation, the youth of our nation, the men who would have been leaders and carried the torch,' Wobaye said. 'The world is watching it happen and no one has yet lifted a finger to say it is an unfair war between a giant machine and men who only have the will to be free, nothing else.'

Wobaye lived in a small village in the western region of the 100 000 km<sup>2</sup> province of Tigray, which lies in the northern half of Ethiopia. Her husband had a small farm where he planted sorghum.

'They took our crop away and would not even pay for it. The Ethiopian army must eat so that they can kill better,' she said bitterly.

Guerillas fighting the regime say about 5 000 Ethiopian army troops supported by Soviet-made MI-24 helicopter gunships launched two attacks in late February, burning some 130 thatched-roof huts in eight villages.

The guerillas slip into Sudan for food irregularly provided by voluntary organisations of Tigrean people. Because trucks are ambushed by the Ethiopian army, the guerillas of the Tigray Popular Liberation Force have to carry their provisions themselves over mountain trails.

'The attack that is going on now obviously is designed to hit at our supply lines,' said guerilla Fisena Afewera. 'We ambushed them in the second attack. We have killed and

wounded an estimated 430 of them in two offensives.'

He said the TPLF expected more attacks and believed the Ethiopian troops were also trying to hit at the operation bases of the Eritrean guerillas to the north of Tigray province.

Two main roads run through Tigray and Eritrea and the guerillas of both fronts co-operate in their struggle against the central Government.

The Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front, the strongest of the three militant factions, says it has trained some 3 000 Tigreans in their guerilla camps.

Eritrea is a 124 000 km<sup>2</sup> area, with 1 000 km of coast on the Red Sea. This is Ethiopia's only access to sea trade. The Soviet Union is known to have a military base in the port of Massawa and another on nearby Dahlak Island.

## Skirmishes

Eritrean refugees coming into Sudan say there are continuing skirmishes between Government troops and the Eritrean fighters in the north-eastern Ethiopian mountains.

Refugee Negesti Abraham, 60, has lost three sons in the past year. They died fighting Mengistu's forces.

'I gathered their women and children and we walked for 15 days,' he said, resting on a cane. 'My sons died for our freedom. I am not sorry they are dead. They were noble, but their women and children, these are the ones who really suffer. I am too old to provide for them.'

Negesti lived in a small village where he bred cattle. 'My cattle are gone, all 100 of them killed. We are left with nothing, nothing at all,' he said in a shaky voice. 'I don't want food for myself, but for my grandchildren, who must live, and for their mothers, who must live for them.'

He said his weary band walked through the mountains at night and hid during the day. At one point, he said, they were hiding when one of the babies started to cry. Nearby Ethiopian troops opened fire and killed the child. — (Sapa-AP)

Most said the workers could  
of the workers and their families and said they  
farmers considered themselves responsible for  
all workers) received no extra payment at  
57 workers in the lowest category, 27 (21

Argus Bureau

NEW YORK. — Relations between the United States and black Africa have deteriorated considerably following President Reagan's soothing remarks about South Africa.

Just how far relations will continue to deteriorate is not yet clear but the consequences of President Reagan's remarks could have far-reaching political and economic consequences for the United States.

Without having his top African policy adviser in place or holding a single meeting with a black African head of state, Mr Reagan, with his pledge not to 'abandon' South Africa, has alienated even moderate black states that had adopted a cautious wait-and-see policy towards the new US Administration.

Black Africa has responded with angry criticism. Its leaders' fears that Mr Reagan would shelter South Africa from international pressure to grant independence to Namibia have been confirmed.

The United States' reassurance 'has made a mockery' of calls from the Organisation of African Unity to impose economic sanctions against South Africa, according to the government-owned Cameroon Tribune.

Mr Reagan's remarks, particularly his designation of South Africa as an old ally and supplier of strategic minerals, were widely publicised in West Africa and generally denounced.

How far black African states will go in making their criticism felt is unclear but Nigeria has already expressed its wil-

# Black Africa warns US

①  
Argus  
17/3/81

lingness to use oil to bring Western countries into line on the Namibian issue.

According to a variety of sources Washington is gambling that current political and economic conditions in West Africa will limit the damage to US-African relations to angry words.

Arguments to support this supposition include the fact that apart from

to words was a 'very big mistake.'

In addition to the immediate disagreement over South African sanctions, indications of the Reagan Administration's future positions elsewhere in Africa have also angered some black states.

The decision to send helicopters to Morocco and the likelihood that the Reagan Administration will resume aid to Jonas

**The 'softer' line at present being taken on South Africa by President Ronald Reagan threatens to alienate America from black Africa.**

oil there is currently a glut of major African export commodities on world markets.

A senior Nigerian official, however, has warned that the belief that West African countries, particularly Nigeria, will limit their displeasure for US support for South Africa

Savimbi, leaders of Unita, a pro-Western guerrilla group fighting the Government in Angola, are two areas of concern to black nations.

It is uncertain what consequences Mr Reagan's support for Savimbi will have on present American oil interests in Angola.

# Ethiopia's new horror

By Lisette Balouny

EL TORR (Sudan) — Crying babies sucking on their mothers' dry breasts, toddlers with bloated stomachs, old men and women with swollen feet, all thirsty and nearly famished, trek into Sudan from Ethiopia.

They are victims of the Marxist regime of Ethiopian leader Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam and the three-year war his Soviet-equipped army has been waging against the peoples of two eastern provinces — Eritrea and Tigray.

Relief officials say an estimated 415 000 Ethiopians have fled to Sudan since 1979. More arrive at an average of 40 to 50 a day at points along the 1 000 km border.

Recently, 500 more crossed the mountainous frontier.

### NEW OFFENSIVE

The influx, the refugees say, is a result of a new offensive on the Tigray province and preparations for one on Eritrea, in continuing efforts by the Mengistu regime to crush an opposition that is seeking independence for the two provinces.

The refugees speak of food shortages, of crop confiscations, raids by government troops and political harassment.



Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam

## 'They're killing the flower'

*Angus*

17/3/81

## of our nation'

Doctors treating the estimated 880 who have arrived in the past two months say 60 percent had tuberculosis.

### STEAMROLLER

'They are burning our houses and seizing our crops. They are shooting left and right anyone and anything in their way. That is how my husband just died,' said Wobaye Tafaari, a young woman who in her mid-20s looks almost a walking skeleton.

Her three-month-old baby wailed and twisted as she tried to breastfeed him, but she could provide no nourishment. 'We have had nothing to eat for 18 days. Dried

bread and a little bit of water kept us going,' she said.

'They are killing the flowers of our nation, the youth of our nation, the men who would have been leaders and carried the torch,' Wobaye said.

### GIANT MACHINE

'The world is watching it happen and no one has yet lifted a finger to say it is an unfair war between a giant machine and men who only have the will to be free, nothing else.'

Wobaye lived in a small village in the western region of the 100 000 square kilometre province of Tigray, which lies in

the northern half of Ethiopia. Her husband had a small farm where he planted sorghum.

'They took our crop away and would not even pay for it. The Ethiopian army must eat so that they can kill better,' she said.

Guerrillas say that 5 000 Ethiopian army troops, supported by Soviet-made M-124 helicopter gunships, launched two attacks in late February, burning about 130 thatched-roof huts in eight villages.

### SUPPLIES

The guerrillas slip into Sudan for food supplies irregularly provided by voluntary organisations of Tigras people.

The latest Government offensive is believed to be aimed at halting the food supplies.

A guerrilla spokesman said they expect more attacks.

Eritrean refugees coming into Sudan say there are continuing skirmishes between government troops and the Eritrean fighters in the north-eastern Ethiopian mountains.

Refugee Negesti Abraham, 60, said he had lost his three sons in the past year. They died fighting Mengistu's forces. — Sapa AP.



THE faces of the Sudan, where people face hunger and hopelessness.

# Leaders condemn 'SA aggression'

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — Presidents Siaka Stevens of Seirra Leone and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia have "strongly condemned South Africa for her aggression against frontline States".

They said this in a joint statement before the visiting president flew out to Kenya on his marathon 10-country tour.

The two presidents said they had reviewed the situation in Southern Africa and "strongly condemned South Africa for her aggression against frontline States and expressed concern over South Africa's refusal to implement the UN plan for the independence of Namibia".

They called on the Western contact group of five to exert more pressure on South Africa with a view to facilitating speedy implementation of the UN plan for SWA/Namibia.

The two leaders also reviewed the situation in Western Sahara and reaffirmed

their belief in the right of the people of that territory to self-determination.

The visiting president and his host expressed support for the current initiatives aimed at bringing about a peaceful solution to the Chad problem.

They examined the economic situation in Africa and co-operation among States, expressing concern at the adverse affects of escalating oil prices on the economies of developing countries, particularly those in Africa.

# Black Africa plans strike force

Star  
14/9/81  
Own Correspondent

LUANDA — Black African leaders have discussed the creation of a Pan-African army, to be supported by sophisticated air and missile equipment, to drive South African forces from southern Angola.

Diplomatic sources here report that the frontline African States have offered Angola a range of military support, including MiG 25 fighters capable of taking on South Africa's Mirages and Impalas, reports the Guardian News Service.

African leaders have discussed the adoption of a new and much more aggressive strategy towards Pretoria.

"We think we can teach them a lesson. We can expel them from Angola and then go further by hitting their military bases in northern Namibia," one leader said.

Details of the African military support were discussed at Friday's meeting of the Frontline states in Lagos, the Nigerian capital.

Angola's President Jose Dos Santos has now returned to Luanda, where he is consulting his council of Ministers.

## CAMPAIGN

It is by no means clear that the African states will be able to deliver the goods which they have offered, nor that they would in fact be effective against the well-equipped South Africans.

African leaders say that the South African raid into Angola is only part of a wider campaign to destabilise black states in the southern part of the continent.

Relief workers returning from southern Angola have reported a further decline in military activity. They say they believe that South African troops have finally evacuated two of the strategic towns which they were occupying — N'Giva and Xangongo.

The Star's London Bureau reports that the Times today gives major prominence to two contrasting letters on the South African presence in Angola.

Mr J. F. F. Platts-Mills, QC, who visited Angola in February, reminds readers that "South Africans have no right of hot pursuit, as they claim, for they have no right (according to the ruling of the International Court of Justice in 1974) to be in Namibia in the first place."

## CONDEMNATION

In the second letter, Mr Billy Marais, of Windhoek says that while the British Press has reflected "expressions of shock, condemnation, indignation, etc. of South Africa's punitive moves into Angola as a true Namibian citizen I am fully aware of the dastardly and cowardly deeds of Swapo who operate from Angolan soil with Mr Dos Santos's approval and who kill innocent men, women and children of their own kin.

"Of this not a word of shocked condemnation from the Press, the West or anybody from 'outside.'"

# Malaria will kill million in Africa

RDY ①  
27/3/81

NAIROBI. — Malaria will kill at least a million Africans and untold numbers of Asians and Latin Americans this year.

A British expert says this is partly because the world is spending less to combat the disease than some drug companies spend to develop a new tranquilliser.

Dr Alister Voller, supervisor of the World Health Organisation's collaborating laboratory on malaria serology at the Nuffield Laboratories of Comparative Medicine in Britain, said commercial companies had told him they could recover their investment on tranquillisers — but not on a "possible malaria vaccine".

"There isn't that much enthusiasm these days for funding things for the good of mankind," he said.

"One company puts as much into a new Valium (tranquilliser) as into the worldwide anti-malaria programme."

Dr Voller discussed malaria control when giving the annual Kenya Medical Association lecture, and elaborated in an interview.

"In the early 1970s the inci-

dence of malaria reached its trough, and malaria control reached its peak," he said.

But since then the number of cases has been increasing. About 2 000-million people now live in "potentially malarious" areas of the world, he said.

Dr Voller said governments obtained results from their initial efforts to eradicate malaria, then cut off funds because they couldn't see why they should still spend so much.

In the early 1970s, he said, India got down to 60 000 reported cases of malaria a year. Then money was cut off and the incidence shot up to 6 500 00 cases in 1976.

"It's much harder to sell an anti-malarial programme to a government if you tell them they have to do it for the next 100 years," said Dr Voller.

He said anti-malaria work has also been hampered by "the exaggerated concern over environmental contamination by DDT", which has been the main weapon for malaria control; malaria parasites' resistance to drugs and insecticides, and the rising cost of

insecticides.

The biggest effort to combat malaria is being carried out at the Centre for Tropical Disease Research in Britain, funded by the WHO, the United Nations Development Programme, and the World Bank.

He said Britain has just withdrawn financial support from the centre — "which is rather sad, in view of our country's long associations in the tropics".

"In Africa, the mortality is reckoned to be one million a year, and that's a minimum figure. Elsewhere, it's very difficult to come up with figures.

"In the lowland parts of West Africa and East Africa, at any time, a single cross-section survey will find up to 90% of children under three infected, and even a third of adults may be affected," said Dr Voller.

Current efforts to develop a vaccine could lead to a reduction in malaria deaths and disease, he said, "but eradication must now be considered as wishful thinking for the rest of the century" — Sapa-AP.

# Aide to Winnie tells of 'his big love'

LONDON. — At the age of 77 Sir Winston Churchill "fell in love" with the 25-year-old Queen Elizabeth II when she ascended the throne in 1952, and kept her framed picture over his bed, an aide to both has disclosed.

"He was an old man whose passions were spent but there is no doubt that, at a respectful distance, he fell in love with the Queen," says Sir John Colville.

Colville, at one time Churchill's wartime assistant private secretary, was later the Queen's private secretary before she took the throne. He discusses Churchill's love life in a book entitled "The Churchills" published today.

"There was one lady by whom, from 1952 onwards, Churchill was dazzled. That was the new Queen," Colville says.

"Here was a lady whom he respected and admired more than any man..." he says. Colville said Churchill first met the Queen when she was aged two, and wrote to his wife, Clementine "She has an air of authority and reflectiveness aston-

an infant"



# U.S. under the

Sunday Times Reporters

A CONCERTED international campaign to thwart the Reagan administration's plans for a friendlier policy on South Africa began to take shape this week in various foreign capitals.

The drive to renew South Africa's isolation appeared to be co-ordinated by the African states working through the Organisation of African Unity, but it reached from neighbouring capitals to Europe and Washington and to UN headquarters in New York.

But it gathered strength from the actions of the South African Government, especially the Prime Minister's threat to take away the passport of Bishop Desmond Tutu in retaliation for his comments abroad.

Bishop Tutu told the UN Special Committee on Apartheid that the South African system was "one of the most vicious systems since Nazism" and that the Third World War would break out if apartheid was not overturned within 10 years.

Mr P W Botha's threat to withdraw his passport drew an expression of "extreme concern" from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, who said it was a matter of regret that any South African, including Bishop Tutu, should be denied the right to speak his mind.

The week's events included one sign of real tension as Maputo ordered its citizens onto a "war footing" and Mozambique troops on the Transvaal border fired at a light aircraft.

In Salisbury, the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, urged the United States openly to avoid cementing ties with South Africa, saying it was "a choice between South Africa and the rest of Africa".

He was speaking after an

# whip over attitude to SA

S. Times 29/3/81

~~SA~~  
1

**BLACK STATES DETERMINED TO SEE A RENEWED POLICY OF ISOLATION**

impressive show of support for Zimbabwe by Western nations and international agencies which mustered more than R1 000-million in aid for the new black republic.

The level of aid is thought to reflect Western anxiety to ensure that Zimbabwe does not emerge as another African failure, and so strengthen South African resistance to majority rule.

At the same time, there was intense diplomatic and political activity abroad as Africans and their allies tried to forestall the Reagan administration's new policy initiatives.

This included:

• Fresh attacks in Washington on the proposed appointment by the Reagan administration of officials who support more moderate policies towards South Africa, especially Dr Chester Crocker and Dr Er-

nest Lefever, who have been nominated as Assistant Secretaries of State.

• A calculated snub of the American Ambassador to the UN, Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, by the African members.

The African states asked the Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, to deliver an appeal to the US Government to avoid closer ties with South Africa. They pointedly by-passed Mrs Kirkpatrick because she had met South African military intelligence officers during their recent visit to the US.

• An expression of concern by America's European allies at the EEC summit in Holland that the US handling of relations with South Africa would alienate the rest of Africa.

The Nigerian Government, in particular, has mounted heavy pressure on Europe and the United States to keep their dis-

ance from South Africa, and Nigeria is an important market for European goods as well as an important supplier of oil to the United States.

John Matisonn reports that it was a weary week for the Reagan administration's Southern Africa policy.

Anchorless, with key policy-makers still not confirmed in their places, America's strongest figures cannot act, leaving the weaker ones blundering through, reacting to developments they have no hand in shaping.

Bishop Desmond Tutu's visit did help to balance meetings with South African military officials and others linked to South Africa, but without a staff in place to deal with the problem and with increasing resistance developing towards the confirmation of Dr Crocker, Washington is prey to all the currents interested in Southern Africa.

Whether it is the right wing and their sponsorship of South African military intelligence officials or Mr Dirk Mudge's visit or Mr Robert Mugabe's aid conference in Salisbury, the shots are called anywhere but by the Reagan administration.

Harried officials were pleased that Umtata's President Jonas Savimbi, whose support from South Africa is now common knowledge, has at least postponed his visit. And they were glad to announce that the ban on visits by South African military officers was still in place.

# Discontent swells in Guinea-Bissau again

From The Guardian.  
 LISBON — Tension is running high in Portugal's former colony of Guinea-Bissau, which was the scene of a military coup last November.  
 The Government of Mr Nino Vieira, which overthrew former President Luis Cabral after accusations of corruption and mass executions, has re-arrested Mr Rafael Barbosa, a charismatic black nationalist leader released from prison during the coup by popular demand.  
 The November 14 coup first appeared as a reac-

tion against the domination of the economy by Cape Verdians, the country's offshore island neighbours.  
 Four months after the coup there is new discontent stemming from Vieira's failure to end corruption and reform the moribund economy. Most of the promised commissions have not materialised, and Rafael Barbosa is emerging as a new symbol of hope.  
 He represents a growing current of anti-Cape Verdian, anti-Soviet nationalism.

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 Note:

Employer	Area	Number of workers
Other farms	'Karoo'	24
S A R & H	Beaufort West	4
	Worcester	1
	(between Beaufort West and Nelsport)	1
	Middelburg	1
Building Contractors	Beaufort West	1
	Murraysburg	1
Cartage contractor	?	1
	Beaufort West	1
Divisional councils	Beaufort West	1
	Middelburg	1
	Queenstown	1
Household (as gardener)	Beaufort West	1
Vegetable market	Beaufort West	2
Farmers' Co-operative	Beaufort West	1
Nelsport Sanatorium	Nelsport	2
Coronation Colliery	Nelsport	1

Distribution of workers according to previous job, by employer and area.

TABLE 29

worked on the railways, three for building or cartage contractors and three for divisional councils (building roads). Only one worker had ever worked outside the Cape, at Coronation Collieries in Natal.

involved. In general these findings are similar to the American study *Boys in White* by H. Becker et al. (1961)

3.4. Students' Views on Their Medical Training

to this kind of altruistic motivation was 8% saying that the country needed more doctors. On the other hand the attraction of the financial security and status of a doctor attracted some. Altogether 26% mentioned one or other of

# Mystery 5-nation summit in Swaziland

6/7/81 SIMR (1)

The Star's Africa News Service

Mbabane

The Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe, President Samora Machel of Mozambique, President Quett Masire of Botswana and Chief Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho are meeting in Swaziland today.

Also involved in the meeting is Swaziland's Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla Dlamini, and other senior members of the Swazi Cabinet. It is also understood that King Moshoeshe of Lesotho and King Sobhuza of Swaziland may be involved in the top-level discussions.

The mysterious meeting comes after reports that the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, held talks in Swaziland at the weekend.

Swazi TV reported that Mr Botha arrived in Mbabane by air and had been "whisked away by Government officials" in a car.

But the report has been denied by Swaziland's Commissioner of Police and by Mr Brand Fourie, Director-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

"He has not visited the country during the time that has been speculated about," Mr Fourie said from his home in Pretoria today.

Observers believe the meeting may involve discussion on the stance Frontline States will take on the sanctions issue against South Africa.

This may explain the reported presence of Mr Botha in Swaziland in spite of strong denials. It would seem likely he put down on the table South Africa's cards on the sanctions issue.

Whatever the meeting has been about, there have been mysterious happenings at Swaziland's Matsapa Airport.

The mystery deepened when some "important-looking" whites arrived by air.

One of two planes could have brought them: one is an ordinary-looking executive jet and the other a Dakota with a crudely-painted Swazi emblem on it.

It would seem somebody did a rush job on the aircraft in a bid to make it look as if it belonged to Swaziland.

But the traditional emblem of shield and spear were badly done and not at all like the normally acceptable emblem.

Both the Zimbabwe and South African armed forces use Dakotas.

### Postponed

The heads of the four Frontline states left their countries without prior announcement.

Even senior Government spokesmen in some of these countries have claimed they do not know what is going on.

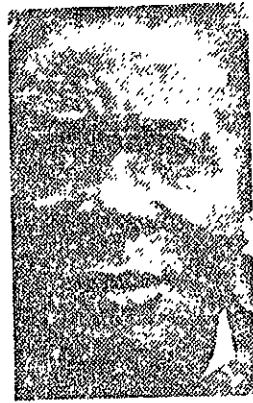
An earlier meeting of these heads of state scheduled for January was postponed at the last minute by the Swaziland Government.

The meeting was announced with much fanfare.

The meeting was postponed because of King Sobhuza's alleged ill health.

But sources close to the king say he wasn't sick at all.

Today's meeting follows "hush hush" rehearsals at the weekend by members of the police and other departments to make sure today's meeting goes smoothly.



MR ROBERT MUGABE



DR QUETT MASIRE

Encounter as Doctors

The students were questioned as to the type of socio-medical problems they envisaged they would have to face in practice

To sum up, while there is reported motivation of the students, it was also evident that in some cases the financial security and status offered by medicine were an inducement, and other less frequently reported aspects related to the nature of the work and the challenge

# Black leaders in secret summit 'on SA sanctions'

Argus 6/4/81

①

Argus Africa  
News Service

MBABANE. — Mr Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, President Samora Machel of Mozambique, President Quett Masire of Botswana and Chief Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho are meeting at a secret venue in Swaziland today.

Also involved is Prince Mr Mabandla Dlamini, Swaziland's Prime Minister. And it is understood that King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho and King Sobhuza II of Swaziland may be involved.

The meeting follows reports that South African Foreign Minister Mr P. W. Botha held talks in Swaziland last week. This has been officially denied by the Commissioner of the Royal Swazi Police.

Mr Brand Fourie, director-general of the South African Foreign Affairs Department, says Mr Botha is not in Swaziland.

Observers believe the meeting may involve discussion about what stance the countries are to take on the sanctions issue against South Africa.

But there has been no explanation for the secrecy.

Although there has been an official denial about Mr Botha being involved, there have been mysterious happenings at Swaziland's Matsapa Airport.

## EMBLEM

Some 'important looking' whites have arrived by air in Swaziland. They came in an executive jet and in a Dakota.

The Dakota has a spear and shield (the Swazi national emblem) painted on it — but it is crudely done and in no way is an exact copy of the normally accepted emblem.

The heads of the four countries left their countries without announcement and even senior government spokesmen in some of these countries claim they do not know what is going on.

# Africans

## expect a great amount of aid

ROM 7/4/81  
①

GENEVA. — For two days late next week top delegations representing about 100 countries will gather at an immense, marble-pillared assembly hall in Geneva to discuss human tragedy in Africa.

Subject of the proceedings will be 5 000 000 people who have sought refuge from famine, war or natural calamity. Their numbers represent a five-fold increase since 1975.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees, which is sponsoring the Geneva conference, with the Organisation for African Unity, claims that as many as half of the world's refugees are in Africa.

"The situation continues to deteriorate, and help is needed urgently," says Mr Dale de Haan, an UNHCR official.

The Ministerial-level conference opens on Thursday, and is certain to evoke the meeting in July 1979 at which R142 000 000 was raised for Indochinese boat people.

Conference organisers concede conditions exist for potential conflict, in that funds are being solicited during a period of general economic sluggishness and belt tightening.

Mr De Haan, the deputy UN High Commissioner for Refugees, says that potential donor countries, in answering conference invitations, have indicated that their capacity for contributions is not unlimited.

"A lot of traditional donor countries are asking themselves: 'What are the limits to humanitarian aid?'" said one source, noting that the UNHCR Budget in the past decade had swelled to R375 000 000 from about R7 500 000.

On the other hand, he added: "It's clear that if the international community does not come up with sufficient support, the Africans will be very bitter."

Mr Poul Hartling, the UN High Commissioner for refugees, said in an interview that competition for funds among needy countries "is unavoidable, I think.

"Some countries might say 'We didn't get enough'. But, overall, I don't believe at all that needy countries will be left out". — Sapa—AP.

(16)

own valuation). The estimate of benefits rests on the question 'to what extent is this individuals of that age and sex normally to be able to carry out.'<sup>13</sup> Physical, mental and social functioning should be taken into consideration. Recently, several attempts have been made, both to derive a theory from which to establish workable indicators, and to establish operational measures. Williams, Culyer and Davis have established a theory for the development of composite indices of health in a model with two major dimensions - intensity - with subvectors degree of pain and degree of activity restriction: and duration. In their model, each patient is allocated a point in a matrix with one dimension on each axis, by a doctor. From this assignment, a tradeoff is established for each health state in the matrix, forming quasi-indifference curves. (Indifference curves further from the origin represent less desirable states). To each curve a

analysis/.....

(17)

analysis on the Survey of Economic Opportunity (USA) data, to determine a set of weights reflecting relative monetary costs of occupying defined function levels, thus providing a quantification of the costs of more or less sickness.

A proposal for a practical exercise in measuring health was made by Grogono and Woodgate. They used ten broad aspects of human functioning with the intention of forming a basis for making better statements about patient states than the customary 'fit for light work only' or 'better than yesterday'. The score for each dimension was normal = 1, impaired = 0,5 or incapacitated = 0: with equal weight to each dimension, the result for each patient was the sum of his dimension scores. They found the index to be workable with a high degree of consensus among those assigning the points but did not identify the value judgements that were made in assigning scores.

Considerable scepticism has been expressed on the practicality of this approach due to the

Provide less costly but accurate information. There appears to be no rational reason why the measurement of health should be any different. The development of refined practical indices is still in its infancy but 'both the theory and its application are likely to remain high priorities in the immediate future.' (14)

(2.5) The cost benefit approach to health?

Widespread opinion exists on the role of cost benefit analysis in guiding decision making. Culyer firmly believes that 'there is no other framework of thought (other than that of the economist) that can at the same time both provide a relevant and thoroughly worked out corpus of analysis through which the problems (sometimes agonising ones) posed by alternative choices can/.....

# Black states talk secretly in Mbabane

RDM 7/4/81

(1)

By CHRIS FREIMOND and JOSÉ CAETANO  
Southern Africa Bureau

**THE Heads of State of South Africa's black-ruled neighbour countries held a secret summit in Swaziland yesterday.**

The talks centred on the possibility of South African aggression against countries harbouring African National Congress (ANC) exiles.

The meeting was attended by the Swazi Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla Dlamini, King Moshoeshoe of Lesotho, President Samora Machel of Mozambique, and President Quett Masire of Botswana.

The leaders of Zambia and Angola were also invited, according to sources, but were unable to attend.

So was the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe, but DAVE FORRET reports from Salisbury that he sent a message to President Machel that he had "prior commitments".

It is significant that the leaders who did attend were from those countries which have become the foremost havens for people fleeing South Africa — and consequently run the greatest risk of the Republic's possible retribution.

On Saturday, Swazi television reported that the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, had visited the country secretly for talks with government officials.

Last night this was denied by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Dr Brand Fourie, who said that as far as he was aware no South African Government official representative had been to Swaziland at the weekend.

But SUE DENNY reports that the Botswana Permanent Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Lebang Mpotokwane, claimed yesterday that Mr Botha "was in Swaziland on Sunday". He would give no further information.

Last night, Mozambique radio reported that a communique issued at the end of the summit said: "The delegations analysed, in particular, the attempts of the Pretoria regime to discredit neighbouring countries through military attacks and other forms of subversion."

The Heads of State arrived in Mbabane by air yesterday for the summit and were met by Prince Mabandla. They had an audience with King Sobhuza before talks with Swazi Government officials.

There was strict secrecy and tight security measures were in force in the Swazi capital.

Swazi Government officials denied all knowledge of the summit, even though it was known widely that foreign leaders had arrived in the country.

Only when the talks had ended after lunch, and the Heads of State were preparing to return home, was it officially announced that the meeting had taken place.

The summit had, however, been confirmed earlier in the day by government spokesmen in Botswana and Zimbabwe, and by the Portuguese news agency, Anop.

The meeting is seen as a revival of a similar one planned for February, but cancelled at the last minute.

It is understood that the leaders attending that meeting would have tried to persuade King Sobhuza to take a harder line against South Africa because of the SADF raid in January on an ANC base near Maputo.

DAVE FORRET reports that no official reason was given at the time for the cancellation of the February meeting, but informed sources in Salisbury said they suspected it had been called off because of pressure from Pretoria on the Swaziland Government.



This with the 10 year census should give us the necessary denominator

In addition we should continue to notify the formidable or very dangerous infectious diseases such as Rabies. If these are universally brought to an acceptable level the rest of the information we need could be responsibly and more accurately gained by a survey method

Areas of poor coverage can be selected and in these small

well trained and supervised informatic sample bas local popu encouragem people fee adequacy o for instanc will give n possibly mo process by needed for routine statistics on a wider and more complete basis

There are various bodies involved in this field who have the necessary expertise and experience to get such a scheme going on an experimental basis. To list a few

- Department of Statistics
- Department of Health
- Medical Research Council and its units such as the TB Research Institute and the National Research Institute for Nutritional Diseases

- Human Sciences Research Council
- Medical Schools

It is important that the level of sophistication of the scheme is such that it will be able to be executed by a small local authority and various homeland departments of health if it gets beyond the experimental stage

For this reason special attention should be given to

# Heads of state meet in Swaziland

MBABANE — Heads of state of Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland met here and discussed South African "military incursions and subversive activities" against black Southern African states, Swaziland Radio reported.

President Quett Masire of Botswana, King Moshoeshoe of Lesotho, President Samora Machel of Mozambique and King Sobhuza of Swaziland issued a communique after the one-day meeting, assailing South Africa for trying to destabilise the region.

They decided to meet periodically to discuss questions of mutual interest, the radio said.

There had been reports in Johannesburg that Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe might also attend the meeting, but Mr Mugabe stayed in Salisbury to open a seminar organised by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Swaziland Television reported over the weekend that South African Foreign Minister R F Botha had arrived in Mbabane, but Swaziland police denied the report.

The Mozambican News Agency reported that Mr Machel was accompanied to Mbabane by his Foreign Minister, Joaquim Chissano. The South African Press Association, quoting a Botswana Government spokesman, said the Prime Ministers of Lesotho and Swaziland were also to attend.

— AFP.

..... we enough for a pilot

project

## Designing meaningful measures for the survey

The purpose of the Comprehensive Health Care System is to promote health and to care for ill health. It is a system which makes comprehensive integrated primary health care possible and enable patients to gain access to secondary and tertiary care. Other factors that we are interested in is the degree of self reliance in health and illness of the people in their families and communities, also to what extent the service is able to be truly comprehensive in terms of having promotive, preventive, curative and rehabilitative care to the people it serves

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(24) Tognoni, G., Benedetti, F., Colombo, F., Ferrario, L., Franzosi, M.G., Mancini, M., and Mandelli, M. (1977). Drug Utilization Studies and Change of Therapeutic Practice. In: Epidemiological Evaluation of Drugs, edited by F. Colombo, et al. Elsevier/North-Holland Biomedical Press, Amsterdam.

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TABLE 1

## ESTIMATED GLOBAL PURCHASES OF HUMAN PHARMACEUTICALS BY MAJOR WORLD

## REGION AND COUNTRY, 1975

	(U.S. Dollars, Manufacturers' Prices)		Per Capita (Averages)
	Regional Total (millions)	Country Total (millions)	
World Total	\$37,500		\$ 9.60
North America (incl. Caribbean)	9,000		
U.S.A.		\$7,500	35.05
Mexico		800	13.70
South America	2,400		
Brazil		1,000	9.30
Argentina		600	26.10
Western Europe	12,750		
France		2,750	51.90
West Germany		3,350	53.35
U.K.		1,100	19.50
Sweden		300	36.60
Eastern Europe	5,250		
USSR		3,500	13.70
Asia	6,800		
Japan		4,250	38.45
India		450	0.75
Africa	825		
South Africa		275	11.10
Nigeria		75	1.20
Oceania	475		
Australia		400	29.65

Note: Because of definitional uncertainties, lack of comparable statistics, currency fluctuations, and differences in methods, the figures are only estimates.

ing was hosted by Swaziland's King Sobhuza II, who has hitherto steered clear of direct involvement in efforts among the front-line states to coordinate political action against South Africa. There are conflicting reports that the meeting was initiated by King Sobhuza and by President Machel of Mozambique, whose country has gone on an alert since South African troops raided ANC quarters near Maputo in

February and whose Government has accused South Africa of supporting the resistance movement operating inside Mozambique. However, the King issued the invitations to the meeting and according to unconfirmed reports, took part in the early stages of the discussions.

Also attending were President Machel, President Quett Masire of Botswana, King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho and Prime Minister Mabandla of Swaziland. Prime Minister Mngabane of Zimbabwe was invited but, after an unsuccessful attempt to have the meeting postponed, said he was unable to attend because of prior commitments.

In spite of official denials in both Pretoria and Mbabane, rumours persist that the South African Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, visited Swaziland secretly on Sunday — the day before the meeting.

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# Bid to close ranks' against SA

Argus Africa News Service

MBABANE — South African neighbouring states are believed to have moved significantly closer against the Republic at their top-level meeting in Swaziland yesterday.

The formal communiqué issued after the meeting attended by leaders from Swaziland, Mozambique, Botswana and Lesotho said the main business of the talks was to analyse attempts by South Africa to destabilise neighbouring countries through military attacks and other forms of subversion.

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(i)

Acknowledgements

I should like to express my thanks to all those in both the medical and economics professions who have assisted me in this work, particularly the following:

Graham van Wyk for sharing the work of the survey.

Dr J. Smith, Senior Medical Superintendent, Day Hospitals Organization, for guidance and

Mr J. le Roux, Secretary, Day Hospitals providing statistics and inform

Dr K. Sundgrun, Senior Medical Superintendent, Hospital Outpatient Department.

Mr B.C. Floor, Director, Transport of Stellenbosch, for access to costs in the Cape Town Metro.

Gill Westcott and Jonathan Brodie, encouragement and for criticism

SALDRU for financial assistance in the work.

I alone remain responsible for errors that exist.

Note:

This paper is based on a more complete presentation as my Honours thesis, University of Cape Town, 1978.

The analysis of the principles of especially its theoretical foundation has been considerably reduced, to a simplistic (and the medical professional jargon and "mysterious methods")

I have assumed familiarity with the details of the operation of the decentralized system of primary medical care in the Cape Peninsula, and I have tried to complement Dr Smith's paper by leaving out sections of my work that have been covered by him. The details of the survey and examples of applications of the cost benefit approach in the health sector are also excluded, and comments on the available data have been relegated to an appendix. Only such tables and graphs that are crucial to the explanation are to be found here. There is a full bibliography and those books and articles that would be particularly useful to anyone wishing to conduct a study are marked with an asterisk.

(ii)

OUTLINE

1. Introduction

- (1.1) Economic Analysis for Health Service Efficiency.
- (1.2) The Cost Effectiveness of the Day Hospitals Organization.
- (1.3) The Method of the Paper.

THE FRAMEWORK

2. The theory of cost benefit and cost effectiveness analysis

# Africa to get massive US aid

RDM 10/4/81

GENEVA. — The United States, telling Africa it could count on US support, yesterday pledged R196-million in aid for African refugees over the next 20 months.

Hailed by the United Nations and the Africans, the massive US commitment was made at the first international conference held to raise funds for the five million desperate refugees in Africa.

"Wonderful, marvellous," said Mr Dale de Haan, deputy UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

"This is one-third of the R720-million we estimate is needed for Africa over the next four to five years and more than half of the R360-million required for emergency aid this year and next," Mr de Haan said.

But Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, US Ambassador to the UN, in pledging the aid also called on Africa to put "an end to military adventures and violent politics" which have created the refugee problem. She said all countries should help.

"In this effort you can count on the United States," she said.

About 100 nations sent Foreign Ministers or other high-level officials to the

conference.

The Soviet Union, however, completely ignored a UN appeal to take part as did Moscow's East European allies.

"Too bad, unfortunate," Mrs Kirkpatrick said of Moscow's absence.

"Contrary to some reports, the US cares a great deal about our relations with the nations of Africa," she said.

Among other aid pledges were those of R12-million by the European Community and R7,6-million by the Dutch Government.

The conference was almost wrecked before it began by an Arab demand that Israel be excluded. UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, and African states appealed on humanitarian grounds to the Arab bloc to withdraw its demand.

A compromise was quickly found when Mrs Kirkpatrick warned that the US delegation would walk out if Israel was barred.

Besides having more than five million refugees — half the world total — Africa also has about three million displaced people.

Britain pledged R5,4-million in addition to R11,2-million already promised. — UPI.

- (5.2) Average length of stay.
- (5.3) The health of the community.
- (5.3.1) Obstetric care.
- (5.3.2) Gastro enteritis.
- (5.3.3) Maturity-onset diabetes.

6. Discussion

- (6.1) The incidence of costs and benefits.
- (6.2) Services at night.
- (6.3) Economies of scale.

7. Conclusions

- (7.1) The Cost Effectiveness of the DHO.
- (7.2) The cost benefit approach to health once more.

Appendix

A note on the available statistics.

## ECONOMIC GROUPINGS ① Consas vs SADCC

*FM 10/1/81*  
The emergence of two separate regional economic groupings in the sub-continent is "bound to be one of the features of the southern African scene in the 1980s." It has also accentuated the political and ideological divisions between the RSA and the internationally recognised black states around it.

These are among the conclusions of a detailed study comparing Pretoria's mooted plan for a Constellation of southern African states (Consas) and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC), which was put into "busi-

ness" at the Maputo conference last November (*FM* December 5). The report, sub-titled "Towards a new regional stalemate?" is by Deon Geldenhuys, assistant director (research) of the SA Institute of International Affairs.

The "stalemate" does not apply in either the military or economic spheres — where SA is superior, says Geldenhuys. "The new regional stalemate manifests itself primarily in the improbability of either grouping extending its membership (except for Zaire and Namibia probably joining SADCC and future independent homelands joining Consas), and in the likely inability of SADCC countries to contribute in any profound material way to what they would describe as the 'liberation of SA' by overthrowing the present political order. Rather than SADCC from the outside promoting meaningful political change within SA, Consas might do so by serving as an instrument for internal political restructuring, starting with a confederation."

The launching of the so-called "counter-constellation" of the nine member SADCC in Arusha, Tanzania, in July 1979 has politically by-passed SA and in a sense outmanoeuvred Pretoria's original Consas design. It has been argued that this was the *raison d'être* of the formation of the SADCC bloc, although "reducing dependency particularly but not only on SA" is

the official aim. In any event, the SADCC moved forward with "remarkable speed" from Arusha to the donors' conference in Maputo. This has led some observers to conclude that the "threat" of Consas had something to do with the timing of the "counter-constellation."

### Dependence

Geldenhuys writes: "The emergence of SADCC should be seen against the background of the close economic ties which black southern African states maintain with SA. In most instances it is a dependency relationship (of black states on the Republic) . . . There are three major areas of interaction with SA: trade, transport and labour. The measure of dependence reflects the black states' individual economic weakness relative to SA and this has brought them to the realisation that the best way of strengthening their respective economies would be to pool their limited resources and efforts, rather than each acting unilaterally. In addition, non-economic considerations also played a major role in the establishment of SADCC."

"In its original conception," Geldenhuys says of Consas, "the constellation design was remarkably ambitious and indeed grandiose. It was based on a set of crucial assumptions which, however, failed to acknowledge the depth of political and ideo-

logical divisions between SA and internationally recognised black states. The result has been that SA was forced to amend its constellation plan to what is now to all intents and purposes an institutionalised formula to reshape relations on the economic, political and military/security levels between the RSA and its

former homelands."

Consas is therefore not really a regional economic grouping in the sense of being composed of independent states recognised as such outside of Pretoria. Although it is "looking like an impossible dream," writes Geldenhuys, "those grandiose ideas on a regional constellation,

comprehensive both in terms of members and areas of formal co-operation involved, nonetheless still remain part of Pretoria's stated long-term ideal." Certainly, with SA broken up into various "independent states," Pretoria's policy will be to treat them as such and accordingly to plan within inter-national, Consas structures

Footnotes (continued)Section 5:

- (11) The Sainsbury Report.
- (12) Survey by MARPLAN, quoted in Financial Mail 3/2/78.
- (13) Solomon, W.J. and Mannheim, J.T.: MBA Thesis.
- (14) Heminki, E.: Content analysis of drug detailing by Pharmaceutical Representatives.
- (15) Steenkamp Commission.
- (16) Insurance Survey: Supplement to Financial Mail 2/12/77.
- (17) Survey of Doctors reported in Steenkamp Commission.
- (18) Wilson, A.T. and Hooper, G.: Drugs Advertised by Post.
- (19) Vance Packard: The Hidden Persuaders.
- (20) Prinsloo, T.: Pil-pryse gedokter.

+ + + + + + +

Section 6:

- (1) I. Illich estimates that branded drugs cost 3-15 times more than generic equivalents in U.S.A.
- (2) For a review of the debate see also: Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association (USA): The prescribing debate after a decade.
- (3) Kane, G.J.: Pill, Potions and Persuasion.
- (4) W.H.O. Chronicle, 1973.
- (5) Chamberlin, E.H.: The Theory of Monopolistic Competition.

+ + + + + + +

Section 7:

- (1) Steenkamp Commission.
- (2) Molitor, B.: Patent Protection Considered as an Economic Problem.

+ + + + + + +

Section 8:

- (1) Summers, R.: A Pharmaceutical Study Tour of the U.S.A.
- (2) Steenkamp Commission.
- (3) Bam, W.: Are Pharmaceutical Preparations much too expensive?
- (4) Heller, T.: Rich-Profits-and-Poor-Health.

Footnotes (continued):Section 8:

- (5) Chain, E., Nobel Prize Winner for work on Penicillin. Quoted in Financial Mail, 20/6/69.
- (6) Summers, R. Op Cit.

# West boost pledges of aid to refugees

GENEVA. — Pledges of aid for African refugees exceeded even the most optimistic expectations yesterday by coming close to a massive R480-million.

Financial commitments to help Africa's five million starving or near-starving refugees came mostly from Western nations.

The United States was far in front with a pledge of R228-million.

UN organisers of the first International Conference on Assistance for African Refugees said they were "astounded and delighted" by the results.

"Contributions far exceed the R480-million we believe is required to meet priority needs in Africa between now and the end of 1982," said Mr Leon Davico, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

Mr Davico said contributions

announced amounted to about R422-million by yesterday afternoon with Arab oil-producing countries still to make their pledges.

He said the overall total would very likely be about R480-million.

There was some confusion as donor after donor announced pledges over how much "new" money was involved as against previous commitments to assist the High Commissioner, the International Red Cross and other relief agencies.

Mr Davico estimated that about 40% of the total could be considered as "fresh funds" on top of earlier aid undertakings.

The enormous amount of aid for Africa was far more than the R162-million in additional aid for Indochinese refugees raised at a similar conference in Geneva in 1979.

It was also four times more

than amount raised at a Cambodia conference in 1980.

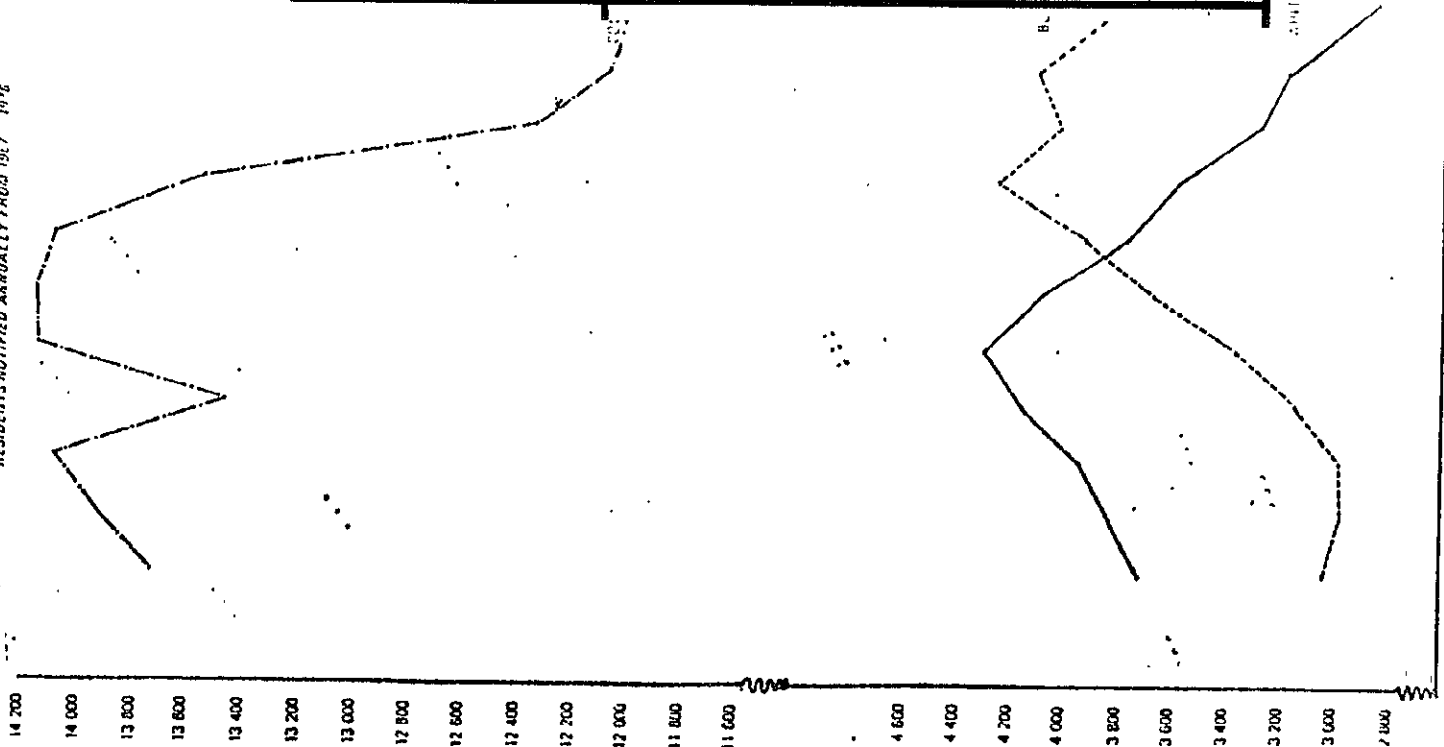
UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, convened the Africa aid conference at the request of the African nations whose five million refugees to date represent more than half the world total refugee population.

The Soviet Union, which has never contributed to any UN humanitarian aid programme, failed to attend.

Libya boycotted the conference because of Israel's participation.

Apart from the United States, other major contributions were those of West Germany with R27-million, the European Community with R54-million, Japan with R18-million, Canada with R17-million, the United Kingdom with R11-million, The Netherlands with R7-million and Denmark with R7-million. — UPI.

3. THE NUMBERS OF WHITE COLOURED AND BLACK LINE RESIDENTS TO CAPE TOWN RESIDENTS NOTIFIED ANNUALLY FROM 1967-1976



# Black leaders to hold summit <sup>ROOM 15/4/81</sup> ①

'Mail' Africa Bureau  
**LUSAKA.** — Frontline Presidents are scheduled to hold their summit in the Angolan capital of Luanda today, diplomatic sources said in Lusaka yesterday.  
 It is strongly believed that

the summit has been called to find a common stand regarding United States policy on South West Africa and the Southern African region as a whole.  
 The summit is expected to be attended by Presidents of Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania,

Zimbabwe, Angola and Botswana.  
 United States presidential adviser, Dr Chester Crocker, has already met most of the Frontline Presidents on his shuttle of 10 African nations and has listened to their views.

1. Drip room admissions (Red Cross War Memorial Hospital):

Date	I.V. Drips	Oral	Total	Deaths
1971	10,695	6,461	17,156	158
1972	11,144	6,954	18,098	96
1973	7,508	4,968	12,476	84
1974	6,139	3,170	9,308	62
1975	5,087	3,089	8,176	43
1976	7,053	4,297	11,350	79
1977.	5,038	2,890	7,928	34

These improved statistics which cover patients brought in from outside the D.H.O. area, suggest that earlier attendance for medical attention is one of the influencing factors.

2. NOTIFIED BIRTHS AND BIRTH RATES BY RACE : 1972 TO 1976  
 CAPE TOWN

RACE	1972		1973		1974		1975		1976	
	LIVE BIRTHS	BIRTH RATE	LIVE BIRTHS	BIRTH RATE	LIVE BIRTHS	BIRTH RATE	LIVE BIRTHS	BIRTH RATE	LIVE BIRTHS	BIRTH RATE
White	6 092	17.1	2 780	15.6	3 393	14.6	3 288	13.2	3 184	12.6
Coloured	14 334	34.3	14 080	32.9	13 830	30.7	12 340	26.8	12 074	25.8
Indian	182	18.3	250	24.5	241	23.0	240	22.3	264	23.9
Black	8 603	40.4	3 931	42.6	4 250	44.7	4 031	41.2	4 118	40.9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>23 112</b>	<b>29.6</b>	<b>12 041</b>	<b>28.6</b>	<b>21 614</b>	<b>31.3</b>	<b>19 899</b>	<b>24.3</b>	<b>19 641</b>	<b>23.3</b>

(3)

advantageously applied. (4) While efficiency in day-to-day operations is to be encouraged, strategic issues should not be left to ad hoc decision making despite the greater problems involved in appraising larger and more complex issues. According to the second best theorem, efficiency at one level does not necessarily imply greater overall efficiency if efficiency at other levels is neglected as being too problematic. This gives rise to the need to consider more than whether A is cost-effective relative to B; relative to C both may be inappropriate.

In the light of these issues, the intention in the first section of the paper is to consider whether there are grounds on which to recommend cost benefit and cost effectiveness analysis, for wider use in the public health sector in South Africa.

(1.2) The Cost Effectiveness of the Day Hospitals Organisations

The Day Hospitals Organisation in the Cape Peninsula provides service in South Africa of decentralised outpatient care. established as an independent organisation in 1969 to improve the existing service by relieving-pressure on hospital out departments and to allow a more efficient allocation of it. It is the responsibility of the Cape Provincial Administration based, providing curative medical care for the individual with a gross monthly income of less than R240 - of all rural Day Hospitals do not provide preventive or promotive health care. In the Cape Peninsula, these are the responsibility of the Municipality and the Divisional Council. In the area are also the health clinics of SEAWCO and UKOR which provide a service to supplement that of other organisations. In the map overleaf are shown the location of the Day Hospitals and the Day Hospital Organisations District Rooms. The Day Hospitals are not equivalent to those overseas and as exists at Tara Hospital, Sandton, where a patient attends during the day, receiving the necessary treatment, and returns to his home in the evenings. Primary professional curative medical care in Cape Town is currently provided at outpatient departments, at both teaching and general hospitals, at the Day Hospitals and by private general practitioners. The latter does not concern us here unless visions of a National Health Service are held, or unless the solution is seen to be provided by the free market with the indigent being given health coupons with which to purchase health services from a doctor of their own choice. The pros and cons of these arguments are beyond the scope of this study.

THE LOCATION OF THE DAY HOSPITALS



- District Rooms
- a. Claremont
  - b. Constantia
  - c. Botterkloof
  - d. Teravia
  - e. Durbanville
  - f. Ocean View

(3a)

- Cape Town  
Matieland  
Kensington  
Epping  
Bellville  
Elsies River  
Kanga  
Bishop Lavis  
Kewtown  
Heideveld  
Guguluthu  
Deep River  
Lons River  
Grassy Park  
Pretoria

Help pledged on SA raids

'Mail' Africa Bureau  
LUSAKA. — President Cvijetin Mijatovic of Yugoslavia has flown to Tanzania at the end of a four-day state visit to Zambia during which he pledged to give full support to Zambia and other "Frontline States".

A joint communique said Yugoslavia gave "full support to the Republic of Zambia and other Frontline States in their struggle against aggressive raids by South Africa". The two presidents were concerned about "the delaying tactics employed by South Africa to deter the quick implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia". "The extension of rivalry of great powers and blocs in ever widening areas, and continuous acceleration of the arms race, nuclear and conventional," were of great concern to Zambia and Yugoslavia.

The Presidents said tension and confrontation in Southern Africa could not be abolished and peace established until "the liberation of Namibia from South African occupation" and the dismantling of South African apartheid.

President Mijatovic invited President Kaunda to pay yet another visit to Yugoslavia. President Kaunda accepted the invitation, but a date has yet to be fixed.





(20)

1. See for example Prest and Turvey p.683  
Mishan (1975) Ch.2  
UNIDO Ch. 1
2. See for example Fein p.210  
layard (introduction)  
Pole (1968) p.192  
Newton pp.235-6  
Culyer p.66
3. See Dasgupta and Pearce: for a full cove  
theoretical aspects of cost benefit ana  
Graaff (1975) Baumol, and the original  
Kaldor, Scitovsky, Arrow and Fisher. Kr  
a clear account of the welfare aspects  
analysis.
4. See Prest and Turvey
5. Packer p.247
6. Illich
7. See Arrow "The welfare Economics of Medica  
and Culyer" Is Medical care different  
Culyer.
8. Krutilla p.231
9. Creese p.80
10. Feldstein p.136
11. Mushkin p.138
12. Culyer p.70
13. Williams p. (1974) P.197
14. Creese p.89
15. Culyer p.1
16. UNIDO p.241
17. Introduction to G.H. Peters "Cost Benefit  
Expenditure" IEA 1968.
18. Graaff (1975) P.243
19. Fein pp.200-201
20. Dasgupta and Pearce p.21
21. Comment by A.G. Hines "On the reapraisal  
Economics" (1971) pp.24-25
22. Prest and Turvey p.731.

(21)

3. The health centre concept.  
(3.1) The aims of the Day Hospitals

The Day Hospitals were established with the following

1. Decentralisation of outpatient

SALISBURY. — The Frontline States are to hold a one-day summit in Luanda today — sparked by the 10-nation African tour of the United States Assistant Secretary-designate for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, according to Zimbabwean Government sources.

The emphasis of Dr Crocker's tour has been moves to achieve independence for South West Africa.

Meanwhile, diplomatic sources at the United Nations in New York said yesterday that France will submit comprehensive proposals for an independence settlement for SWA in talks with Britain, the US, West Germany and Canada in London next week.

The proposals are secret, but constitutional guarantees are said to be at their heart.

Dr Crocker will represent the US at the talks.

The Frontline summit in Luanda, the Angolan capital, will be attended by the Presidents of Tanzania, Botswana, Mozambique, Angola and Zambia.

Zimbabwe will be represented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Witness Mangwende, because Prime Minister Robert Mugabe is hosting the

Yugoslav leader, Mr Cvijetin Mijatovic.

Mr Mangwende said yesterday that attention at the summit would focus on the latest developments on SWA and Dr Crocker's visit.

It would also "map out strategies on the resolution of Namibia's disputed independence question".

"The meeting will really be a preliminary to the UN debate on Namibia, which will take place from April 21 in New York," he said. "I will also be at that meeting."

Mr Mangwende said that after the UN debate he would visit a number of North African states on behalf of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to "solicit material, moral and diplomatic support for Namibia's struggle for independence".

Dr Crocker arrived in South Africa on Tuesday for talks with the Government, hinting that he had brought "the nucleus of a fresh settlement plan".

"I would say we are bringing some initial ideas," he said, adding that the UN Security Council's Resolution 435, embodying the five-nation Western contact group's pro-

posals, still provided a basis for the SWA negotiations.

In talks with Zimbabwean leaders on Monday, Dr Crocker was told that the Salisbury government's policy remained tied to the UN Security Council resolution.

A Zimbabwean Government spokesman said yesterday that speculation on common ground having been reached with the US on staging a constitutional conference before elections in SWA was "not in line with what was discussed".

But government sources would not discount the possibility that the US and the other contact group nations would recommend a constitutional conference of the kind that preceded Zimbabwean independence — if South Africa endorsed the idea.

The London talks will coincide with the Security Council debate on the SWA, and diplomatic sources said it was possible the council meeting might be postponed for the outcome of the talks.

If not, the sources said, the African states might, for the time being at least, withhold proposals for comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.

# Frontliners to meet over Crocker tour

RDM  
16/4/81  
①

The decentralisation is aimed to encourage patients to attend the Day Hospital in their own area, enabling an emphasis on the community rather than on illness, although as long as Day Hospitals provide only curative care, they remain a disease service rather than a health service.

# Neighbours ganging up?

① 5th 7/4/81

The Star's Africa  
News Service

MBABANE — South Africa's neighbouring states are believed to have moved significantly closer to closing their ranks against the Republic at their top-level meeting in Swaziland yesterday.

The formal communique issued after the meeting attended by leaders from Swaziland, Mozambique, Botswana and Lesotho said the main business of

the talks was to "analyse attempts by South Africa to destabilise neighbouring countries through military attacks and other forms of subversion."

Of special significance is the fact that the meeting was hosted by Swaziland's King Sobhuza II, who has hitherto steered clear of direct involvement in efforts among the "front-line" states to co-ordinate political action against South Africa.

Also attending were

President Machel, President Quett Masire of Botswana, King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho and Prime Minister Mabandla of Swaziland. Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe was invited but was unable to attend because of prior commitments.

There is speculation that rather than planning joint action against South Africa, the Swaziland, Botswana and Lesotho representatives explained to President Machel why they would not support the OAU's call for economic sanctions against South Africa.

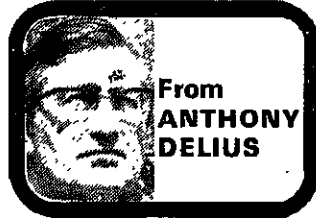
But it is seen as significant that four of the five governments bordering South Africa got together for the first time to discuss the Republic's alleged attempts at destabilisation.

Despite official denials in both Pretoria and Mbabane, rumours persist that the South African Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, visited Swaziland secretly on Sunday, the day before the meeting.

# Sergeant who seized power in Liberia surprises Africa

CT 21/4/81 ①

LONDON. — When, just over a year ago, a bunch of other ranks headed by Master-Sergeant Samuel Kanyon Doe shot the President of Liberia and Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, William Tolbert, Africans throughout the continent feared the worst.



As pictures circulated showing the sergeant in dark glasses and cloth fatigue cap surrounded by some equally tough-looking buddies, people everywhere were reminded of the sinister security police of Haiti, the Ton-Ton Macoute, who help to hold that hapless black-ruled Caribbean island down as one of the nastiest, poorest, most corrupt and family-owned dictatorships in the world. A fresh shudder went through the continent's rulers as the coup leaders had a dozen or so of the former government's more prominent members tied to stakes and executed by firing squad.

Similar things had happened before, but at least generals or colonels were seen to be in charge of the blood-letting and one could expect some sort of military discipline or order to be maintained. Even when something like it had happened in Ghana less than a year before, and probably inspired the sergeant to make his bid, there was at least a pilot-lieutenant in charge and a captain or two, even a colonel, hovering in the background. But the Liberian outburst looked like a revolt by the lowest and wildest elements of society and a murderous rampage was expected.

But to the growing astonishment of the scandalized leaders in West Africa, the sergeant has proved to be a wiser and more adaptable head of government than many generals have turned out to be in other countries taken over by military coups. The only extreme thing about

him seemed to be his "moderation", and his willingness to learn (he is still under 30 and has had little book-learning) is exemplary — he appears to have undertaken quite a load of printed homework to pick up some fundamental knowledge and theory demanded by his present job. And only a fortnight ago he was speaking of his military government not being intended to last for ever and has appointed a constitutional committee to be presided over by the head of Liberia's university, as a preliminary to eventual return (no date yet given) to civilian rule.

Today he looks rather like a Ph D student, with a smart Afro haircut and the latest nearly square plain glasses — no doubt all the reading he has to do is giving him eye-strain. For army occasions he wears the usual camouflage uniform that guerillas and paras in Africa affect today, but on other occasions he dons rather natty dungarees. Sometimes he relaxes by turning out for one of the army football teams up at the barracks.

He makes no apologies whatever about the violence he and his friends used to turn out the old True Whig government and end the dominance of the Americo-Liberians, a sort of aristocracy of descendants of the freed slaves who had started arriving in Africa from America more than 160 years ago. Although the Americo-Liberians numbered only about a twentieth of the two million people living in Liberia today, they

controlled threequarters of the country's wealth, totally dominated its politics, and left the tribal people of the interior poverty-stricken and illiterate.

Doe and most of his associates were members of a small tribe chiefly used as a source of recruits for the ill-paid ranks of the army. Curiously enough the wheeler-dealers in top hats and morning coats who had all the top positions under the True Whig Party never seemed to have the faintest idea that the soldiers who guarded their lives had any resentment about the position, or had the sense to realize they were being exploited. In the end they had almost no time to find out how mistaken they were before the shots rang out.

The corruption in Liberia was legendary, and became worse as some wise economic policies were instituted by President Tubman and his less lucky successor, President Tolbert. The open-door policy, the flowering of the rubber industry, the discovery of great quantities of iron caused a great deal of new wealth to circulate among the Americo-Liberians, and they tended to flout their wealth before the struggling poor who made up the bulk of their fellow citizens. Today, a year after their sudden downfall, nobody regrets their departure from the seats of power — and Master-Sergeant Doe least of all.

However, Doe and his People's Redemption Council realized that when they turned out the True Whig government, they also turned out the majority of people with enough education and know-how to run the country. They were lucky enough to have to hand resolute people who had maintained some opposition to the True Whigs in spite of the rough treatment that any opposition usually got. Among these were

Gabriel Bacchus Matthews, leader of the People's Progressive Party, and Tugba-nah Tipoteh, leader of the more grandly titled Movement for Justice in Africa — among the major injustices in Africa this party set on a par with True Whig rule was apartheid. The young soldiers brought these two able and well-educated men into their government as foreign minister and minister of planning and economic affairs respectively. There are other civilians as well.

The PRC government accepts that the adherence by the former government to private enterprise and the capitalist system generally was the right thing for the country, but it has to be spread from creating wealth for a little clique of "Americo-Liberians" to the whole people. As for socialism or communism, Doe says: "Not only will the PRC reject such ideologies, but the vast majority of Liberians will fight against such systems". Both the Americans and the European Common Market have made aid, loans and expertise available to the new Liberian rulers — and the Americans have even committed their military to doing war exercises with the Liberian army to increase its efficiency.

As Tugba-nah Tipoteh says, there are still great problems to be overcome: "What is indeed crucial in Liberia today is the choosing of the right calibre of leadership which can stop corruption, 50 percent unemployment, 160 deaths out of every 1 000 babies, the 52 percent drop in incomes..."

Master-Sergeant Doe has many nights of study ahead of him, and he admits that he doesn't know when he will find the necessary answers.

But he is not above asking others to help him

value is therefore comparative.

accurate from licensed institutions  
 No figures from provincial hospitals are  
 included from figures specifying the  
 type of inpatient treatment. The  
 with acute psychiatric states.  
 treated for extended periods.  
 patients who require longer-term manage-  
 the provincial hospitals once their  
 rolled, and referred to other  
 herefore the 9 476 patients known to  
 ents in provincial hospitals are  
 admitted to and discharged from the  
 ures for all patients treated at some  
 not available. Figures from 'homeland'  
 No complete records of patients who  
 ce during the year were available. Neither  
 he number of patients discharged  
 readmitted to another. All these factors  
 presented above incomplete. Their prime

art time	Full time	Part time	Nurses
26	36	-	4 224
?	?	-	?
1	0	7	1 064
6	0	11	820
?	3	?	?

summarised in the table below.

37 365 (3) discharges were recorded  
 include  
 s and 25 265 discharges from state mental  
 s and 2 624 discharges from 'homeland'  
 s and 9 476 discharges from provincial

# Encouraging signs of W African oil

## ● From Page 1

stepped-up exploration — non-Opec West African producers could be exporting 500 000 barrels or more sometime in the mid-1980s. This development should give the smaller black states greater economic, and inevitably political, leverage in the world.

Ironically, it was the same doubling of prices since 1978 that drove many African countries to the brink of insolvency that also accounts, in large part, for the increased attention paid to the west coast of Africa, particularly the Gulf of Guinea.

Because of their proximity to Nigeria and Gabon (another member of Opec, several of the region's countries have long interested international oil firms. But because of geological formations that tend to trap oil in shallow pockets, rather than large reservoirs as in, say, Mexico or Saudi Arabia, until recently the companies felt the necessary exploration and collection

would be too costly.

"It's like buying a kilo of potatoes," explained the manager of operations for one major company. "If the potatoes are small, you will need a lot of them to make the kilo, while if they're big, you'll only need three or four. Well, drilling a lot of small wells is a lot more expensive than a few large ones."

An upshot of the increased exploration in West Africa however, is that while most discoveries have fallen into the "small potatoes" category, there have been a number of important surprises.

The most significant appears to be the find made by Phillips Petroleum offshore Jacqueline, Ivory Coast, last year. Though both Phillips and Ivory Coast officials are remaining tight-lipped about its potential, other industry sources claim it could rival the Prudhoe Bay find several years ago in Alaska.

"It's very big — the whole industry is talking about it," said a drilling

expert here. "It's not just that the structure itself is large; it also has all the right qualities: low-sulphur crude, and a beautiful gas cap," he added. (Gas trapped at the top of an oil-bearing structure facilitates the flow of oil.)

Other pleasant surprises in the area have included promising offshore discoveries by Elf Aquitaine and Agip in Congo, and major natural gas finds by a Mobil-Total consortium and Gulf Oil in Cameroon. The gas fields, which have been compared to the Frigg zone in the British North Sea, have prompted the government to begin feasibility studies for a liquid natural gas plant.

If the plant is given the expected go-ahead, it could make Cameroon an exporter by 1987.

A little-publicised discovery by Exxon in central Zaire also has generated rumours in West African diplomatic circles of a "mammoth oil field." Though the report is unconfirmed, Exxon must be fairly confident that the area has

promise: Onshore exploration costs run at least 10 times those offshore in West Africa, because of a lack of infrastructure and dense jungle that slows the movement of rigs.

Perhaps the best barometer of the region's petroleum potential is the increase in interest shown by non-oil-sector investors. Since 1978, the first year of Cameroon's oil production, Chase Manhattan Bank, First National Bank of Boston, and Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas have joined the four French-owned foreign banks in Douala, Cameroon.

Bank of America has applied for permission to open an affiliate here.

Despite the Marxist philosophy of the Congolese government, bankers and businessmen from Europe and the US now make the trek to Brazzaville, Congo.

And Abidjan, Ivory Coast, already a major business center, is bracing for a renewed wave of expatriates drawn by the Phillips discovery.

R 1 400	Purchases	R 1 400
6 900	Cost 30.6.05	6 900
5 500	Sold - at cost	5 500
21 500	Cost 30.6.04	21 500
R 27 000	Investments - Dad Ltd	R 27 000
<hr/>		
R 37 000	Addition	R 37 000
92 000	Cost 30.6.05	92 000
R 55 000	Cost 30.6.04	R 55 000
130 000	Buildings - Lad Ltd	130 000
160 000	Addition	160 000
11 600	Less: Building demolished	11 600
R141 600	Cost 30.6.04	R141 600
1 300 000	Buildings - Dad Ltd	1 300 000
1 600 000	Addition	1 600 000
R 30 000	Addition	R 30 000
<hr/>		
R 26 400	Proceeds	R 26 400
R 4 900	Profit	R 4 900

1. Additions to fixed assets

# Doctor shortage

## in Africa

reaches  
1  
a crisis  
Argus 29/4/81

### Argus Correspondent

GENEVA. — Africa's shortage of doctors, always severe, is now reaching crisis proportions, according to the World Health Organisation (WHO).

The main reason is the migration of doctors and qualified nurses. Only a few doctors from African countries, once trained in the West, return to their homes to help their people.

While the world ratio for doctors per population is one doctor for every 1,237 people, the average ratio in Africa is one for every 5,434.

The situation is most desperate in East Africa, with a doctor-population ratio of 1:17,480. West Africa has a ratio of 1:14,965 and Middle Africa 1:15,387.

Southern Africa's ratio is 1:2,135.

Ethiopia has the greatest shortage of doctors with only one physician for every 73,043. The next-worst ratio is in Burundi, 1:45,430.

Between 1970 and 1980 the doctor shortage worsened in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, WHO said, with the ratio moving from 1:5,266 to 1:7,106. There were 19 doctors for every 100,000

Mr. Gert van Tonder  
contracted with Rolon  
drie, of 40 Roseville  
Road, Claremont, in  
August last year.  
The work included  
garage, study and a con-  
crete wall.  
From then on, Mr. van  
Tonder says, he has  
building material to show

Africa, we have devoted very inadequate time and attention to the development of a strategy of our own that is in line with the needs of local cultural and value systems. We accepted the unfortunate view that what is good for Europe and America, is good enough for us in Africa. This approach, of course, led to an energetic expansion of our services while we struggled in a heroic fashion to bring these services in line with norms and standards as we knew them from travelling abroad. This approach may be - even if only partly - recommendable and applicable when it comes to those on the Westernised end of the scale in the dichotomy of acculturation, but what does it offer to those who by circumstance or deliberation find themselves at the other end of the scale?

Accentuated

Integrated team.

Another innate question-mark in our present system is that the medical model carries with it a rigorous tradition of subjection to proven scientific method. This leads to a negative attitude towards lay workers and especially towards traditional healers, who try to move into the area which medical science claims as its monopoly. Of course, we know of the limitation and the disregard of the traditional medicine systems for the scientific methods and research with its unrelenting

• / ...

disciplinary codes which it imposes on the art of healing. However we have to admit that when it comes to health promotion, traditional systems have a lot to offer - under the right guidance and subject to the establishment of dialogue. When it comes to psychiatry and especially to psychotherapy, traditional practitioners are the only ones that can reach that large section of our population where those with an exclusively Westernised insight, have very little access and therefore very little to offer.

For the traditional Black man, and to a lesser extent for people in transition, body, soul, family, community and ancestral shadows form a coherent, integrated whole, a fact which also finds clear expression in the treat-

System with this approach...  
medical doctor, when consulted for a physical ailment, commands a lot of power (van den Berg, 1970). When the patient approaches the psychiatrist with his complaint, we have less to offer medically and almost nothing to offer psychotherapeutically to the traditional patient. Taking this into account, we can predict that to the traditional patient the non-medical members of the mental health team must appear as a group of impotent and powerless workers.

• / ...

# Zaire off economic critical list—claim

KINSHASA. — Zaire is off the critical list after years of economic sickness, but the patient still needs treatment, according to Western diplomats here.

The International Monetary Fund applied strict medicine to the economy last year and Zaire had come through reasonably well, the diplomats said.

Rich in minerals but in debt to almost R4-billion, the Kinshasa authorities are now waiting to see if Western countries will invest here and re-launch the economy.

The aim of this plan is to increase food production in the countryside to cover the needs of the 36-million population, thus reducing imports to save hard currencies while providing raw materials for industry and exports.

Under this plan, named after President Mobutu Sese Seko, about R2-billion would be pumped into agriculture, transport, mining and energy, over three years.

## DID BETTER

The aim of the so-called IMF stabilisation programme was to improve public finances, slow external debt, start repayments, reduce inflation and tighten credit.

The country did better than planned with a bud-

get deficit of about 350 million zaires (about R95-million) against a planned ceiling of 440-million zaires (about R120-million).

This was partly due to improved tax returns after Belgium sent a small team to help run the customs office.

In the words of one Western diplomat Zaire is no longer on the danger list.

The patient's temperature has gone down, but he is still weak. He must continue with his strict diet and needs his friends' help before he can stand on his feet, he added.

## FURTHER AID

Zaire is to have preliminary talks with the IMF about further aid. The country has already received about R103-million from the organisation.

The Kinshasa authorities hope to get further funds from the World Bank and bilateral aid and will hold a new round of negotiations this spring with its 10 Western creditor governments on further rescheduling of its debts. — Sapa-Reuters.

## REFUGEES FM 1/81 ① Africa's new face

A tribal woman, grey with dust, digs in a dry river bed for water. She uses her hands because she does not possess a tin or any other utensil. Lying in the shade of a nearby thorn tree is her three month-old baby. Its arms and legs are matchstick thin. Its wrinkled face has been prematurely aged by starvation. The mother may survive on her daily ration of 1 lb 4 oz (0.57 kg) of food; the baby, like thousands of others, will probably not live long enough to learn to walk or run.

This is the new face of Africa where refugees have become an overwhelming problem that has only recently been recognised by the rest of the world. Political upheavals throughout the continent have thrown up a tide of displaced people who are fleeing persecution or war in their own country. This mass exodus across borders has placed an overwhelming burden on host countries — often unable to feed their own citizens, let alone an influx of people without the means of earning a living.

Today, one in every two refugees in the world is an African. These victims — of events beyond their control — number about 5m and are proving to be an intolerable financial drain on both Africa and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

Given these statistics, it is surprising that so little has been written about Africa's plight in the past. One of the reasons has been that hospitality is a prominent feature of Africa and host countries have never thought to ask for resettlement of refugees in countries outside the continent, as happened with the Vietnamese boat people. Instead, these countries — invariably the poorer ones — have quietly offered shelter and sustenance to these dispossessed, though from an empty table.

Furthermore, the problem has only reached catastrophic proportions in the last few years. In 1967, when African governments first formally acknowledged the problem, there were only 450 000 refugees on the entire continent. By the time a pan-African conference on the situation of refugees was called in Arusha, Tanzania, in 1979, the number had grown to 3m.

Since then, the number has been swelling by an unmanageable 800 000 each year.

Today, this population which is composed almost entirely of illiterate peasants, makes demands on host countries that can tip the balance for fragile economies already burdened with mounting energy costs, the effects of a world recession, food shortages, drought and huge debt repayments. In the face of this crisis, Africa can no longer keep quiet and its refugee problem has spilled over into the international scene.

In response to the indications of impending doom, the UN and the OAU held an international conference on April 9 and 10 to chew over the problems of financial and development assistance. The target set was \$1.3 billion. And \$550m is to be sought in emergency aid over the next five years.

On the face of it, this is not an exorbi-

tant sum when compared to other contemporary catastrophes. It cost about the same amount to resettle 300 000 Vietnamese boat people. And the emergency relief programme for Cambodia has already raised \$600m. However, in view of the industrialised world's current budget costs, this humanitarian appeal may fall far short of its target. So far, the UNHCR has only raised \$150m of its annual global budget of \$500m. And western countries are alarmed at the way humanitarian aid is not only eating up shrinking budgets but is also being siphoned off by some countries, specifically Somalia and by liberation movements.

Somalia, a country with strong expansionist ambitions, has been described by Poul Hartling, the Danish UN High Commissioner for Refugees, as the worst refugee problem in the world. One of the poorest countries on the continent, it is struggling to meet import bills and has long been a recipient of emergency food aids for its own citizens.

Yet its invasion of Ethiopia's disputed Ogaden region has spewed up 1.5m refugee nomads, equivalent in number to half the country's natural population. Up to 3 000 drought and war affected people from the Ogaden straggle into makeshift camps every day. Each month a new camp is filled with some 40 000 people.

The situation balances on the edge of catastrophe and could ultimately derail Somalia's development programmes for decades to come, despite massive external assistance.

Elsewhere on the continent the picture is brighter where longer-term solutions have been implemented.

But it remains one approaching despair. Nor should it be viewed in anything but the most serious light by Africans themselves or by the West in general.

### TO THE RESCUE

The US and 14 other Western industrial nations successfully launched a concerted plan this week to give Poland's reformist government a little relief from its increasingly onerous economic difficulties.

They agreed to reschedule \$2.6 billion in debt repayments Poland owes them during the rest of the year, giving the government a four-year grace period until 1986. They will then allow it to stretch reimbursement over the next four years.

In return, the Poles have agreed to tough austerity measures, which will mean falling living standards and higher unemployment. But it will also mean the chance of being free of the need for outside economic assistance by 1985.

The rescheduling of this government-to-government debt is expected to prompt private Western banks to offer Poland similar relief on the \$3 billion of repayments it owes them this year. In addition, Poland believes it can count on fresh credits of about \$3 billion towards the total of \$10 billion it needs in 1981 in new loans to avoid bankruptcy and have enough foreign exchange to pay for essential imports.

The remaining "gap" of about \$2 billion is expected to be filled by the Poles, persuading Russia and other East bloc creditors to also defer repayment of hard currency loans owed them this year.

But this week's agreement is only a first step. The West knows it will have to launch a similar rescue operation next year and the year after, to ease the crushing burden of debt repayment that will still be weighing down on the Polish economy.



# SA fourth in Africa's productivity stakes

Agus 2/5/81 (1)

**SOUTH AFRICA is the fourth richest country in Africa, behind Libya, Reunion and Gabon, in terms of per capita gross national product, according to the 1980 World Bank atlas.**

Based on 1979 GNP and population, the figures show the per capita GNP of South Africa as 1 720 US dollars (R1 376), about 21 percent of the Libyan figure, 41 percent of the Reunion figure and 52

percent of the Gabon figure.

Of the four leading African countries, South Africa has the highest GNP — 7,02-billion dollars (R5,61-billion), but also the biggest population — 27,7-million. The figures include the homelands.

While the population of South Africa was growing at a rate of 2,7 percent in 1979, the per capita GNP was increasing by 0,7 percent annually between 1970 and 1978.

The Libyan population of 2,85-million was increasing by 4,2 percent

yearly while the per capita GNP was decreasing by 2,6 percent.

Reunion's population of 518 000 was increasing by 1,8 percent every year while its per capita GNP was decreasing by one percent.

Gabon was increasing its per capita GNP by 8,6 percent annually — the second highest rate in Africa behind Botswana (13,2 percent) — while its population of 635 000 was increasing by 1,1 percent. This was the smallest annual population growth in Africa.

The per capita GNP of countries bordering South Africa showed Namibia to be the richest, with 1 220

dollars — the only bordering country over 1 000 dollars.

The others, in descending order, were Botswana (720 dollars), Swaziland (650 dollars), Zimbabwe (470 dollars), Lesotho (340 dollars), and Mozambique (250 dollars).

The other six of the 10 richest African countries were Algeria, Seychelle, Namibia, Tunisia, Ivory Coast and Mauritius.

While figures for Somalia were not available, Chad had the lowest per capita GNP — 110 dollars — which was declining at a rate of 0,6 percent while its 4,42-million population was increasing by 2,2 percent annually.

# Nine aim for 'self-sufficiency' ①

GABORONE — The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference would succeed, the Zambian High Commissioner to Botswana, Mr N N Kalala, said in Gaborone yesterday.

Presenting his credentials to the President of Botswana, Dr Quett Masire, he praised the efforts by nine black states in southern Africa to develop their economies through the SADCC.

When its objectives were realised, this part of Africa would be one of the

best to live in.

The SADCC was formed in Lusaka last year. *STAR*

16/5/81  
Dr Masire said the efforts towards peace and justice in southern Africa were richly rewarded last year when Zimbabwe became independent.

"We shall not be made to wait for too long to witness meaningful change in South Africa, whereby all its people will enjoy equal rights in running the government and economy of their country," Dr Masire said. — Sapa.

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RSM 14/5/81  
**African States** **want to end migrant labour**

'Mail' Africa Bureau  
**SALISBURY.** — Representatives from seven Southern African states and three "Liberation movements" are meeting in Salisbury to discuss ways of ending migrant labour to South Africa

The four-day conference of the Southern Africa Labour Commission will get into top gear today when labour Ministers from the seven States join the talks.

The countries represented at the conference are Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia.

The banned African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa, as well as Swapo, were also invited to send representatives to the conference.

They are trying to work out plans to end the long-standing system whereby hundreds of thousands of migrant workers from their countries travel to South Africa for employment.

The Zimbabwe Government recently announced its decision to cut off mine labour to South Africa.

Mfr Joboringo Murisi, Permanent Secretary in Zimbabwe's Ministry of Labour, told the conference that there were now fewer than 5 000 Zimbabwe workers in South Africa compared with the pre-independence figure of about 30 000

He added, however, that the problem could only be solved if South Africa's neighbours adopted a practical approach and created sufficient job opportunities for those people who were "forced" to work under apartheid.

It is estimated that Zimbabwe, which is least dependant on migrant labour for income, stands to lose about R6-million a year in foreign exchange with a total cut off of its mine labour to South Africa.

The remaining Zimbabwean miners in South Africa will be sent home when their present contracts expire.

- No. 14 Brand, Politics and African Trade Unionism in Rhodesia since Federation.
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PLEASE CIRCLE ITEMS REQUIRED

# Be patient! Doctor's just adjusting his head-dress!

Argus 7/5/81

SALISBURY. — Before he examines a patient, Doctor Binara Tshuma straightens his animal skin head-dress, removes his shoes, inhales snuff through both nostrils and wills himself into a hypnotic trance.

'I have to call on my spirit to advise me,' said Tshuma, 50, consultant traditional healer who runs a medical centre in Salisbury with two conventional Western-trained doctors.

'There's very little spirits can't cure.'

Dr Tshuma is one of 8 000 Zimbabwean spirit mediums and herbalists whose centuries-old cures and skills are being increasingly enlisted to lessen the load on contemporary doctors and spread health care to all the 7.2-million inhabitants of Zimbabwe.

'People who come here have a choice between the nganga (traditional healer) or the doctors,' said Mrs Barbara Sibanda, a registered nurse who owns the Zimbabwe Medical and Traditional Practitioners' Centre in Zimbabwe's second-largest city, but the nganga is the busiest of our consultants. Even whites choose to go to him.'

More and more African Governments are turning to their traditional healers — 'witchdoctors' in the eyes of most sceptical foreigners — to help ease the chronic shortage of conventional doctors and extend health care.

## GOUT

A retired white railway engineer, in his 60s, emerged from Dr Tshuma's tiny consulting room furnished with game skins and fitted with shelves of secret potions made from herbs, ark and vital organs of wild animals, reptiles and birds.

'Don't use my name because my friends would laugh at me, but this chap cured me of gout,' he said. 'I was a long sufferer, but

after two weeks of his muti (medicine) I'm fit as a fiddle.'

More and more African Governments are turning to their traditional healers — 'witchdoctors' in the eyes of most sceptical foreigners — to help ease the chronic shortage of conventional doctors and extend health care.

## LAWS

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO) Africa has only one doctor for every 5 434 people, compared with one for 328 in Western Europe.

But there are tens of thousands of traditional healers who, in colonial times, were forced to operate underground to dodge anti-witchcraft laws and who in most countries have yet to be recognised.

In Nigeria, however, a new law was passed last year as a lead to Africa effectively integrating the herbalists and spirit mediums into the State-run national health service.

In Kenya, calls are mounting for the abolition of laws inherited from British colonial rulers outlawing the practice of traditional medicine.

In Tanzania, where the 600-member organisation of traditional healers was banned by the black socialist government, most of the 18 million inhabitants still secretly visit these spiritualists and herbalists.

Traditional healers throughout the continent pass on their secrets, and their spirits, from father to son or mother to daughter and claim to be able to cure most illnesses.

'People who really believe that by swallowing certain medicines they will get well will frequently do so,' maintains

WHO Director-General Halidan Mahler of Denmark, who advocates boosting traditional healers in the Third World.

In Africa, he says, were using centuries of drugs to cure such ailments as hypertension to control births that were only recently discovered by Western scientists.

## PILLS

'Nothing should be prescribed simply because it has been led to believe that it is witchcraft,' said here when he attended a health symposium.

The WHO he would like to see the called witchdoctors, distributing lactic pills against malaria — a disease expected to claim one million mostly infants in Africa this year.

Dr David Matthei, member of the American Public Health Association, was brought to Zimbabwe from his native United States last year and commissioned by the Health Ministry to research traditional medical techniques and compile a manual for use by doctors.

He discovered cures for venereal disease, excessive menstruation, abdominal problems, mental disorders in probe.

'These traditional healers have a lot to teach us, especially in the field of natural health,' said Deputy Health Minister Dr Simon Mazorodze, physician.

## RAGES

Horufu, a young man whose violent rages forced his parents to chain him naked to a tree for years, is a recent case often cited by the advocates of traditional medicine.

Horufu, who lived in Chirau tribal reserve, 100 km west of Salisbury.



DR Herbert Ushewokunze, Zimbabwe's Health Minister.

Horufu, was temporarily adopted by a spiritualist specialising in psychiatry, Mrs Jelly Chari, after she read of his plight in a local newspaper last December.

After three months of treatment at her home Horufu was pronounced normal by Western doctors and told he could return to his home to tend the goats and cattle and plough the fields with his family.

'Forty to 50 percent of illnesses in this country are psychosomatic and curable by the ngangas,' insists a respected white Salisbury surgeon, Dr Igadore Rosin.

## ROOTS

Mutandwi Mudzimundirango, 33, a traditional healer who has a consulting room in Salisbury, says he can 'fix anything in the medical books except broken bones or something needing surgery.'

'If people want to return to their cultural roots which were suppressed for many years,' a university of Zimbabwe psychiatrist says of the 'Suppression of Witchcraft Act' passed in 1899 and still on the statute books, though not enforced.

'Traditional healers and spirit mediums are a central part of those roots.'

## MONEY

The Health Minister, Dr Herbert Ushewokunze, also a Western-trained physician, has vowed to repeal the anti-witchcraft laws and integrate the traditional healers into the health service to help reduce the mortality rate from 120 in 1 000 among blacks to the figure of about 17 in 1 000 common among whites.

He has already officially recognised the 8 000-member Zimbabwe Traditional Healers' Association and pledged them money to build a research centre. — Sapa-AP.

# KwaZulu bank participation talks

Mercury Reporter

ULUNDI—The question of participation by KwaZulu in the proposed regional development bank of southern Africa was debated at length by the Legislative Assembly in closed session yesterday.

The bank is one of the economic initiatives recently announced by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said last night that the matter had not yet been resolved by the caucus. He said the only full members of the board of the bank would be South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. KwaZulu and the other 'so-called self-governing States' were being offered

constituent membership as part of South Africa.

There are a number of political issues which are being looked at by the caucus before the Cabinet decides whether KwaZulu can participate on this basis, in view of our rejection of independence' he said.

During his policy speech, delivered in April, he emphasised that the idea of a development bank was not acceptable if it were linked with the concept of a constellation of States.

Earlier yesterday, Government officials from Pretoria met the KwaZulu Cabinet and outlined the Prime Minister's proposals in respect of a development bank.

18/3/81

# Sasol chief urges Africa trade boost

IT WAS imperative that South Africa initiate a programme to increase trade and services to other African states, Dr J A Stegmann, managing director of Sasol, said in Pretoria yesterday.

He was delivering a paper at the annual meeting of the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns, which has as its theme "South Africa in an African Context".

Dr Stegmann said South Africa should not be deterred from expanding trade with Africa by the political animosity African states displayed in world forums, or by hostile actions on the borders.

The decisive factor should be how South Africa's interests could best be served.

"It is of the utmost importance that South Africa formulate a plan of action with the

specific purpose of increasing, as much as possible, services to and trade with our neighbouring states and other countries further north," he said.

"South Africa is in a unique position to give invaluable aid to these countries, because we understand the problems of Africa."

Such a plan would have to emphasise trade in essential commodities such as food, and services including health, transport and other services.

This was already operating to a great extent with neighbouring states

It was the declared policy of the neighbouring states to lessen their economic dependence on South Africa. This would not be in the interests of South Africa.

"Firstly, the hostile countries among them will no long-

er have to pay only lip-service to their animosity towards South Africa — they will be able to support actively their calls for the economic isolation of South Africa.

"Secondly, friendly Western powers will be demotivated in their efforts to combat attempts to isolate South Africa."

Energy would play a vital role in the future development of South Africa.

Oil-importing African states were fighting for their survival — a problem which might assume "terrible dimensions" if their indigenous sources of energy were not developed and utilised more effectively, Dr Stegmann said.

There were a number of possibilities in the energy field which could be included in a South African trade and assistance programme.

South Africa should share its know-how in.

○ Prospecting for coal and the development of coal mines in African states;

○ Practical techniques to improve agricultural methods for the production of biomass energy;

○ Converting biomass to more sophisticated types of energy; and

○ Improved methods for utilising traditional as well as commercial energy sources.

As one of the top world coal exporters, South Africa was in a unique position to contribute to the energy needs of African states.

Extra capacity at fuel refineries in South Africa could be used much more effectively if an export market for oil products could be found and developed in Africa. — Sapa.

SECTION II

INCIDENCE (PRODUCTION) AND PREVALENCE OF SILICOSIS: COMPENSATION

I would like to preface this section with a number of qualifications and to suggest some of its shortcomings. There is a vast quantity of unpublished and published primary source material pertaining to the disease on the period during which I am working for my thesis, 1902 to 1925, and for this reason I have been reluctant, for this particular conference, to do later research, that is from 1930 to approximately 1978. However, although the terminal point of the detailed work in this section is approximately 1930, I have attempted to bring this study up to the present day by trying to show what the current incidence of silicosis is on the goldfields, and also to outline the contents of the most recent legislation regarding compensation

SA seeks  
to keep  
12/6/81

neighbours  
weak claim

The Star's Africa  
News Service

MBABANE — South Africa continued to dominate the economic lives of neighbouring countries and actively sought to keep them weak and divided vassals. Botswana's Finance Minister, Mr Peter Mmusi, said at the one-day Southern African Development Co-ordination conference in Mbabane today.

The SADCC was formed in Lusaka last year to give the lie to that proposition, said Mr Mmusi.

The conference was opened by the Prime Minister of Swaziland, Prince Mabandla, who said the SADCC's aim should always be "more action and less talk."

He warned against the risk of the SADCC becoming a talk shop.

One of the prime objectives of the SADCC is to reduce economic dependence on South Africa.

The nine countries involved are Swaziland, Zambia, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Malawi.

randi! A great deal of further research in necessary to judge whether this attitude was, in fact, justified.

Because my research, as indicated above, has been focused on the earlier period of my thesis, I have been able to adopt, at least during this period a far more critical stance, which may not be reflected especially in the period after 1914. Most of the material which I have investigated concerns the conditions on the mines and their relevance to white miners, while the attitudes of trade unionists, mine management, the government and the medical profession relates also to white and other miners rather than to the non-white labour force, the vast majority of whom were Africans. This may be because the obvious sources so far consulted reflect this bias. Although only a limited amount of material on the relationship of black, coloured and Asian miners to the disease may,

In fact, exist, future research in this field must be undertaken in perhaps less obvious sources and if possible in the records of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association.

Another defect in this paper is the lack of information thus far acquired on the use of radiology - so essential an aid for the diagnosis of the disease in living people in the earlier part of the paper. Dr M. Hurwitz has indicated that shortly after William Conrad Röntgen's discovery of roentgen rays (x-rays) on 8 November 1895, high quality plates exhibiting shadow and fine details were being produced. (2) In the mid 1890s x-rays were used by Italian and British doctors in soldiers wounded during various North African campaigns. (3) They were also used by the British during the Anglo-Boer war (1898 to 1902). (4) R. Ralston seems to have been one of the

can doctors to use x-ray equipment during the Anglo Boer war period. (5) In the first decade of the century, despite the difficulties of photographing during respiration, modifications made to radiometer made it possible to obtain plates which pinhead-sized tubercles. (6) The only other x-ray equipment was used on the Witwatersrand when it became part of routine usage by the newly formed Phthisis Medical Bureau in addition to nations in diagnoses of silicosis and tuberculosis), is that provided by Dr Andrew Watt. He stated that by 1911

the Stimmer and Jack mine had purchased three newer and improved models (to replace the earlier equipment) and that these had been used by the commission enquiring into the prevalence of miners' phthisis and pulmonary tuberculosis on mines in South Africa - hereafter referred to as the Medical Commission of 1911. (8) After 1910 improvements in radiological equipment continued and by the mid-1920s which provided an even more definitive aid in diagnoses of these diseases. (9) Doctors were thus able more reliably to detect the presence of disease, and at far earlier stages, whereas before this the early symptoms had been undiscovered and the disease, silicosis, could not be diagnosed. (10)

In order to assess whether the incidence and prevalence of silicosis is declined it is necessary to examine whether there were improvements in dust suppression particularly in underground mining techniques and in the use of protective or



# Concern Over Alcohol Problem

## Sasol head calls for more trade with Africa

It was imperative that South Africa initiate action to increase trade and services to African states. Dr J A Stegmann, managing director of Sasol, said in Pretoria yesterday.

He was delivering a paper at the annual general meeting of the Zuid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns.

The theme of the meeting this year is "South Africa in an African context" (Suid Afrika in Afrika-verband).

Dr Stegmann said South Africa should not be deterred from expanding trade with Africa by political animosity. African states displayed in world forums, or by hostile actions on the borders.

The deciding factor should at all times be the measure in which South Africa's interests could best be served.

Dr Stegmann said it would gradually become more apparent to African states that it was in their own interests to expand their contact and trade with South Africa, even if

It remained cordial. "South Africa is in the unique position of being able to give irreplaceable aid to these countries because we understand the problems of Africa," he said.

Such a plan would have to emphasize trade in essential commodities such as food and rendering health, transport and other services.

"This already happens, to a great extent, in our neighbouring states. "But as far as they are concerned, and further north, we will have to start thinking bigger," Dr Stegmann said.

It was the declared policy of the country's neighbouring states to lessen their economic dependence on South Africa. This would not be in the interests of South Africa.

"The hostile countries among them will no longer only have to pay lip service to their animosity towards South Africa, but will be able actively to support their calls for its economic isolation.

"Friendly Western powers will be demoralized in their efforts to combat attempts to isolate South Africa."

Energy would play a vital role in the future development of South Africa.

"The oil importing African states to the north are fighting for their very existence which might assume terrible dimensions if their indigenous sources of energy are not developed and used more effectively," Dr Stegmann said.

There were a number of possibilities in energy which could be included in such a plan.

**KNOWHOW** Some energy-related possibilities were particular in and supplying capital for infrastructures and energy projects.

South Africa should share his know-how in the following fields:

- Prospecting for coal and the development of coal mines in African states.
- Practical techniques to improve agricultural methods for the production of biomass for energy.
- Converting biomass to more sophisticated types of energy.
- Improved methods for using traditional and commercial energy.

South Africa was also in an extremely favourable position, as one of the most important coal exporters in the world, to contribute to the energy needs of African states.

Extra capacity at fuel refineries in South Africa could be used more effectively if an export market in Africa for oil products could be found and developed.

Oil products of the greatest strategic importance were already exported to a number of African states south of the equator, Dr Stegmann said.

There was no need to devise highly sophisticated schemes to trade with African states.—Sapa.

Just think how much food the brock of the harvest on foreign patients has done for image.

It's African countries now South African Airways do land at their airports we can provide transport to South Africa to selected patients

There were bridges white South Africans in the medical field could build in black Africa, Professor A. M. Coetzee told delegates at the Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns congress in Pretoria yesterday.

In the natural sciences, the Republic was far ahead of the rest of Africa, he said.

In black Africa there was a general shortage of expert medical care for individuals, and white South Africa could make an important contribution by providing expert medical services and facilities.

Professor Goetzer, of the H. J. Verwoerd Hospital, said: "Open our borders and sales to those people in need of special treatment."

**AIRWAYS** Just think how much food the brock of the harvest on foreign patients has done for image.

There is little turnover from tenants of the permar the summer. All houses were occupied according to family size and income). All houses were occupied according to family size and income). All houses were occupied according to family size and income).

In addition, there are 30 low rent homes and electricity separate of homes. In addition, there are 30 low rent homes and electricity separate of homes. In addition, there are 30 low rent homes and electricity separate of homes.

# Forecast of new garment ventures <sup>(1)</sup> <sup>Yor 23/6/81</sup> ~~(16)~~

Leading manufacturers in England and France are interested in banding with clothing companies in joint ventures in the new national states of southern Africa, says a leading consultant.

Mr E L Brvik, who was technical and administrative consultant for the Corporation for Economic Development clothing mission overseas, was speaking at a seminar for clothing manufacturers in Johannesburg today.

He said this would result in new markets for the South African partner, lower costs for the overseas partner and profits and growth for all.

"Overseas manufacturers told us that such joint ventures could be used as vehicles to export to third countries not favourably disposed towards South Africa from a trade point of view.

"All the modern and rewarding export incentives will apply to the joint ventures and the profits, mainly of the overseas partner, can be taken overseas if desired.

"A new world awaits one in the immense markets that will now become

available. English and French manufacturers are particularly keen to retain the markets they have so painstakingly developed over many decades.

"These markets are becoming eroded because of the uncontrollable and escalating operating costs they are beset with.

"The great interest displayed by English and French manufacturers in the national states was mainly because we revealed that the cost a machine minute in these states was an unbelievable 3.5c," he said. — Mervyn Harris.

By JHP SERFONTEIN

AFRICAN delegates who attended two vital international conferences in West Germany have come up with important conclusions which spell both good and bad news for South Africa.

The delegates, including representatives of Nigeria and the Frontline States in Southern Africa, claimed that:

- The Western powers, because of their considerable investments in South Africa, would never impose a "comprehensive" economic boycott against the Republic.

- But, because of the West's inability and unwillingness to do so, Black Africa would continue to exert pressure on South Africa — and warned that Black anger within the country was mounting.

One of the delegates, Mr Leonard Masala, of the Soweto Civic Association, bluntly told a conference in Bonn: "The signs of the 1976 Soweto uprising are there again — and only fools will ignore it."

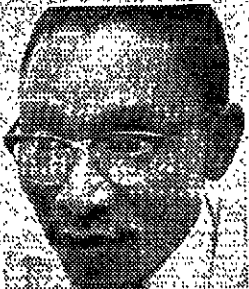
Over 120 delegates attended this conference organised by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation — which is part of Germany's ruling SPD Party — to discuss the conflict in South Africa and strategies Germany could adopt to foster internal changes.

In Berlin 34 selected participants attended a three-day private workshop to discuss international developments in South Africa and reactions from the West and Africa.

Organised jointly by the influential African American Institute of New York and the Aspen Institute in Berlin, it was attended by senior representatives of the Frontline States, Nigeria, the Western Five, the ANC, PAC and some multinational companies.

The significance of the Berlin conference was that it was in essence a top level confrontation between the Western Five and the Frontline States and Nigeria on the South West African issue.

The African participants reacted in anger when the Western delegates refused to divulge their strategy on SWA after the meeting in Washington between the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the US Secre-



● Mr. Leonard Mosala  
... delegate

tary of State, Mr Alexander Haig.

Frontline State representatives, including Mr Ariston Chambati, the Zimbabwean Ambassador in Bonn, told me they were convinced the South African Government would once again out-manoeuvre the West.

On the other hand, the Western delegates made it clear they believed the African states were weak and "helpless" and that there was "nothing" they could do about it.

On the question of sanctions, the Western delegates made it clear they absolutely rejected total sanctions against South Africa.

The Bonn conference, concerned basically with German strategy towards South Africa, attracted a wide variety of South African public leaders such as Mr Leonard Masala of the Soweto Civic Association; Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Official Opposition; Professor Laurence Schlemmer, director of the Inkatha Foundation and Mr Colin Legum, well-known South African-born English journalist.

Some of the European participants suggested:

- The South African Government was in a state of confusion.

- The ideology of apartheid had been abandoned.

- Prime Minister Mr P W Botha wanted fundamental changes but was prevented by his Right-wing.

- The ruling NP would split.

Significantly, while most of the German participants rejected the idea of a successful internal revolution in the immediate or medium term future, all of them predicted an increase and continuous escalation in violence and internal conflict.

# SA hears good and bad news in Germany

S. Express 28/6/81 (1) (FR)



● Dr Van Zyl Slabbert  
... delegate

Delegates also expressed concern about the influence of the Soviet Union in Africa.

A position paper which reflects unofficial German Gov-

ernment thinking warned that "the conduct of the West — with its continuous close links with South Africa — provides the Soviet Union and its proxies with the key to Southern Africa."

In the paper and in the discussions the following points emerged:

- A comprehensive and total boycott of South Africa was totally rejected partly because it was regarded as unpractical and difficult to implement and partly because it was regarded as counter productive.

- The "further growth of the South African economy" was more conducive for internal reforms and the development of



● Mr Alexander Haig  
... SWA talks

effective internal Black organisations.

Among the proposals made for action against South Africa were:

- There should be no further new investments.

- The EEC labour code should be more strictly monitored and more effectively applied.

- A selective embargo on certain high technology products should be implemented and no government guarantees for exports to South Africa should be made.

- Western trade unions should support Black trade unions and labour pressure in Europe on parent companies with subsidiaries in South Africa.

- All agreements with South Africa should be reviewed to establish whether they provide for equal treatment of all South Africans.

- Military support should be given to the Frontline States to enable them to defend themselves against South African attacks.

- Visa requirements for South African visitors should be introduced.

One African delegate told me after the conference that he was encouraged by the Bonn discussions.

"It is true it showed up the ineffectiveness of the West, but there was a much greater sense of realism. And a realisation that within the limitations there are concrete steps which could be taken and which would hurt South Africa."

Copyright J H P Serfontein

# E Africa 'trade boom' a letdown

LONDON. — The trade boom, widely anticipated by neighbouring black states following the end of the Rhodesian bush war in 1979, and the establishment of an independent Zimbabwe, has not materialised.

The latest issue of Lloyd's Shipping Economist said its figures for vessels calling at East African ports showed only a slight increase in 1980 over the 1979 level.

Mozambique, which was expected to gain most from the ending of hostilities, recorded a 1% increase.

The magazine said the greatest hindrance to the efforts of the black Southern African states to cut their dependence on South Africa's transportation routes and trade outlets was the lack of enough modern transportation and cargo handling equipment to move goods from the landlocked states to the ports.

"Large investments are also needed at the ports themselves

if they are to react efficiently to the demands made of them," the article said.

Before the border between Mozambique and what was then Rhodesia was closed in 1976, about 75% of Rhodesia's trade was handled by Mozambican ports.

But as the war developed, Rhodesia became totally dependent on South Africa for its trade, the article said.

It said the dominance of South Africa over the East African region's transport systems was one of the main reasons for the formation of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, a grouping of nine black Southern African states.

Key priority was given to extension and modernisation of port and rail facilities, but progress had been slow.

In addition, ports had silted up and dredging needed to be done before they could return to full operation. — Sapa.

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C W von Düring  
subject of Building Construction.  
For the best student in the  
S A Brick Association Prizes

III: No award

II: A R Low Keen

I: N D G Sessions

For the best student in each of  
the courses of Building Economics I,  
II and III in the third, fourth &  
fifth years respectively.

LTA Prizes

P R Swift

Professional Practice.

For the student obtaining

the highest marks in

Surveyors' Prize

Cape Chapter of Quantity

The Committee of the Western

P C Key

For the best all-round student  
in any year of study.  
Bell-John Prize

(Continued)  
SURVEYING  
QUANTITY

star 7/7/81

# Blacks out of trade boom



LONDON — The trade boom anticipated by neighbouring black states following the end of the Rhodesian bush war in 1979 and the establishment of an independent Zimbabwe has not materialised.

This is stated in the latest issue of Lloyd's Shipping Economist, the monthly magazine which analyses shipping and commodity trends.

The magazine said its figures for vessels calling at East African ports showed only a slight increase in 1980 over the level for 1979.

became totally dependent of South Africa for its trade," the magazine said.

The dominance of South Africa over the East African region's transport systems was one of the main reasons for the formation of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, a grouping of nine black southern African states.

Priority was given to the extension and modernisation of port and rail facilities but progress had been slow.

The magazine said the years of fighting in Rhodesia and Mozambique and the consequent neglect of the ageing rolling stock and track had made restoration long and expensive.

## SILTED

In addition, ports had been allowed to silt up so that a considerable amount of dredging needed to be carried out before they could return to full operation.

The magazine said that if rail and port facilities were operating normally the benefits that could be obtained would be considerable.

"Even if only pre-war levels are achieved, the Mozambican port turnover could be between 4-million and 5-million tons a year — a big jump from present levels," it said. — Sapa.

## HINDRANCE

Mozambique, which was expected to gain most from the ending of hostilities, recorded a mere one percent increase in ships calling at its ports.

The magazine said the greatest hindrance to the efforts of the black southern African states to cut their dependence on South Africa's transportation routes and trade outlets — which would lead to a rise in traffic at East African ports — was the lack of enough modern transportation and cargo-handling equipment to move goods from the landlocked states to the ports.

"Large investments are also needed at the ports themselves if they are to react efficiently to the demands made of them," the magazine said.

Before the border between Mozambique and the then Rhodesia was closed in 1976, about 75 percent of Rhodesia's trade was handled by Mozambican ports.

However, as the war developed, Rhodesia

URBAN & REGIONAL PLANNING

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P C Key  
 In any year of study.  
 For the best all-round student  
 Bell-John Prize

QUANTITY SURVEYING  
 (Continued)

# Africa's population explosion

NAIROBI — Africa's population is growing faster than any other region of the world and could reach 850-million by the year 2000. Mr Leon Tabah, director of the UN Division of Population said here yesterday. It rose from 220-million in 1950 to 470-million in 1980 and could exceed one-billion by 2010.

The growth rate was now about three percent, compared with 2.4 percent growth in East Asia and only 0.04 percent in Europe.

As a result, Africa had the youngest population in the world with 45 percent of its people under 14 years old, compared to 39 per cent for all developing countries and 23 percent in Europe. — Sapa AP.

For the best student in the subject of Building Construction.

S A Brick Association Prizes

III: No award

II: A R Low Keen

I: N D G Sessions

For the best student in each of the courses of Building Economics I, II and III in the third, fourth & fifth years respectively.

LTA Prizes

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Bell-John Prize

PLANNING  
REGIONAL  
URBAN &

(Continued)

QUANTITY  
SURVEYING

# Africa's trade with SA 'will get stronger'

By GERALD REILLY  
Pretoria Bureau

THE dependence of many poverty-stricken African countries on South African exports will continue and grow, according to Government sources

They were commenting on an accusation made by the New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr Robert Muldoon, earlier this week that black countries were taking the easy way out by concentrating on sports boycotts of South Africa rather than on trade boycotts.

The Pretoria sources said that South Africa's direct export trade to African states, according to the Department of Customs and Excise, totalled nearly R1 200-million last year.

If indirect trade was taken into account — that is South African goods re-exported from other countries back into Africa — the figure would exceed R1 500-million.

The sources said that Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland bought another R1 000-million worth of South African exports last year and imports by the independent states — Transkei, BophuthTswana and Venda — exceeded R1 000-million.

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Economic Affairs, has told the

House of Assembly that South Africa traded with 49 of Africa's 52 countries.

The sources stressed that African countries had virtually no alternative but to buy from the South African market.

"They buy from us because we are the nearest, cheapest and best market. These considerations, in countries with dire economic needs, outweigh any commitment they might have to boycotting South Africa."

International surveys by the World Bank and other organisations claimed South Africa was probably the only country on the continent which was not only able to feed itself, but which produced regular surpluses of basic grain crops.

Expansion of trade in Africa, which was firm Government policy and part of the total strategy syndrome, was being inhibited by inadequate transport systems in customer countries and by a chronic shortage of foreign exchange, they said.

The general manager of the South African Foreign Trade Organisation, Dr P J Kieser, said the problem was not finding customers in Africa, but finding customers who could pay, and where transport systems were reliable and adequate.

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The Committee of the Western

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For the best all-round student  
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Bell-John Prize

(Continued)

QUANTITY  
SURVEYING



# African economic bloc plans talks

Sta 10/7/81

(1)

The Star's Africa News Service

SALISBURY — Nine African heads of state and government are to attend a summit meeting in Salisbury on July 20 of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, a Zimbabwe Government source said.

It will be the second meeting of SADCC heads of state and government since April last year when the idea of an economic bloc was first accepted by the nine nations — Angola, Botswana, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

A major SADCC aim

is to reduce the nine countries' economic dependence on South Africa.

The one-day Salisbury summit — to be preceded by a three-day Ministerial meeting — is being assembled for a ceremonial signing of several accords.

Sources say the accords will cover largely the SADCC's institutional frameworking. A Ministerial council, to meet regularly, and a heads of state conference are expected to be formalised.

It is also expected that a statement of intent to form a permanent secretariat — to replace the present ad hoc Botswana-based secretariat — will be made

S A Read

General J B M Hertzog Prize  
For the best final year student.

D H Pryce Lewis

David Haddon Prize  
For the best student of Architecture (or Quantity Surveying) in the subject of Professional Practice.

Miss C Tredgold

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize  
For the best woman student in third year.

P A Rappoport

Helen Gardner Travel Prize  
For a student who has satisfactorily completed 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P F Dunckley

Sixth Year

Cape Provincial Institute of Architects' Prize  
For the best student in :-

ARCHITECTURE

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

# 'Pure Africans' face reality of restoring Guinea

8/10/13/7/8/1  
①



This slim, light skinned girl is typical of the Fula tribe, who regard themselves as aristocrats of Guinea. Now all that is changing.

By Leon Dash of  
The Washington Post

BISSAU, Guinea-Bissau — This small nation has had a sharp fall from the euphoric days of 1974 when, after 11 years of hard-fought combat, it gained its independence from Portugal.

No longer do the Guineans and their Cape Verdian compatriots have the sharp, black-and-white choices of an anti-colonial war. Today the country's leftist leadership, newly reshuffled after a military coup last November, is groping for new directions after years of ethnic conflict, political power struggles and disastrous financial mismanagement.

The coup resulted in three deaths, the continued house detention here of deposed president Luis Cabral and the end of the dominant, paternalistic role of Mestico (mixed African and white) officials, many of whom were dismissed and began a small exodus back to the Cape Verde Island nation 600 km offshore.

The new "provisional" government is led by pure African Guineans for the first time, headed by a non-doctrinaire former guerilla commander, Joao Bernardo (Nino) Vieira. Aside from continuing the requisite socialist rhetoric, the new leaders must decide pragmatically how to resuscitate a badly damaged economy, heal any festering wounds between the blacks and their remaining Cape Verdian colleagues and pro-

vide direly needed political stability.

Guinea-Bissau's sole political party was the same movement that brought the country to independence, widely known as PAIGC, its Portuguese acronym, which stands for the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde. The movement was founded clandestinely in 1956 here in this former 16th century Portuguese slave port by Amilcar Cabral, his younger brother, the quarantined Luis, the present-day president of Cape Verde, Aristides Pereira, and three others.

Amilcar Cabral was born in the Guinean town of Bafata in 1924 of a Cape Verdian school teacher father and Guinean mother. After peaceful demonstrations for independence ended in a Portuguese massacre of Africans here in 1959, the elder Cabral turned to war and received military assistance from the Soviet Union. He was assassinated in Guinea-Conakry, just under two years before independence.

Luis Cabral took over the movement and became the country's first President, but the seeds of the most recently acted out conflict had been sown centuries before when the two countries were tied, first by Portugal's African slave trade, and then by the colonial administration.

Under the Portuguese, a pervasive Creole African-Portuguese cul-

ture evolved on the Cape Verde Islands, while the Guinea mainland remained African with the exception of Bissau and a few inland settlements.

Education was more readily available in Cape Verde, and a number of the islanders were influenced by the official Portuguese colonial policy of denigrating Africans and their culture.

Cape Verdians, many of whom had migrated to Bissau to work, fought and died and played leading roles in the struggle on the mainland for Guinean independence, yet the seeds of division between the two groups have continued.

Vieira, Guineans of both groups and neutral observers have charged that, with independence, Luis Cabral began to gather increasing amounts of power to himself, purposefully built up a Cape Verdian-controlled government and distributed managerial positions for state enterprises to Cape Verdian relatives regardless of qualifications.

Cabral, Vieira added, also ignored collective party decisions to make agricultural self-sufficiency the government's priority and brought in expensive prestige projects, which will not realise profitable returns for years and have saddled this poor country with debts and mounting interest.

Luis Cabral's popularity also began to wane rapidly as the country's rice

supplies, a major staple that has not returned to self-sufficient production levels since the war, became increasingly scarce, at times disappearing from the market.

Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, whose separate governments have the same party leadership, were discussing merging, a possibility that increased the anxieties of the indigenous Guineans about being dominated. As their fears mounted, Luis Cabral presented a revised constitution in the first week of November that stripped Vieira, who was then Prime Minister and the highest-ranking pure African in the government, of all functional power.

The constitution also provided that non-indigenous citizens were eligible to become President in Guinea — something the Cape Verdian constitution specifically forbade in that country — and capital punishment was introduced here, while it is not allowed in Cape Verde.

A week later, Luis Cabral had been placed under arrest.

"We are not against Cape Verdians," said Vieira, pointing out that most of the 10 000 Cape Verdians in this country who have stayed, still form the majority of the 15 000 civil service work force and hold policy-making positions in his government. "We only want one thing, and that is equality of right."

## Where 'reading money' has to be taught

By Leon Dash of the Washington Post  
BISSAU — Every day for most of her life as an adult illiterate, Maria Gomes felt cheated by her inability to write up a weekly budget for her growing family's needs, to read the numbers on the money she spent and to count the change she received during her treks to Bissau's central market with part of her husband's earnings of R350.

Until independence in 1974, education was an item for the few Africans who had attained middle-class status under Portuguese colonial rule, not for Maria Gomes and 98 percent of the people.

Now independence has brought a demand for education by most of the 700 000 population that far exceeds the Government's ability to meet a phenomenon that parallels the initial school-building explosion that most

black African governments experienced on gaining independence two decades ago.

With only 17 university graduates at independence, however, Guinea's effort to eradicate illiteracy is expected to take years, even with the assistance of several hundred volunteer teachers from Portugal and other European nations.

Maria Gomes, for example, attends one of the 30 adult education courses established throughout Guinea by the Government two years ago for a modest 1 000 students 18 to 45 years old. The Government expects the programme to have a trickle-down effect with expanded growth by providing examples of the benefits of literacy to participants' families and neighbours.

"We want our adults to be able to read so they can make educated

decisions on their own," said Guinean Minister of Education Mario Cabral. "It is important that they be independent."

Gomes, 35, and 15 other women have faithfully gone for an hour each afternoon to the adult education course taught in a two-room house in her low-income Bissau neighbourhood or Reno-Gambiatado in 1979. There is one of two classes taught there by 22-year-old Maria Luísa Tavares.

"The objective of the school is to teach them more than reading and maths, said Tavares, "but also knowledge that will help them in their everyday life, such as hygiene and the importance of a balanced diet."

The examples on diet come from their traditional staples, she said, and include lessons on why fresh fish has more vitamins than smoked fish and

why a highly nutritious local kale-like vegetable, called brijique, should be eaten as often as possible.

Guinea's moderately leftist Government also requires political education as part of the programme, said Tavares, who grew up in Colonial Guinea as the relatively privileged grand-daughter of a Portuguese immigrant and daughter of a civil servant.

But she and her students "decided to leave that out and use the time for political education to learn maths," she said. "We didn't feel it was as important as maths."

Gomes agreed. Two years after entering the programme, she now is able to "read" money with ease and her educational interests have broadened, she said. She is able to read parts of letters from relatives and sign her name,

# French to keep paras in Africa

Own Correspondent

PARIS — France is to maintain its strike force of 1,400 paratroopers in the Central African Republic in spite of the Bangui Government's irritation over lack of consultation.

President Francois Mitterrand is understood to have decided to confirm a controversial strategic move initiated by his predecessor, President Giscard d'Estaing.

A strong case for maintaining French troops in Africa has been built up recently by a series of newspaper articles and television programmes in which French troops are seen fighting a mock bush war.

It was made clear that the troops in the east of the Central African Republic, apart from their other duties, were there to guard against incursions from Chad, now under Libyan control.

But the main reason for keeping the troops in Africa is to please those leaders who, while refusing to have the strike force on their territory, welcome its presence in an area of good communications.

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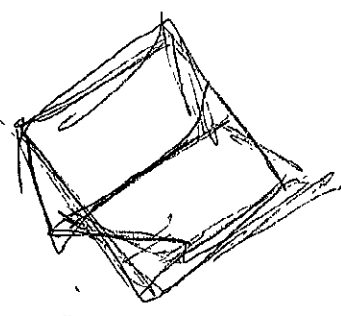
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que — will receive a progress report on programmes aimed at boosting the ailing black economies through collective effort.

They are also expected to ratify the SADCC institutions agreed upon by the Ministerial Council and consider proposals for a permanent secretariat and enlargement of the organisation.

So far SADCC activity has been bitty and incomplete. As the June Council of Ministers meeting in Mbabane concluded, any evaluation of progress is premature.

Thus far, only two countries charged with investigating specific areas of economic co-operation have started implementing their proposals. Mozambique, which holds the transport portfolio, claims the most headway with work on about 20 of some 90 proposed projects already under way — notably the rehabilitation of the railway line between Malawi and the port of Nacala, for which \$50m has recently been secured in the form of aid and soft loans.

The other, Zimbabwe, came away from the Mbabane meeting with a mandate to set up a small unit to administer the nine food security projects it has formulated. Australia will fund the unit.

In addition, the US has offered help on two of the food security projects — one involving facilities for the easy exchange of information on food availability between the nine, the other an early warning

system to anticipate the need for certain food imports.

Denmark and Canada are interested in financing a feasibility study on a regional institute of food technology, while the EEC and the Commonwealth secretariat are likely to have a hand in other projects.

**Food security**

However, because food security is regarded as strategically important, the Mbabane meeting stressed the need for careful screening of the foreign countries involved in funding Zimbabwean projects.

The gathering also received Zambia's completed report on a southern African development fund, but it will be some months before the nine act on it.

The institutions which the nine leaders are expected to ratify include: a heads of state and government summit, the frequency of which must be decided, a council of ministers, a standing committee of officials and a permanent secretariat.

The proposed permanent secretariat will replace the present Botswana-based ad hoc headquarters staff in July next year. It is expected to be manned by about eight people at an annual cost of around \$250 000.

In terms of its mainly political objective — reducing economic links with SA — the SADCC nine still have much to do.

**SOUTHERN AFRICA**

**Beyond rhetoric**

The fanfare at last year's launching of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) — in opposition to PW Botha's constellation of states idea — is unlikely to be repeated at this month's heads of state and government summit in Salisbury.

What the one-day summit on July 20 is likely to reveal is that rhetoric about independence from SA is easy. Physically loosening the economic ties that bind SADCC members to the white south is considerably more difficult.

But the effort is being made. The SADCC has received promises of support, mainly from Western and Arab nations and the African Development Bank, in the form of aid and soft loan pledges exceeding \$650m.

At the Salisbury summit, leaders of the nine member countries — Zimbabwe, Zambia, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Angola, Tanzania, Malawi and Mozambique



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FM 17/7/81

# Freed, to find the world in chains

Saveta  
16/7/81  
1

AHMED BEN BELLA, the first President of independent Algeria, hero of one of the bloodiest anti-colonial struggles the world has seen, and one of the few founding fathers of the non-aligned movement still alive, has emerged from nearly two decades of forced isolation deeply disappointed by the loss of vision and political will in the Third World, but determined to contribute again to its changing the course of history.

## Prison

He was in London last week on one of his first visits abroad since his release from prison and house arrest to thank Amnesty International and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation for their efforts during 15 years to get him freed.

He blames much on the present Third World leadership for accepting, without thought, First World models for development and consumption which have produced grasping elites and the brutal musical chairs of military coups. "We need more humane men. The phenomenon of a ruling class with privileged groups, corruption, rulers afraid of their own people... all this is aberration."

## Politics

Ben Bella is in a unique and delicate position in Third World politics where it has become the sad norm for a man who loses power to lie low in exile if he is not actually in prison.

He was freed from house arrest by President Chadli Benjedid last year and given a state pension and the freedom of expression he is cautiously beginning to use. The act of clemency to the former President (who was never in fact accused of any crime by the man who overthrew him, Colonel Houari Boumedienne, who died in December 1979) is a tribute to President Chadli. Perhaps he will pave the way for other brilliant men who have been the casualties of a power struggle in the Third World and ended up, at best, as fodder for international bureaucracies.

## System

In the interview Ben Bella spoke, fast, quietly, completely at ease and unguarded even about subjects he does not want to be quoted on yet. The old magnetism that drew European leftists to give up their jobs and flock to Algiers in 1963 to build a new society with this man is undeniably still there.

He believes that it is absolutely necessary that the countries of the Third World create a new system alongside the existing one.

"Of course creating a new system won't be easy. The capitalist world won't let it happen easily. The capitalist world has functioned for four centuries, and functioned very well, based upon one

idea — exploitation. Change calls for real political will... I don't think at present this political will is a strong current."

He says he wouldn't wait for the North-South dialogue to lead to something, but would start with a South-South dialogue. The idea is in keeping with his most basic prescription for the Third World's development — "auto-gestion" (self-management).

Today he talks about this in a much wider sense than in 1963 when it was the catchphrase with which Algerian workers took over the old French colon farms and vineyards. Today it implies workers' control over factories too and a general decentralisation of administration.

## Optimistic

"It should become the mode of management of all societies, for the Third World and the North too. The function of all theology, philosophy and religion is not to accumulate goods, but to create men, to invest in men and make them responsible. The Third World must escape from the Western pattern of the centre consuming the periphery." He means it both in the international system of the Third World's dependence on the West, and in the internal economic patterns of countries.

He is resolutely optimistic about the possibility of dramatic change for the Third World, based on two resources — Islam and youth. For him the Iranian revolution — "it's Islamic, not only Iranian" — is a "spectacular example of what is happening elsewhere. Our youth fills the mosques. Huge numbers of young people are coming back. They reject the Western model. They feel aggrieved by a cultural model."

He hopes to go to Iran himself to understand the revolution. "The media creates opinion in the West. They have not been very fair to Iran. I prefer to take a closer look. There are strands within the Iranian revolution which are very, very progressive." As for the bloodshed in Iran, "we should be very careful when we speak of blood. Where I come from not long ago we lost a million and a half people to become free."

Ben Bella is still a socialist, but "personally I think from Islam you can construct a system which goes beyond the stage of socialism. Islam postulates the totally communal society. On the basis of that the legislator can go far."

The gap between rich and poor countries has widened in his lost years. "At independence we in the Third World were already marginalised. Now the gap grows. Americans have an average income of £10 000 and a Malien has £200. There are 41 countries which can't pay the interest on their debts — not pay back the debt, that's out of the question."

Algeria's founding father has emerged from 16 years' isolation to challenge the Third World's loss of vision.

Victoria Britain of The Guardian interviews BEN BELLA.



Ben Bella: "We lost 1 1/2 million people to become free."

The Third World movement in the 1960s was inspired by the anti-colonial movement epitomised by the Algerian experience. Ben Bella proposed that the Organisation of African Unity, at its first meeting at Addis Ababa in 1963, should dedicate itself to the liberation of Africa. The OAU Liberation Committee was born.

If liberation can no longer be the inspiration of the Third World today, culture can. "The approach to development ought to be first cultural. Particularly now when we have effectively taken the Western consumer model for development, subordinating our own culture. The consequences of the only development model we have applied, show that we have taken a wrong road."

"We have gone wrong in taking the consumption needs of the North as our model. Nature is polluted. We waste too much. We consume too much. The northern development model is predatory. The problem in the north is that development is seen in terms of GNP, that's all that matters. The rest doesn't — well-being, purity, don't count."

There's been a drift philosophically. This wish to consume, just consume, with all its propaganda has created a type, in my view abusive and egotistical, who lives for himself, excuse my saying this, sends his old parents to die in a home — that is the end of civilisation."

Ben Bella's authority and intellectual energy appear increased rather than diminished by his 15 years in

prison and house arrest. He spent his time reading and studying a flow of books and newspapers sent in by friends. He was allowed no correspondence with professors or intellectuals, but devised his own reading programme in every subject from economics and political theory to child development.

He says that it is because of his religion that he had the self-discipline never to get depressed by his isolation or to let up on his study programme. Religion is also the key to the extraordinary lack of bitterness towards the man who deprived him of so much — Colonel Houari Boumedienne, his former friend and army commander.

## Mother

"I expected a coup attempt from him every day from liberation on, except the day he did it. The Afro-Asian summit was so important I could not have imagined anyone would have jeopardised it. He did it of course because he knew I meant to dismantle the army — I should have done it sooner."

Col Boumedienne ordered Ben Bella kept in an underground jail for eight months with no books. He was never allowed to go to a mosque, or even to his own wedding or his mother's funeral. "Bitter-

ness is something I learned to overcome."

In 1977 Ben Bella had been 12 years alone, sustained by visits from his mother. Before she died the old lady arranged a marriage so her son would be looked after. It was a brilliant parting gift, Zohra was young, pretty and as passionately idealistic and religious as Ben Bella.

She was an organizer of anti-colonial ideas in the classroom as a young girl and was expelled from her French school. After Algeria's independence she worked on Revolution Africaine, the magazine of Algeria's sole party, the FLN.

Ben Bella's private life exemplifies the ideals they stand for — they have adopted three children in three years, one abandoned, one black and one handicapped. The wives of Third World leaders on visits to London usually spend their time shopping for the glittering luxuries of the First World. In her two days here last week Mrs Ben Bella took a train to a small Christian community making equipment for handicapped children to do her shopping.

Victoria Brittain was until recently the Guardian's East Africa correspondent, and lived in Algeria for two years.



# South Africa's exports <sup>S Times 19/7/81</sup> to its nearby trading partners are slipping

NEW IMF FIGURES SHOW THAT MALAWI IS STILL THE TOP IMPORTER IN AFRICA OF THE REPUBLIC'S GOODS

SOUTH Africa's position as one of Africa's major industrial and exporting nations is making an impact on world-trade statistics, according to details released by the International Monetary Fund.

But the figures also show that the country is slipping in the amount of its exports to trading partners such as Zambia and Mozambique.

The only country in the Southern African sub-continent which has increased its imports from South Africa is Malawi — which remains the Republic's major trading partner in Africa, with imports totalling R157-million during 1979, the

last year for which official statistics are available.

Mozambique is the country's second most important market, having bought goods totalling R62,05-million.

IMF statistics show that in Zaire, the United States — which has huge mining interests there — has overtaken South Africa as the fourth largest supplier to the former Belgian Congo.

The leading supplier is Belgium followed by France and West Germany.

According to details released by the IMF, South Africa sold goods worth R130,8-million to Zaire during 1979 — an increase of about R11-million over the

BY NORMAN CHANDLER

Zambia's dependence on South Africa showed a dramatic drop.

In 1973, Zambia bought goods totalling R62,8-million, but by 1978 this had dropped to R39,9-million.

The official 1979 figure indicates that Zambia was buying an estimated R44-million worth of goods from South Africa — making this country Zambia's fourth most important trading partner after the United Kingdom, the United States and West Germany.

This is in direct contrast to

South Africa's 1973 status in which this country was Zambia's second largest trading partner after the United Kingdom. At that time the United States lagged behind by R15-million.

While Mozambique continued to buy huge amounts of goods from South Africa in 1979, the country had in fact lessened its dependence on this country.

Eight years ago — and prior to Mozambique becoming independent of Portugal — the country bought goods valued at R94,17-million from South Africa. This dropped to R91,41-million the following year, and in 1975 it crashed to R71,8-million — dropping to an all-time low of R53,67-million a year later.

There has been a gradual increase, culminating, say the IMF statistics, in an estimated 1979 figure of R62-million. This is still almost double that bought in countries such as the United Kingdom, France and the United States.

While South African exports showed a mixed bag of fortunes, imports to this country indicated a downward trend.

Zambia, for instance, was in 1979 selling South Africa a total of just over R1-million worth of goods — compared to three times that amount eight years ago.

Zaire once sold South Africa just under R1-million worth of goods, but in 1979 that figure had dropped to about R100 000.

# Black states to meet on economics

NDM 20/7/81 (1)

By TENDAI DUMBUTSHENA  
SALISBURY. — Leaders of nine black Southern African states gather in Salisbury today to review progress since the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference was formed in Lusaka last year.

The SADCC meeting will be opened by the chairman, President Quett Masire of Botswana. The Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, will reply to the opening address.

A primary purpose of SADCC is to formulate strategies to give the member states — Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia, Lesotho, Swaziland, Tanzania and Botswana — a greater degree of economic self-reliance.

The Zimbabwean Minister of Economic Planning and Development, Senator Bernard Chidzero, stressed this point to newsmen at the weekend. He said it was not the purpose of SADCC to "gang up" against South Africa.

But he did not deny it was the aim of SADCC states to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa.

Zimbabwe in particular is heavily reliant on South Africa for its transportation of goods and wants to divert more traffic to Mozambique.

At a donors' meeting last November in Maputo, international agencies and various countries pledged about R550-

million to pay for SADCC projects.

Each country was assigned a specific area or project.

Today's meeting should be seen in the broader context of an attempt by all black countries in Africa to achieve economic self-reliance through regional co-operation.

The main leaders will discuss formation of a secretariat in a permanent SADCC headquarters. Salisbury is regarded as the most suitable venue because of Zimbabwe's better communications system and its central position.

A ministerial council meeting was held at the weekend to draft a series of proposals to be presented to the main leaders today. Among the early arrivals were President Samora Machel of Mozambique, who arrived on Saturday, and President Masire and Swaziland's Prince Dhlamini who arrived yesterday. The other leaders including President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi arrive today.

Surprise has been expressed at President Banda's decision to make a rare visit outside Malawi. At the founding of SADCC in Lusaka last year Malawi was represented by a Minister.

Observers believe the Malawian leader sees potential economic benefit accruing to his country from such regional co-operation.

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# Reducing No. 20/5/81 dependence

on SA (7)

The Star's Africa  
News Service

**SALISBURY** — Black southern Africa's drive to reduce its economic dependence on South Africa is being taken a step further this week when leaders of the nine-nation Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference have a one-day summit in Salisbury.

The Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, will today host senior representatives of Angola, Malawi, Tanzania, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho.

They will meet to ratify the structure of the SADCC, at this stage still only the embryo of an economic bloc independent of South Africa.

## FOREIGN LOANS

A measure of South Africa's economic strength in the region is provided by the fact that the combined Gross National Products of the nine equal barely more than a quarter of South Africa's GNP.

About R520-million in aid and soft loans has been pledged so far to the SADCC by Western and Arab nations and the African Development Bank.

This is far below the estimated R1 400-million needed just to finance envisaged transport projects.

The nine heads of state and government leave Salisbury again tonight.

# Mutual aid lift-off

Much has been made of the moves by nine southern African countries to increase their mutual economic co-operation and reduce their dependence on South Africa through the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

The publicity has done justice to the long-term potential importance — both of their efforts. But the publicity has far exceeded the substance the nine have thus far managed to give their ideal.

The slow pace of development in the SADCC, whilst it may appear at first glance to be a weakness, is probably one of the SADCC's greatest strengths.

"We are looking at very practical steps," said one senior Zimbabwean official. "And we cannot, in the nature of things, move too fast. There are fears and reservations that need to be overcome."

Rhetoric and hopes, officials appear to be saying, should not be allowed to run over the horizon of reality.

Hence, 15 months after the Lusaka summit at which the nine decided on the SADCC, their heads of state and government gather again in Salisbury today not to add any great substance to the SADCC shell, but instead to give it more form. Their major task will be to ratify an SADCC institutional framework.

Thus far, each of the nine SADCC countries has had a particular area of investigation or action. Three have achieved some progress.

The Mozambique-hosted Southern African Transport and Communications Commission has made the most headway, with work on about 20 out of 90 pro-

posed projects already underway. Zimbabwe has come up with a regional food security plan, and is in the process of setting up a small unit to administer nine food projects. And Zambia has drawn up a framework for a regional development fund which is still under consideration at ministerial level.

Tanzania is still investigating possibilities for co-operation between the nine on industrial development; Botswana is investigating and agricultural development and stock diseases. Angola is concerned with energy matters, Swaziland, with manpower development, Lesotho is sharing part of Zimbabwe's food security plan and looking into land utilisation and soil conservation, while Malawi is to host a conference later this year at which aid donors will be given a report back on the SADCC's progress.

And co-ordination of these diverse areas has been the task of a Botswana-based ad hoc secretariat — testimony to Botswana's leading role in the SADCC.

But the time has now come to tie up some loose ends. And, today, summit leaders are expected to adopt a codification of institutions drawn up by Lesotho. They will agree to regular summit meetings, probably annually, regular meetings of an SADCC Council of Ministers, comprising those ministers of each country most concerned with the SADCC, and they will institutionalise a standing committee of officials from the nine.

The heads of state and government are also expected to approve a plan to set up a small permanent secretariate, comprising about eight people, whose major function it will be to service SADCC meetings rather than administer its projects. The secretariat is likely to be operational by July 1 next year.

In response to Zaire's reported desire to join the SADCC, the nine leaders are expected to consider proposals governing membership of the SADCC. And, according to Zimbabwe's Minister of Economic Planning and Development, Dr Bernard Chidzero, an internally recognised independent Namibia would be a welcome partner in the SADCC.

The Mozambique-based Transport and Communications Commission will also be brought formally under the SADCC umbrella. Such limited moves

hardly justify the dramatic portrayal of the SADCC as an "anti-South African economic bloc."

Dr Chidzero and other SADCC leading lights judiciously talk only of "reducing" economic dependence on South Africa, not of cutting links.

An illustration of South Africa's economic power in the region is provided by the fact that the combined gross national products of the SADCC nine amount to fractionally over one quarter of South Africa's GNP. Another is that about 90 percent of both Lesotho's and Swaziland's imports come from South Africa, while about 90 percent of Zimbabwe's imports and 25 percent of its exports are reportedly being routed through South Africa.

Owing to the limited capacity of Mozambiquan ports and the insecurity of the Benguela rail line through Angola, much of landlocked Zambia's and Zaire's imports and exports are routed through South Africa.

One estimate of the aid needed for transport and communications projects alone is well in excess of R1 500-million. A bout R500-million has so far been pledged and aid and soft loans to the SADCC.

The motivation most frequently attributed to the SADCC nations is a political desire to distance themselves from South Africa. However, there are very sound economic reasons for their moves: decentralisation of economic infrastructure away from South Africa can ultimately be to the advantage of the entire sub-continent, the SADCC offers the nine the most sensible and realistic opportunity to break their cycles of underdevelopment partly resulting from South Africa's economic hegemony in the region.

However, as a body through which the nine might hope in the next five or so years to cushion substantially the effects of world sanctions against South Africa or a security blockade in South Africa, one can only talk of the SADCC's potential. The healthy lags behind.

## the small society

by Brickman



# Summit

## marked by attacks on SA

The Star's Africa  
News Service

SALISBURY — Attacks on South Africa characterised the opening speeches at today's summit here of nine black Southern African nations seeking to reduce their economic links with the Republic.

Opening the Summit, Botswana President Dr Quett Masire said the economic independence of the nine member nations of the Southern African Development Co-Ordination Conference was necessary if international efforts to end apartheid in South Africa were to succeed.

The heads of state or government of Botswana, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi were present. Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho was unexpectedly represented by his Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr M V Motapo.

Dr Masire, the summit chairman, gave the SADCC's support to UN resolution 435 as the basis for a SWA/Namibian settlement and slammed South Africa's "intransigence."

Noting an increase in East-West tensions, he said the superpowers seemed to be seeking new theatres of conflict in which to wage war through proxies. SADCC states should guard against attempts to frustrate their economic development and independence.

Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Mugabe, said Africa had an obligation to oppose apartheid with all the legitimate means at its disposal.

"That is why we support the national liberation movement in South Africa and Swapo in Namibia."

Though SADCC states were pursuing a policy of peaceful co-existence in the region, South Africa had assumed a warlike posture towards her neighbours.

● Page 19: Reducing dependence on SA.

# SA 'warlike,' say the Frontline nine

DOM 2/9/81 (1)

**SALISBURY.** — South Africa came under fire yesterday at the one-day summit meeting of African leaders of the nine-nation Southern African development co-ordination conference (SADCC) in Salisbury.

Pretoria was accused of outright military aggression and of promoting subversion in an attempt to destabilise neighbouring countries that belong to the SADCC grouping.

The main aim of the SADCC — the so-called counter to South Africa's proposed constellation of states — is to reduce its economic dependence on the Republic.

Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, told foreign diplomats and delegates at the opening of yesterday's summit that although the SADCC states were pursuing a policy of peaceful co-existence with South Africa, Pretoria was assuming a "warlike posture" towards her neighbours.

He said that three SADCC states — presumably Mozambique, Angola and Zambia, according to previous claims — had suffered major incursions by South African military forces in recent months.

"We know South Africa is training renegades and traitors from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola and Zambia with the intention of promoting subversion in these countries," Mr Mugabe said.

## By DAVID FORRET

He added that apartheid, far from being a domestic political issue of concern only to South Africa, was a "dangerous phenomenon that threatens the security, stability and orderly development" of the whole sub-continent.

The attack was also taken up by President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and President Quett Masire of Botswana, who accused South Africa of mounting a campaign of "interference and destabilisation" in black-ruled countries.

Calling on the SADCC countries to reduce their inherited dependence on South Africa as quickly as possible, President Nyerere said nevertheless that this would not be done overnight.

"South Africa has the ability to damage us whenever it suits their interests," he added.

The only head of government that was not at yesterday's summit was Chief Leabua Jonathan, of Lesotho.

All the other member nations — Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — were represented by either their head of state or government.

One of the main purposes of the meeting was to review the progress that has been made since last year's formation of the SADCC, which is embarking on long-term plans to secure regional co-operation and co-ordination of development projects in the black-ruled states.

A joint communique yesterday said that SADCC leaders had approved the establishment of a permanent secretariat, which will be based in Botswana from the beginning of July next year, to ensure continuity in their deliberations.

The SADCC chairman, Dr Masire, spoke of the substantial progress that had been made since the group's formation, particularly in the critical sector of transport and communications.

The Southern African Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC), which is based in Mozambique, is presently following up on the initial pledges of 650-million us dollars made in Maputo last year, mainly by the African Development Bank and various western countries.

Cape Provincial Institute  
 of Architects' Prize  
 For the best student in :-  
 Sixth Year  
 P F Dunckley  
 Helen Gardner Travel Prize  
 For a student who has  
 satisfactorily completed  
 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.  
 P A Rappoport  
 Molly Gohl Memorial Prize  
 For the best woman student  
 in third year.  
 Miss C Tredgold  
 David Haddon Prize  
 For the best student of  
 Architecture (or Quantity  
 Surveying) in the subject

ARCHITECTURE

# Regional plan to cut dependence on SA <sup>SA 21/7/87</sup> ①

**SALISBURY** — The nine leaders of the member-countries in the Southern Africa Development Coordination Development Conference (SADCC) followed their one-day summit in Salisbury by announcing a permanent secretariat to be based in Botswana from next July.

At a brief Press conference President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania said "We must reduce our dependence on South Africa as much as possible, as soon as possible."

The conference started two hours late due to delayed arrivals of some of the heads of state.

## IMPLEMENTATION

Chaired by President Quett Masire of Botswana, the conference endorsed memoranda providing for routine summit meetings, a council of Ministers, commissions, a standing committee of officials and a secretariat.

Last night's communiqué said: "SADCC has eschewed the creation of a large and unwieldy bureaucracy in favour of a system which places responsibility for the im-

plementation of its programme on the governments of member-states."

Heading the list of priorities the SADCC has set itself is the breaking of its transport dependence on South Africa.

## INCOMPLETE

The leaders noted the ratification of a convention which makes the Maputo-based Southern African Transport and Communications Commission a "legal personality" charged with ensuring close co-operation of transport systems which aim to divert traffic away from South Africa and promote self-reliance.

Speaking to journalists later, President Nyerere stated: "The political independence that has been achieved leaves our freedom not complete without the development of these countries (in SADCC) and without our winning economic independence."

## 'NOW A REALITY'

An official report said the nine countries have made substantial progress towards greater economic cooperation and reduced

dependence on South Africa.

They appealed to industrialised nations to cooperate with the Third World in solving mutual problems.

The meeting was attended by the heads of state or government of Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, Tanzania, Swaziland and Angola. Lesotho was represented by its Foreign Minister.

A report by officials concerned with cooperation said the SADCC programme of improved cooperation between members and reduced reliance on trade with South Africa is now a reality.

It said groundwork had been laid for cooperation in transport and communications, food, security, and use of land as well as crop research, control of animal diseases and the development of industry, manpower and energy.

The optimistic theme of the report, only 15 months after the movement was launched in Lusaka, was tempered by the politicians' warnings of South African activities in the region. — Sapa-Reuter.

FAC

# Salisbury summit

## talks politics

Star 23:7:81  
Special Correspondent

SALISBURY — Most of the delegates arrived late at the one-day "summit" in Salisbury this week.

The discussions took on a distinctly political tone and largely ignored the economic possibilities of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

To observers the summit became more of a solidarity exercise in which the nine nations re-affirmed their animosity to South Africa than a strategy session pointing the way to closer economic and transport ties.

The summit did indeed set up a permanent secretariat and it did set up a headquarters. But the choice of Botswana instead of Zimbabwe left many people bewildered.

Botswana has probably been selected because it will have nothing else to offer the community.

Another reason put forward is strategic. Said a Salisbury business source: "If there is any nonsense between here and South Africa, it will do no good if the nerve centre of southern African trade is affected and Botswana is neutral."

### ISSUES

There are two main issues confronting Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Tanzania and Malawi. These are firstly an efficient telecommunications system linking the members and the improvement of the railways and harbours in Mozambique.

The first problem has been recognised by the members. They said in a joint document: "There has been difficulty in identifying contact points in member states at sectoral level to allow effective consultation at technical level."

In rail communications there seems to be little progress. Despite offers of help from outside countries at the last conference in Maputo, the traffic between Mozambique and Zimbabwe is minimal due to shortage of equipment and rolling stock.

Little attention has been paid to the financial aspects especially the repayment of foreign loans.

Success in putting together a working organisation that genuinely helps all the members will be a barometer of efficiency in the individual countries and a measure of true co-operation.

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CHEMICAL

ment Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) reflects steady progress towards the ultimate goal of closer mutual economic ties and reduced dependence on SA.

At the conclusion of Monday's one-day meeting in Salisbury the SADCC states — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — said that 22 of the original 97 transport and communications projects identified at last November's Mputo conference are now being implemented. A further 29 have been prepared and submitted to international financing agencies, while 15 are under preparation and will be submitted to aid agencies by mid-September.

Three projects have been withdrawn; the balance of 28 is under consideration and will be submitted to finance agencies sometime after September 15. The majority of the transport projects involve the rehabilitation and upgrading of existing facilities.

At the SADCC's first summit, US\$650m was pledged for regional projects. Clearly the most important are in the transport field because it is here that dependence on SA is greatest and the scope for mutual co-operation between the frontline states most apparent.

Zimbabwe, which hosted this week's meeting, is specifically responsible for food security. So far, two meetings have



**Botswana's President Masire**  
... kingpin of the SADCC

been held at official level and nine projects concerning early warning systems, crop results, storage and processing are under discussion. A small technical and administrative unit is being created within

## REGIONAL GROUPINGS

### SADCC in Salisbury

FM 24/7/81

Stripped of the usual anti-South African rhetoric, this week's communique from the nine-nation Southern African Develop-

the Zimbabwe Ministry of Agriculture to co-ordinate the programme.

Topics such as crop research and animal diseases have been delegated to Botswana for co-ordination. Botswana has also been chosen as the headquarters for the SADCC secretariat. Issues under discussion include the establishment of a regional centre for tick-borne disease research, a technical study on requirements for animal vaccine production, and projects for the eradication of tsetse flies in Botswana.

Tanzania is responsible for co-ordinating projects on industrial development and the communique expresses confidence that a basis can be established for "substantial expansion" of trade among member countries — a matter of vital importance to Zimbabwe when next year it loses its preferential entry to the South African market.

An initial study of regional energy capacity has been prepared by the Angolan delegation and a preliminary meeting of technical officials is to be held before the end of July to prepare for the Nairobi UN energy conference in August.

The communique believes that substantial progress has been made in the transport and communications field. This view is sustained by Zimbabwe government officials who say that a significant proportion of Zimbabwe's fuel requirements are now being imported from Mozambique rather than SA, and plans are well advanced for the reopening of the Beira to Limali oil pipeline at the end of this year.

SADCC officials are due to meet again in Malawi in November to prepare for the region's 1982 summit. Evidence of concrete progress might be slim at this stage, but there can be little doubt that the SADCC is shaping up to be a much more formidable organisation than SA's rival confederation of black-ruled states. That said, dependence on SA will continue for the foreseeable future.



"SEEK ye first the political kingdom and all other things, including socio-economic emancipation, shall be added unto you."

This dictum, paraphrased from the original biblical take-off of pan-Africanist Kwame Nkrumah in the 1960s, was used this week by Zimbabwe's premier, Mr Robert Mugabe, at the summit meeting of the nine-member Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) in Salisbury.

But the African leaders who were seated in the plush, colonial-style hotel conference room could be forgiven for thinking that Nkrumah's dictum had turned out to be anything but prophetic.

To underscore this point one need only look at the economic woes facing many of the black-ruled independent states and their almost total dependence on either South Africa or on massive injections of foreign aid and soft loans.

There was president Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, daintily holding his customary white handkerchief between his forefingers; the bearded President Samora Machel of Mozambique, resplendent as a revolutionary figure in his military uniform; the worried-looking Tanzanian, President Julius Nyerere, whose country has just been dubbed in international finance circles as "a foreign aid junkie"; the youthful Angolan, President Jose Dos Santos,

## Summit

They were at the one-day summit to continue on their course that was charted soon after Zimbabwe's independence last year with the formation of the SADCC, the so-called "counter-constellation" of states that is made up of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The formal establishment of the SADCC was spurred by the Zimbabwean nationalists who sought and found their "political kingdom", thus opening the area for regional co-operation and giving their black-ruled neighbours another chance to strive for the economic "liberation" that has, to say the least, eluded them.

Their guiding principle is that political freedom is meaningless without economic liberation.

In global terms the SADCC, like other developing countries in the Third World, is committed to a new world economic order which will correct the growing disparity between the world's rich and poor nations.

But their paramount objective is to reduce their economic dependence on Pretoria, which has a stranglehold over the sub-continent because of its transport network.

This is of prime significance when one considers the threat of international sanctions against South Africa and the likely disastrous consequences that these hold for the embargo's main protagonists — the self-same SADCC member nations

Most of these countries are implacably opposed to South

# Seek ye first the political kingdom

NKRUMAH SAID IT FIRST AND NOW MUGABE PICKS IT UP . . .

With the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, still hoping to establish his constellation of Southern African States, black nations in the region met again this week in their attempts to forge an economic bloc aimed at reducing their dependence on Pretoria. DAVID FORRET of the Mail Africa Bureau reports from Salisbury.

Africa because of its internal policies, and many of them feel that sanctions against the white-ruled republic are inevitable.

Mr Mugabe, for instance, has said that Zimbabwe cannot take part in economic sanctions against South Africa but will not stand in the way of the international community imposing them on the country upon which he is so dependent.

South Africa undoubtedly has much political leverage in the sub-continent and uses "transport diplomacy" as effectively as possible in the circumstances of being surrounded by politically hostile neighbours.

There are deep suspicions in

black African capitals that South Africa is bent on maintaining that stranglehold at almost any cost.

At Monday's summit meeting various African leaders made the familiar attacks on South Africa, accusing Pretoria of outright military aggression and attempting to subvert and destabilise neighbouring countries by supporting rebel movements.

Which is no longer news, as Mr Mugabe indignantly suggested to foreign newsmen on one occasion. Indeed, fertile is the imagination that can think of something to say against South Africa that hasn't been said before.

And yet there is a noticeable lack of criticism from Salisbury in its day-to-day dealings with Pretoria. The current diesel fuel shortage in Zimbabwe, which has reached critical proportions, is a case in point.

While cynical observers nod knowingly towards the Limpopo when speculating about the cause of the shortage, Zimbabwean Ministers have explained that it is due to rail congestion in South Africa and derailments in Mozambique.

However unavoidable the present fuel shortage might be, it couldn't have come at a worse time for Zimbabwe as it is trying to move its record maize crop. This underlines the delicate and sometimes ambiguous relationship between black north and white south.

While African leaders vent their anger at South Africa's "racist apartheid policies" and advocate sanctions, they also maintain relatively good working relationships with the Republic.

Landlocked Zimbabwe — like a few other SADCC member states — is particularly vulnerable to South Africa which, according to President Nyerere, "can damage us whenever it suits their interests".

Black African states are very conscious of this fact as they plan new trade routes to lessen their dependence on South Africa, which has 75% of Southern Africa's rail network as well as the most efficient ports.

## Tasks

Each of the nine SADCC member states have been allotted specific tasks — ranging from Zimbabwe's "food security" portfolio to Tanzania's "industrial development co-ordination" responsibility, but the key to the long-term strategy is transport and communications.

It is in these fields that one finds the projects on the priority shopping list which was presented at a donors' conference in Maputo last November.

The international donors pledged about R500-million, and the Southern African Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) is now pressing them to fulfill their promises as soon as possible.

The pledges, though, fall far short of SADCC's expectations. Overall the nine states estimate they will need more than R1 000-million over the next decade to achieve their priority goals in transport alone.

And this is hardly the time to go cap in hand for more aid from the industrialised Western nations, where the tendency now is to cut back on foreign commitments.

The SADCC chairman, Botswana's President Quett Masire, says substantial progress has been made since the first summit meeting in Lusaka 14 months ago.

At this week's meeting it was decided to set up a permanent secretariat in Botswana in a year's time to ensure continuity in their deliberations.

A report also disclosed that 22 of the initial 97 transport and communications projects are now being carried out and the others are being prepared for submission to foreign donor agencies.

Most of them involve the rehabilitation of existing facilities in all member countries: the establishment of telecommunication and civil aviation infrastructures and the building of new road, rail, air and lake transport systems.

## Rapid

Mozambique's ports and rail system are the key to reducing dependence on South Africa's transport system. Rapid development of Beira and Maputo followed by the deep-water port of Nacala are top priorities.

They also hope to upgrade the railway line from Nacala to Malawi and extend it further to Zambia, giving the landlocked countries a much shorter route to the sea.

Since the Mozambican ports re-opened to Zimbabwean traffic last year, there has been a steady increase in the volume of cargo being diverted from the South Africa ports.

Zimbabwe's Minister of Transport, Mr Josiah Chinamano, said last week that his country's traffic of imports and exports through the two Mozambican ports now accounted for 26% of its total trade flow.

Even fully operational, Mozambique ports will not be able to handle Zimbabwe's external trade and the most they can hope for in the next few years is to restore the traffic to its 1973-74 level before the Rhodesian/Mozambican border was closed.

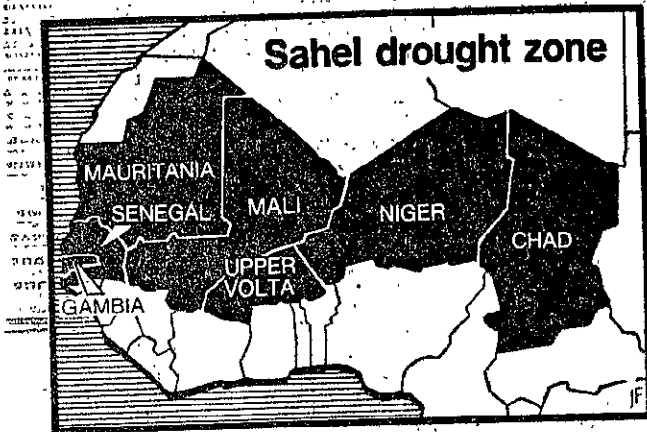
At that stage the South African system still carried about 30% of Zimbabwe's total traffic, which was much less than the country's present-day volume.

Despite the enormous difficulties facing them, the "Southern Nine" have the political will to press ahead with their strategy for an economic and political realignment in the sub-continent.

But whether they can transform an essentially political motive into economic reality is, of course, another question.



MOV  
24/7/81 (1)



The dark areas on this map indicate the extensive range of the Sahel drought zone.

CHEMICAL

# Expert claims Sahel drought may soon be broken

Sya  
24/7/81

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The African Sahel — the semi-arid zone south of the Sahara — may at last be hearing the end of its long-playing drought.

But the new findings that encourage this hope also reinforce the suspicions of many meteorologists that recurring drought is a normal part of Sahelian climate.

Using river runoff data as a rainfall indicator, Hugues Faure of the Laboratory of Quaternary Geology at Marseille and Jean-Yves Gac of the Office of Overseas Scientific and Technical Research at Dakar find a cyclical pattern of dry and wet periods. The River Senegal's pattern of annual discharge is typical.

Throughout the 19th century, it shows short periods of drastic minimum followed by a slow return to longer periods of wet conditions with a double maximum, the two French scientists say in discussing their findings in the journal Nature.

### Warning

These features also characterise a graph of 20th-century data. The average time between the last three droughts is 31.3 years, with extreme conditions recurring every 10.3 years, give or take four years.

Extrapolating these data "suggests that the present drought should end in 1985 with full wet conditions being re-established in about 1992," the scientists say. However, they warn: "If the same pattern continues, it is feared that a severe drought will occur around 2005."

Thus, the extreme dryness that aroused international concern for the region in the late '60s and early '70s was not an

anomaly to be endured and forgotten.

The extensive suffering and economic losses it produced should be taken as a warning that population growth and land-use patterns that emphasize extensive cattle grazing are putting more pressure on the area than it can sustain in the long run.

The problems of the Sahelian people dropped out of the news after near-normal rains in 1974. However, the region now has had a dozen consecutive years with rainfall below what once had been considered normal.

The monsoon rains, on which the region is largely dependent, have yet to return to what had been considered their full force.

If the Faure and Gac pattern does repeat and plentiful rains return within a few years, the region's burdens will ease. This would be no blessing if it diverted attention from a need to develop an economy and living patterns that can be sustained through the driest of times.

### Normal

As Faure and Gac note, their findings are consistent with a variety of studies which have shown great variability of rainfall to be a main feature of Sahelian climate for many thousands of years.

There are many uncertainties in such studies. No one knows what the complex causes of this climatic pattern may be.

Nevertheless, one point seems increasingly clear: people who live in the Sahel or in other semi-arid zones must consider what they now call "drought" to be part of their normal weather. — Christian Science News Service.

FAC

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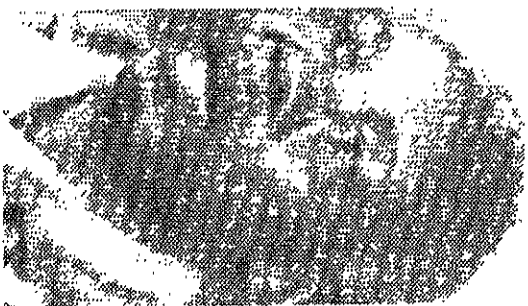
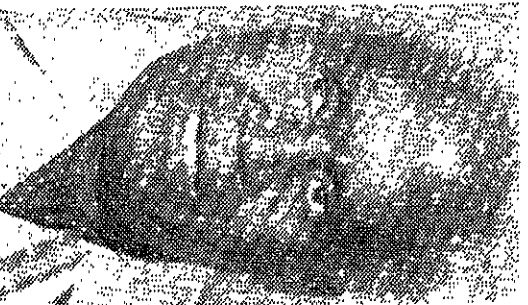
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They were at the one-day summit to continue on their course that was chartered soon after Zimbabwe's independence last year with the formation of the SADCC, the so-called "counter-constellation" of states that is made up of Angola,

# South Africa holds heavy lever in transport diplomacy



President Kaunda of Zambia, Prime Minister Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Nyerere of Tanzania — deeply pledged to lessen their economic reliance on South Africa. But can a political motive be transformed into economic reality?

Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The formal establishment of the SADCC was spurred by the Zimbabwean nationalists who sought and found their "political kingdom" thus opening the area for regional co-operation and giving their black-ruled neighbours another chance to strive for the economic "liberation" that has, so far, eluded them.

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But their paramount objective is to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa, which has a stranglehold over the sub-continent because of its transport network.

This is of prime significance when one considers the threat of international sanctions against South Africa and the likely disastrous consequences that this holds for the embargo's main protagonists — the self-same SADCC.

Most of these countries are implacably opposed to South Africa because of its internal policies, and many of them feel that sanctions against the white-ruled Republic are inevitable. Mr Mugabe, for instance, has said that Zimbabwe cannot take part in economic sanctions against South Africa, but will not stand in the way of the international community imposing them on the country upon which he is so dependent.

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# lever in transport diplomacy

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## DAVID FORRETT, Daily Dispatch Salisbury bureau.

It is in these fields that one finds the projects on which the priority shopping list which was presented at a donors' conference in Maputo last November.

The international donors pledged about R500 million, and the Southern African Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) is now pressing them to fulfil their promises as soon as possible.

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Zimbabwe's Minister of Transport, Mr Josiah Chinamano, said last week that his country's imports and exports through the two Mozambican ports now accounted for 26 per cent of its total trade flow.

The remaining 74 per cent is still being moved through South Africa and, it is generally agreed, Zimbabwe, for the foreseeable future, will remain dependent on its South African links, particularly as the economy expands.

Even fully operational Mozambique ports will not be able to handle Zimbabwe's external trade and the most they can hope for in the next few years is to restore the traffic to its 1973-74 level, before the Rhodesia-Mozambique border was closed.

At that stage the South African system still carried about 30 per cent of Zimbabwe's total traffic, which was much less than the country's present-day volumes.

Despite the enormous difficulties facing them, the Southern Nine have the political will to press ahead with their strategy for an economic and political realignment on the subcontinent.

But whether they can transform an essentially political motive into economic reality is, of course, another question.

# East African leaders try reconciliation

NAIROBI — The presidents of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, countries which fell out after the collapse of the East African Economic Community, met in Nairobi yesterday and agreed to work for co-operation in the region.

The three leaders — Mr Daniel Arap Moi (Kenya), Mr Julius

## Focus on Africa

Nyerere (Tanzania) and Dr Milton Obote (Uganda) — met to discuss ways of distributing the assets and liabilities of the community, dissolved four years ago.

But they also discussed SWA/Namibia, the Middle East and West Africa, a communique said.

It said the three presidents reached complete understanding on all issues and agreed to hold regular meetings to promote sub-regional dialogue and ensure co-operation in East Africa.

The main obstacle to better relations among the three states has been the problem of winding up the affairs of the community. An economic and customs union, the community ran railways, harbours

and an airline for its members.

In the acrimonious aftermath of the break-up, Tanzania closed its border with Kenya which in turn stopped direct flights to Dar es Salaam.

Western diplomats believe that regional economic problems could provide a spur for the border to be re-opened, giving Kenya a market for consumer goods in short supply in Tanzania.

The presidents appealed for restraint in the conflict in Lebanon, where Israel had launched a series of raids over the past week, and called for respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of that country. — Sapa-Reuter.

## 'I did not kill Adamson'

NYERI (Kenya) — A teenage herdsman told a court yesterday he had quarrelled with the author and naturalist Joy Adamson before her death, but he denied murdering her.

Mr Pual Nakware Ekai (18), accused of stabbing Mrs Adamson to death 18 months ago, said the quarrel broke out after she found him drinking tea instead of doing his cleaning work.

Last week the prosecution said Mr Ekai had confessed to police that he returned to kill and rob Mrs Adamson two months after leaving her employment because she owed him his pay. The defence said the confession was extracted under torture.

Mrs Adamson, best known for her book "Born Free," was found dead near her remote bush camp at Shaba. — Sapa-Reuter.

Professor George Menzies Prize  
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examinations to the best male  
student in Land Science

P M Salmon  
T J Cumming  
D P Weeks  
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B F McClelland

Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

Miss N C Davidson

Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss G C Littlewort

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

For the best student in each  
of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.  
Corporation Medals

# Guinea sidesteps De Beers

The Star Bureau  
LONDON — A new diamond venture of about R70-million planned for Guinea, West Africa, intends to sell its output outside the auspices of De Beers central selling organisation.

Bridge Oil, the Australian oil and gas producer, will have a stake of 45 percent

and the Republic of Guinea one of 50 percent. The remaining five percent will be shared by Simonious Vischer of Basle, Switzerland, and Industrial Diamond Company of London.

Marketing of the Bridge consortium's 70 percent share of production will be

handled by Aredor Sales, managed by Industrial Diamond Corporation which already purchases a proportion of the diamond output of Sierra Leone and Zaire.

Production is scheduled for August 1983 with an output of approximately 200 000 carats in the first year

and a progressive rise to 500 000 carats a year by 1985.

The projected output is tiny compared with production at the De Beers group mines which amounted to 14.7-million carats last year.

But the diamond market worldwide remains depressed.

# African nations discuss oil glut

30/5/62  
30/2/61

(1)

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — In a move to establish their independence and to resolve a critical oil glut, the four African members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries have met secretly twice in the past four weeks.

The second meeting took place at the weekend and oil company sources in the United States and Europe say they were not notified of the outcome.

The four African Opec members — Libya, Nigeria, Algeria and Gabon — have shown sharp declines in export revenues because buyers, secure in the current world oil glut, have walked away from the producers' high-priced contracts, with quotes ranging from 40 dollars to 41 dollars a barrel.

All four producers have resisted requests to lower prices substantially, opting instead to accept a steep loss in sales.

Total production from the four countries has slumped to below 3-million barrels a day in the first quarter. Output will drop even further next month, analysts predict, if more oil companies suspend their oil purchases for a month or two, as is expected.

Despite the resistance to pricecutting, some discounts in the form of easier credit terms have been offered.

A recent offer by Libya to shave 1.10 dollars from its price was rejected by oil buyers who insisted that all North African crude was four dollars to five dollars a barrel too high.

Nigeria's production is said to have dropped to as low as 900 000 barrels a day from a high of 2.2-million barrels a day in January. But the Nigerians have not shown any inclination yet to reduce their price.

Aggravating the oil glut is the continued strength of the United States dollar price of oil for nations other than the US.



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# SA, not black alliance target

By CHRIS FREIMOND

GABORONE. — The alliance of Black-ruled Southern African states to promote economic self-sufficiency, had not been formed to oppose South Africa, President Samora Machel of Mozambique said yesterday.

At a Press conference in Gaborone before he returned to Maputo after a four-day State visit to Botswana, President Machel said the main objective of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference was the harmonious and rationalised development of the region.

## Progress

The conference wanted to promote peace, progress and good relations between states in Southern Africa. Its only enemy was underdevelopment. South Africa was welcome to join the SADCC — if it scrapped apartheid.

In a stinging attack on European powers, many of whose diplomatic representatives in Botswana attended the Press conference, President Machel said they were deliberately denying developing Southern African states the technology and aid necessary for the establishment of heavy industry.

This was to ensure the states remained dependant on South Africa for their heavy industrial needs.

On South West Africa, a joint Botswana-Mozambique communiqué denounced the conclusion of some Western countries with Pretoria.

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4.6. @@CONS

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options for a) are A,C,O,R and S, any combination may be used (see @COPY).

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Format:

b) change a catalogued file's modes and/or keys

a) change the name of a program file element

# The story

about Margaret had only had her licence for a month when she was involved in the accident.

Looking enviably radiant and more beautiful than her pictures in the glossies she said: "The accident was a tremendous shock. My neck still hurts and at times I still feel a bit dizzy, but today I'm feeling really strong."

Margaret hopes to leave for New York on August 21 where she will resume her million-dollar modelling contract.



in bed at her home in Table View.

# Coup bid in Kenya a threat to summit

*CAPE TIMES 2/8/82*

From BRUCE STEPHENSON

LONDON. — Yesterday's unsuccessful attempt by a group of Kenyan air force officers and rebel troops to overthrow President Daniel Arap Moi could be the final nail in the coffin of the annual meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) scheduled to take place in Tripoli on Thursday.

Should President Arap Moi decide to stay in Nairobi rather than risk being overthrown while his attention is elsewhere, it will prove to be an unexpected bonus for moderate members of the already deeply-divided organization.

The OAU summit was already under threat because of a row over the admission of the Polisario guerilla organization which is fighting Morocco for control of the former Spanish colony of Western Sahara.

### Quorum

Several States which back Morocco have threatened to boycott the summit. It now appears likely that not enough heads of State will arrive by Wednesday to make up the necessary quorum of 34.

In this event, the 50-member organization will not be able to meet — which would also supply a neat answer for the second problem bedevilling the OAU, namely Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

The immediate consequence of a failure of the summit would be that President Arap Moi would retain his chairmanship, which would otherwise automatically have gone to Colonel Gaddafi as host.

Morocco has been actively lobbying the continued support of the 19 States which walked out in protest when the

Polisario was admitted to a ministerial meeting in Addis Ababa in February without the approval of heads of State.

The summit's failure would be a body-blow to Colonel Gaddafi who, apart from the spending lavishly on preparations, is one of the Polisario's strongest supporters, together with more than 20 others, headed by Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, and the Seychelles.

OAU moderates are optimistic that by delaying the summit till 1983, they stand to gain in two ways. Firstly, it would set back Colonel Gaddafi's personal ambitions within the organization. Secondly, the 1983 summit venue is in Guinea, which they believe will refuse to admit the Polisario. A year's delay could be instrumental in resolving the dispute and saving the OAU from collapse, moderates believe.

### Compromise

A compromise proposed by Nigeria, which has remained neutral in this dispute, and supported by Libya, under which the Polisario would attend the ministerial meeting but withdraw from the summit, was rejected by the anti-Polisario group-

ing. One compromise still possible is for President Arap Moi to seek an extraordinary summit to deal with this one matter alone. If this fails, President Arap Moi could call a "mini-summit" at another venue and under his own chairmanship, so avoiding the problems raised by Colonel Gaddafi taking the chair.

By holding a "mini-summit" in Nairobi, President Arap Moi would be able to save some of the OAU's pride and at the same time keep a firm hand on his own troubled country.

# Roadhouse man killed in Munga street

Reporter R-OLD Langa ng treated un- e guard at huur Hospital the weekend Matland road- r who was tak of his staff home after



has Efstathiou on Roadhouse

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# Could a black army win?

With South Africa gearing itself to fight a conventional war on its borders, Africa is concerned with an "African deterrent." What hopes of the armed forces of black Africa "liberating" South Africa? Nana Humasi, assistant editor of the magazine New Africa, examines the question.

present a wide range of probabilities and difficulties," said Brigadier H S Lehman, the South African Defence Force attaché in London. "Guerrilla warfare alone cannot take over an entire country. At some point you will have to fight in the open. That's where the age-old concepts of war weighed against the principles of its actual execution will be problematic for an African force."

Africa's regular armies total about 1.5-million men and women (see accompanying chart) with Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Morocco boasting the largest units. The collective African navy is 36 620-strong, while its air force stands at 69 950,

with Egypt, Nigeria, Morocco, Libya and Algeria having the largest forces. However, troop movement across Africa's 28-million sq km of terrain poses overwhelming strategic obstacles: 22 percent is almost impassable rain forest, 35 percent is desert, with only three southern African countries with inter-state railways of any significance, and virtually no inter-connecting road system.

ratio of the attacking force should be three to every one of the enemy. You are talking about 600 000 men in any one attack, and up to six-million men as long as the war may last."

South Africa has 86 500 regular troops and claims it can mobilise up to 404 500 men within a few days. Its annual defence budget is currently \$2.56-billion. Its forces have combat experience from offensives in to several Frontline States. Its weaponry, a part from what it manufactures, includes 250 Centurion and 40 Sherman tanks, 209 combat aircraft in addition to the latest Mirage fighters, bomber squadrons and flying gun-ships.

The navy is equipped with three Daphne class submarines, 10 British Ton minesweepers and other combat ships. South Africa has nuclear capability. Its 10 000-strong air force is undoubtedly the best trained in Africa. Outside South Africa, Africa's biggest military spenders are Egypt and Libya.

The Egyptian defence adviser in London, Brigadier Farouk Abou-Elhaz, said Africa may have the manpower but must not forget that South Africa is not alone. "The situation will be similar to the Israeli-Arab conflict," he said. "I don't see an all-Africa force materialising for a long time," argued Jacques de Lespats, editor of the reputable Africa Defence magazine in Paris. "It will be hampered with language and political problems to the point of making it not feasible. Nato has similar

Africa's security and the state of its military capability are increasingly becoming focal points for African organisations and governments. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) at its conference in Nairobi in June, voted to increase aid money to liberation movements, and to further study the call to establish a continental army. But more significantly, perhaps, Nigeria and Algeria recently agreed to set aside \$26-million from oil profits towards the formation of a continental military force.

Considering that Somalia, at the bottom of the list of the big African arms buyers, has an annual military budget of about 95-million dollars, the \$26-million to be set aside by Nigeria and Algeria almost mocks the concept of setting up an all-African war machine.

The Indian Ocean teams with Russian, British, Australian, French and American warships. They all claim the right to "protect" the commercial traffic to and from the East.

In the context of strategy and tactics, the African army would

problems, despite the long history of military sophistication of the countries which make it up."

A former bushfighter in Ethiopia's Ogaden region believes African governments would put stability at risk if they committed their regular forces to a continental command. "An African force today would be cannon-fodder," he says. "And if we plan it over the next 20 years, South Africa will gear itself for the event."

The immediate answer, the ex-bush fighter said, was protracted guerrilla action led by the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, and the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia. The black pockets of Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana would probably be overrun by the guerrilla forces, but this would need to be done without alienating the allegiance of the citizens of those countries.

Consensus is that guerrilla warfare will prove the most effective type of military action against South Africa.

Country	Army	Air Force	Navy	Reserves	Total	Arms Exp. (In millions)
Algeria	90,000	7,000	4,000	10,000	111,000	\$705m
Egypt	320,000	27,000	20,000	515,000	882,000	\$2170m
Libya	450,000	4,000	4,000	—	458,000	\$448m
Morocco	105,000	7,000	4,000	30,000	146,000	\$675m
Sudan	65,000	1,500	1,500	35,000	103,000	\$442.6m
Tunisia	24,000	2,000	2,600	2,500	31,100	\$114m
Angola	30,000	1,500	1,000	20,000	283,000	\$385m
Ethiopia	225,000	3,000	15,000	4,000	21,450	\$155m
Chad	14,700	1,550	1,200	650	16,550	\$168m
Kenya	12,000	2,100	700	1,800	24,300	\$177m
Mozambique	22,800	800	—	—	146,000	\$1700m
Nigeria	130,000	8,000	5,000	29,500	91,050	\$65m
Somalia	60,000	1,000	850	10,500	36,050	\$2560m
South Africa	71,000	10,300	4,750	36,400	88,250	\$303m
Tanzania	50,000	1,000	850	35,000	88,250	\$50.5m
Zaire	18,300	1,000	1,000	15,500	55,500	\$387.9m
Zambia	12,800	1,500	—	1,200	15,500	\$444m
Zimbabwe	12,000	1,500	—	42,500	56,000	\$444m
					2,637,250	10,951m

ISS: The Military Balance 1980-1981

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The recent coup attempt against Gambian President Sir Dawda Jawara is a grim reminder that no leader in black Africa has ever been peacefully voted out of office.

Soon after independence most Africans reckoned that their countries were unsuited to the alien traditions of Westminster-style bi-party parliamentarianism, although 10 out of the Organisation of African Unity's 50-strong membership do currently claim multi-party democracy, and another half dozen allow a measure of pluralism.

The key disadvantage of the multi-party model foisted on most of Africa at independence is that the parties invariably become tribal blocs.

The essential benefits of

# Africa view not all bleak

Star 17/8/81 (1)

The idea that Africa is a collection of one-party states toeing a communist line is a myth. Ian Smiley in The Observer reports on a gathering appeal for a new kind of pluralism in Africa.

one-party rule are indisputable: under a benign leader the effects of competitive and destructive tribalism can be overcome or at least mitigated. The president of many one-party states generously and wisely dispenses ministerial portfolios across the country's ethnic spectrum, so that all groups believe they can enjoy a taste of the cake.

On the other hand, however, most states that have embraced the single party system are finding it hard either to nurture the political creativity or to entertain enough constructive criticism and competition to keep the body politic alive and the bureaucracy on its toes.

Kenneth Kaunda has talked optimistically of "one-party participatory democracy" but in his own case of Zambia, as elsewhere, a tiny oligarchy around the President lays down policy.

Although several one-party systems, such as Tanzania, Kenya and Zambia, encourage a lively parliament, no one-party state has managed to stave off the spread of moribundity and incompetence among the political ruling class which seems inevitably to entrench itself, sets up its own network of patronage and condones the injustices of nepotism, tribal-

ism and corruption — the scourges of modern Africa under the new black elites.

So while most states still reject a rigid imitation of Westminster, a growing number of African thinkers are also beginning to reject the one-party version. There is a gathering appeal for a new kind of pluralism.

By far the most important experiment in this context is taking place in Nigeria, which returned to multi-party rule only two years ago.

The chief parties, as before, are strongly identified with the old tribal blocs, but the constitution makes a brave attempt to allow both a greater freedom for ethnic loyalties to be expressed through an array of 19 State assemblies, while the federal President not only has extremely wide executive powers, but in the Presidential election also has by law to win a considerable portion of the national vote from outside his own state or tribal area to give him the stamp of acceptability.

Unfortunately, the oil-blown patronage increasingly dispensed through the barons of the Nigerian ruling party still undermines the rights of citizens to succeed by merit alone.

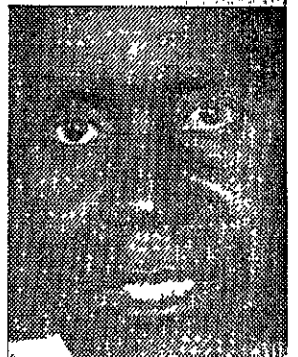
But while three of the most authoritarian one-party states — Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia

— are most committed to marxism and a pro-Moscow line, the idea that Africa is a collection of one-party states generally moving left under the smiling eyes of Moscow or Peking is one of the great myths propagated in the West.

The vast majority of Africans look mainly to the West for friendship and economic guidance. People are aware that almost every rigorously collective economic scheme in Africa has failed wretchedly. Even those, like Angola, who still favour the marxist ideal, look increasingly to the West for economic assistance and money.

Shortly after independence many African countries embarked upon grandiose communal schemes and rejected political pluralism. But it is now clear that communalism (Tanzania's bold Ujamaa effort) and the one-party monolith have not provided the answers. And, the more educated people become, the more they enjoy the liberal freedom so often denied by the one-party state.

Senegal and Gambia, the multi-party states in the news, are miserably poor. But they are both relatively free, creative countries whose people if they wish to change leadership or policy, have a better chance of doing so than most of their African brothers and sisters.



Kaunda . . . plenty of talk, but a tiny oligarchy still lays down policy.



Nyerere . . . communalism and the one-party system have not provided all the answers.



Jawara . . . reminder that no leader in black Africa has been peacefully voted out of office.

# Gaborone

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LUSAKA — Experts from member states of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference yesterday began discussions on creating a fund for the establishment of a secretariat in Gaborone, Botswana.

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The available SQ and SX

Opening the two-day meeting, the Zambian Finance Minister, Mr Kebby Musokotwane, urged the establishment of a regional financial institution before the secretariat becomes operational next July, the Zambia News Agency reported.

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The SADCC would lack effectiveness without support institutions, Mr Musokotwane said.

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“For this reason, member states should consider the creation of some institutions whose manning and commencement of operations should be carefully synchronised with proven workload,” he said.

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SX RUNID FILE

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### 3.13. COMMUNICATION WITH THE OPERATOR

Messages may be sent from the terminal to the operator using @MSG or @@MSG. Messages sent to the terminal by an operator are preceded by the characters \*TM\*/I in columns 1 to 6. The only need for communicating with the operator is with respect to the equipment. The use of @MSG or @@MSG should be limited because of its impact on computer operations.

Note: The W-option should always be used with @MSG if it is

# Why Africa's image is poor

The continent of Africa contains 51 countries and covers an area bigger than China, the United States and India put together. It is so varied that comparing the peoples and politics of Mauritania with those of Malawi is like equating Denmark with Romania.

Countries on the same continent do not necessarily have much in common. Yet there is a natural inclination in Europe to assume that, simply because of geography, their way of life and philosophical outlook must be similar.

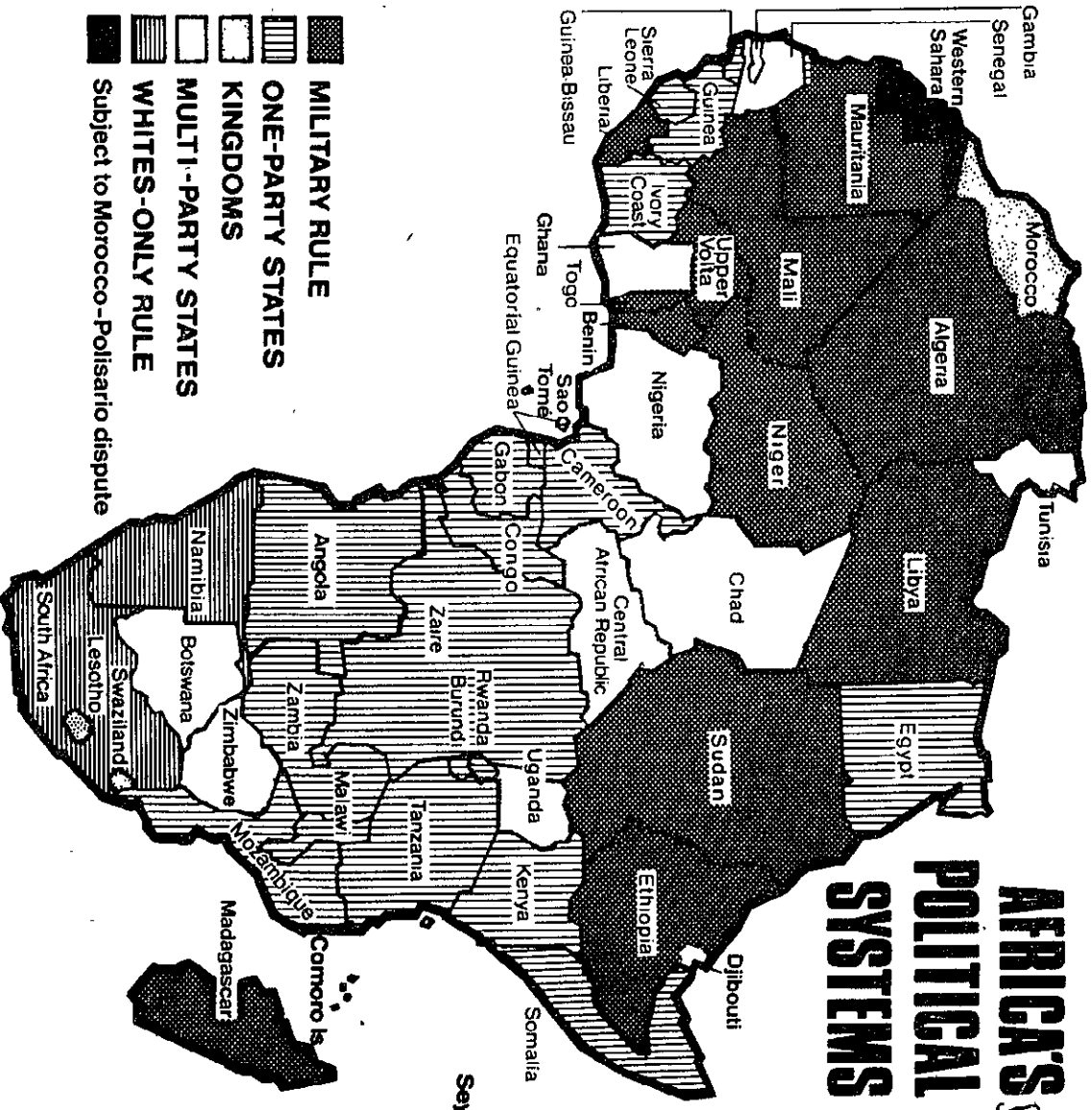
The horrors of Amin's Uganda, for example, in some European eyes damned all Africa, though no one in Europe would think of equating Franco's Spain with the Britain of his day, or Kampuchea as it is now with Malaysia.

Africa has a poor international image. Yet the historical reasons for Africa's troubles are not difficult to discover. Twenty-five years ago only two or three countries in the entire continent were independent — Liberia, Ethiopia and South Africa among them.

In those days the continent was ruled mainly by four powers — Britain, France, Portugal, Spain. Ghana was to become independent in 1957 and then within a few years nearly 50 more sovereign states came into existence, lumbered with often impossible boundaries scribbled across the continent decades earlier by the imperial powers.

Nothing quite like this sudden change has hap-

Cape Verde  
Senegal  
Mauritania  
Morocco  
Tunisia



## AFRICA'S POLITICAL SYSTEMS

18/8/81

tory and that the highly developed continent of Europe has still not settled down after centuries.

Even recently Europe has had its coups and attempted coups in places like Greece, Spain and Portugal. Today it has its democracies and its dictatorships, its one-party and its multi-party states.

Africa's problem is the ignorance that persists about it outside the continent. The variety of its people, its terrain and its resources are not understood. Most of all, few people who have not visited Africa have any idea of its immense size. How many realise, for example, that Zaire and the Sudan together are half the size of China.

A book just published in London, gives the latest facts and figures about this exciting continent. The New African Handbook 1981-2 is edited by Alan Rake, editor of the magazine African Business.

Country by country it deals with every corner of Africa south of the Sahara, their political history, their economic situation, with tables of trade figures and other statistical information.

But perhaps the most revealing part of the book comes in the first pages where from a detailed set of tables we can see at a

what has been for the world a period of huge expansion. Worst examples have been Ghana, Madagascar, Senegal, Chad, Somalia, Guinea-Bissau, Comoros and Cape Verde.

If we want to know why there is so much starvation in parts of Africa today it is easy to see from the tables that whereas population growth has been mostly between two and three per cent, only 10 countries in black Africa show an increase in food production since 1969 — and those mostly of two or three per cent.

The remainder are growing less — Ethiopia, for example, 16 per cent less, and Congo, 18 per cent less. Less food for more mouths!

Despite the criticism of Zambia in recent years, we find that it is second best for food production, increase in the last decade — 9 per cent up, beaten only by Cameroon and equalled by Swaziland.

Thus, as we work through the figures the reason for political instability in Africa is quite clear. The lesson of the facts set out in the New African Handbook simply underlines the message of the Brandt Report — that if the developed world wants to find markets for its goods in the Third World, it must help create the markets by providing those countries with the wherewithal to build themselves.

Only that can create international prosperity and bring with it a degree of political stability. — GEMINI.

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 Professor Onitri said Zimbabwe's surplus harvest is of particular  
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# Zimbabwe's maize to the rescue

The Star's Africa  
 News Service

SALISBURY — A "famine express" train is running daily from the Zimbabwe border to the Mozambique port of Beira, carrying maize for African countries facing severe food shortages.

The 13-wagon train takes about 500 tons of Zimbabwe's 1-million tons of surplus maize to the port each day.

The operation, run in co-operation with the United Nations World Food Programme, will earn Zimbabwe more than R11-million in foreign exchange, while saving thousands of people in Africa from hunger or starvation.

The director of the World Food Programme, Professor Herbert Onitri, said here last night the good co-operation between Mozambique Railways and Zimbabwe's Grain Marketing Board has encouraged his organisation to increase the supply of Zimbabwean maize to southern African countries.

So far the World Food Programme has sent 26 300 tons of the surplus Zimbabwe maize to Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania and Kenya.

Professor Onitri said Zimbabwe's surplus harvest is of particular interest to the World Food Programme, which needs significant tonnages of maize to meet the needs of other countries in Africa."

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# World Bank's unreserved gloom over sub-Saharan

THE ONE area of the world about whose prospects for economic development in the coming decade the World Bank is almost unrelievedly pessimistic is sub-Saharan Africa.

By QUENTIN PEEL, Africa editor  
of the Financial Times

According to virtually every indicator of economic progress and welfare, African countries as a group are the world's poorest, and they are becoming progressively poorer.

Africa is the only continent where population growth continued to accelerate throughout the 1970s. Itself an indicator of the lack of development, the report argues.

In both the low-income and middle-income African states, food consumption has declined, and it was less than half the world average 10 years ago. In spite of being overwhelmingly agriculture-based economies, most African countries have become net food importers.

Indeed, 29 countries in the region, with a population exceeding 150-million, report food shortages.

In terms of gross national product a head, the poorest countries of Africa are also unique in having suffered a 0.4% decline in the past decade. On the bank's most pessimistic assumptions, they face a further 1% decline in the 1980s.

Even on the most optimistic assumptions, per capita incomes in the oil-importing countries will stagnate, with a forecast increase of 0.1% a year up to 1990.

Although their lack of development means that African states are less dependent on

imported sources of energy than more industrialised states, they have been more drastically affected by the energy crisis.

Their lack of expertise and technical skills means they have been less able to adapt. Their economies, often depending on only one or two commodities for virtually all their export earnings, have proved highly inflexible to adjustment. They are also facing a critical shortage of traditional fuels,

least a quarter of their energy needs.

In the past decade, the report says, "African countries especially were beset by domestic problems, and could neither increase their exports nor borrow much; they had to cut imports and endure stagnation".

In spite of its gloomy forecast, the report tries to focus on development strategies which would alleviate the worst poverty and help countries in Africa to withstand future external economic upheaval.

It focuses on countries drastically affected by the oil crisis, declining agricultural production, and slumping commodity prices — like Zambia, Tanzania and Upper Volta — and on those which have coped best, such as Ivory Coast, Kenya and Malawi.

The report highlights key areas of concern, requiring the

most urgent aid, as well as new government strategies: agriculture, training, population growth, and energy sources.

Upper Volta and to a lesser extent Tanzania are countries whose poverty is dictated by their desperate lack of resources, both human and physical. In the former case, the report concludes: "On almost any set of assumptions, Upper Volta faces abject poverty for decades to come."

Tanzania can improve its economic performance with different policies, the report argues, without conflict with its socialist objectives.

It criticises policy changes, pervasive government controls, over-ambitious investment plans, and bad agricultural pricing policy for negating the potential benefits of Tanzania's economic recovery programme.

The most critical analysis is of the Zambian economy, which is classified as a middle-income oil-importing country, dependent on one key export — copper — which provides 85% of its foreign-exchange earnings.

Zambia's terms of trade plummeted 52% between 1974 and 1978 because of the poor copper price, and caused a huge reduction in national income. National income a head

has fallen continuously since 1935.

The bank argues that a third of the most recent decline could have been offset if non-copper exports had been promoted, and domestic agriculture had not been neglected.

The failure of African governments to encourage agricultural development, particularly of small-scale farmers, is a continuing theme.

"Ultimately all the sub-Saharan countries whose recent growth has been slow have had a particularly poor record in agriculture."

The key conclusion of the report is that those countries which have reacted to the deterioration in their terms of trade by promoting new exports, such as new crops instead of protecting inefficient import-substituting industries, have best weathered the storm. It cites in particular Ivory Coast, Malawi and Kenya in the 1950s.

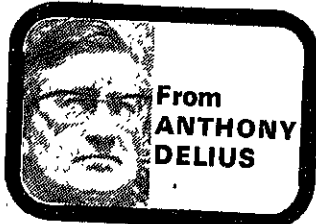
All three countries have had relatively conservative and pro-capitalist regimes. Moreover, the strategy of development through primary production and gradual diversification of exports is most closely associated with colonialism. As a result, it is one which many African states will find politically difficult to accept. — Financial Times



# Africa has got its priorities wrong

CT 24/8/87 ①

LONDON. — Twenty years ago the newly independent African capitals grew giant mushrooms of 20th-century architecture among their more modest two-storey 19th-century administration buildings and tin-roofed slums under palms and mango trees. There were built fine new legislative assemblies, many to fall into disuse under military dictatorships, grand new hotels to entertain trade missions, and splendid show-rooms to exhibit modern marvels like tractors.



From ANTHONY DELIUS

latest loans is the meeting of the IMF requirement for cuts in state employment and the reduction of jobs in the nationalized copper mines, still suffering from a depressed market.

Today many in Africa's capitals and rural areas are wondering whether the politicians would not have used their new power better in symbolizing independence by building national headquarters for agricultural cooperatives and trade union training centres.

The trade unionists are afraid that President Kaunda and his men are simply set on their old course of building white elephants.

Instead of indulging themselves in triumphal superstructures, new airlines and fleets of limousines, the leaders should have got down to creating a firm agricultural base and preparing workers in basic, labour-intensive industries to look after themselves as the economy grew. In such a case their nations might not now be saddled with huge debts amassed in attempted Western-style industrialization, debts so big that they often eat up new aid and loans in the need to service old loans well before any extra money can be applied to meeting the more positive needs of development. In addition the agricultures of these countries might be providing an adequate diet for all Africans today and many more jobs as well.

The clearest critic of Africa's course of development over the last score of years is Dr René Dumont, a French agricultural expert with vast experience of African farming. In 1962 he described the rush into development on a European model as "A False Start in Africa", and now he has produced another work in French entitled "Africa Strangled".



Dr René Dumont... "Africa Strangled".

## Zambia

The present troubled state of Zambia — to mention only one of these states — can be attributed directly to starting off with the wrong priorities. Of course it found itself with UDI on its doorstep within a year of becoming independent, but it also had some of the best developed and best run copper mines on the continent. It also had an agricultural industry ripe for being broadly and fairly rapidly developed.

Interviewed by a correspondent of the New African recently, he described Zambia as "the champion of bad management" and possibly on the brink of collapse.

Zambia even had a president, Kenneth Kaunda, who had once dreamed of becoming a farmer — but instead of realizing this ambition by reorganizing the new state's agriculture he promised great things for the future, and concentrated on international politics. Today it is his problems on the home front that threaten both his and his country's future. The country's agriculture is in a shambles, Zambians have to queue for basic foodstuffs, and trade unionists are in an uproar.

"With millions of dollars profit [from copper] Zambia chose to follow the Western example," says Dr Dumont, "and build big administrative buildings and even a sumptuous university hospital comparable to that of London or Paris. These were huge investments but they were totally non-productive. The worst is that today they [the Zambians] are not even capable of maintaining the buildings; the cost is too high."

## Other areas

Government statements about Zambia's food situation are very soothing, based on an expectation of a bumper maize harvest this year and a huge International Monetary Fund loan over the next three years. But the trade unions are very uneasy over the latest government recourse to big international loans as a way out of Zambia's difficulties — they point out that Zambia had big international loans before and only advanced further into a bog of economic difficulties, including unemployment. The price of the

Unfortunately this example of ill-considered expenditure does not stop at building university hospitals but can be found in a number of areas of the economy. Nor does it stop at the boundaries of Zambia, but is reduplicated in many other parts of Africa and in many other African economies. And there are business enterprises and even governments in the West which are only too willing to encourage their former colonial wards to carry on in this free-spending style.

idiocies, together with supporting corruption on a grand scale. This has been made possible by the huge sinking of funds into Zaire by Western countries, and above all by America. Now rescue funds are once again being poured into Zaire, largely on the basis that good money must be thrown after bad because otherwise everything might have to be written off and the West might lose political ground there to the East in the resulting mess.

According to Dumont all this flurry of high finance and big industrial development is putting the cart before the horse — or, more aptly, the tractor before the ox. The first objective in African development is to build on what you've got — each region should concentrate on making itself self-sufficient in food, and not be forced into producing for overseas markets in order to get foreign resources for the woolly-minded planners and advisers in the capital.

Tractors are to be found abandoned and broken down all over the continent today. The first real step in agriculture should have been from women with hoes to oxen with ploughs. By forcing the pace from subsistence agriculture to tractors in one fell swoop, much of Africa was made to become one of the major casualties in the global crisis that followed the enormous rise in the price of oil. Oxen can feed on local grass, don't need parts replaced or very expensive imported oil.

Like most great teachers, Dumont exaggerates his case to drive home his point against the hurry and vast waste that have marked African development over the first score of years of independence. If the old colonial pace was far too slow, the new post-independence rush has been far too fast — and probably the second is due to the first. The application of Dumont's criticism can be made in different measures all round the continent. It can be applied to foreign haste to make a material or political profit as much as to African inexperience.

There is probably no call for white South Africans to feel too superior about this. There are quite a few thinkers who believe that apartheid will still turn out to be the greatest example of waste of national wealth and over-breeding of white elephants in the latter part of the 20th century in Africa.

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24

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I would start by giving back the peasants their freedom,

# The African catastrophe

QUESTION: Is Africa really being strangled?

ANSWER: Absolutely. It was not I who invented this metaphor of a strangled Africa but Edward Sokoine, Prime Minister of Tanzania. When we left him in August, 1979, after the long investigation which we helped to carry out in his country, this was his only conclusion: "And, now they are going to strangle us . . ."

Africa is already in a catastrophic condition.

Most of the countries of tropical Africa, with one or two exceptions, are up to their ears in debt, without any hope of ever being able to repay what they owe. Yet despite these imports, malnutrition increasingly ravages people.

Twenty years after independence these countries are in reality bankrupt, reduced to a state of permanent beggary.

The most obvious case is Zaïre. There is only one reason why this country has not as yet gone bankrupt: the international banks have already lent it so much money that they go on doing so in the hope of one day salvaging their investments. But how long can this last?

**How does the Africans' state of bankruptcy concern us? There are surely some people who will think: these people wanted their independence; too bad for them if they couldn't manage it!**

Leaving aside responsibility and international solidarity, after independence very close ties remained and new ones, even closer, were forged between Europe, notably France, and Africa.

Today we would find it difficult to do without all things supplied by these countries, be it oil from Algeria, Libya, Nigeria, or Gabon; iron-ore from Mauritania (which is more economic to exploit than that of a small mine in Lorraine), bauxite from Guinea, cobalt from Zaïre and Zambia, uranium from Niger and the Central African Republic, and so on.

Africa also supplied us with agricultural products; groundnuts from Senegal, coffee, cocoa, bananas and palm oil from Cameroon and especially from Ivory Coast, cotton from Chad and the Central African Republic.

And I am not even talking about the African labour force, which does us much service. France could not ignore Africa without suffering from a considerable reduction in its standard of living.

**Why do you lay emphasis on the great responsibility that the West bears for the state of African bankruptcy?**  
We are responsible by virtue

When René Dumont, the noted French expert on Third World problems, wrote his *False Start in Africa* in 1962, he was severely criticised as a prophet of doom. Now, in his latest book, *Africa Strangled*, he analyses the 20 years of African independence. French journalist Michel Leclercq interviewed Dumont for *New African* magazine.

of a kind of cultural domination, because the African rulers are our pupils. If they have succeeded in ruining Africa (and we shall see to what extent they have done so) it is because they knew how to do only what we taught them.

These people came to Europe and America to study. At the same time they were attracted by our own model of development and we did everything to encourage them in this. We pushed these countries into a pattern of development which was the exact replica of our own and which, as a result, was not truly adapted to their real situation.

It was logical that they should at the same time adopt the pattern of a consumer society like ours. But because they had not previously achieved the level of production which such a pattern demands, they could do nothing but go bankrupt.

All this was foreseeable. But no-one was prepared to listen to the few cries of alarm that were raised at the time.

**Do you think the African heads of state could have acted in any other way?**

Firstly they could have listened to those who tried to warn them 18 years ago against the mirage of developing along Western lines.

The bad advisers were not necessarily dishonest or malevolent. But they were fundamentally ignorant of African real-

ties. What created the wealth of Europe and America could not make that of Africa. Those, like me, who were trying to plead for a little more realism, not to say common sense, were rejected as retrograde, old fuddy-duddies and enemies of progress.

**What about the administrative errors on the part of African heads of state? Even monumental errors, if we are to believe your book!**

That is quite right. Zambia, for example, is perhaps on the brink of collapse.

After 16 years of independence, this country has succeeded in becoming the champion of bad management — if we exempt Zaïre, which really holds the record. It became independent in 1964, three years after Tanzania.

It was then relatively rich owing to copper, of which it is one of the chief producers in the world. The Vietnam war pushed the copper up in price, but with the millions of dollars profit Zambia chose to follow the Western example and build big administrative buildings and even a sumptuous university hospital, comparable to London or Paris.

These were huge investments but they were totally non-productive. Today they are not capable even of maintaining the buildings: the cost is too high.

In Guinea-Bissau the rulers were advised to centralise the

husking of rice by building a big factory near the capital. They had forgotten that the country lacked roads and therefore it was impossible to supply the factory! The money should have been spent on a series of local centres.

**What part has modern education played in the African disaster?**

This brings us to a fundamental cause of all the mistakes. Take the Zambian system of education. Before independence, most schools were run by the missions. They did not have very much money and the pupils helped in the running of the establishment.

Often they even helped to build them, cutting the wood, sawing it up to make furniture, doors, windows, shapings and baking the bricks, etc.

With independence white schools became the model. From then on, there was no question of schoolchildren working with their hands. After seven years in primary school, they have acquired a literary knowledge which will only prepare them for secondary school which will take in only 20% of them. But they can do precisely nothing with their 10 fingers.

Result? Out of 900 000 young boys and girls who left primary school after 11 years, about 50 000 stayed in their villages, whereas about 350 000 managed to find work in town. All the others, about 550 000, are in town too but unemployed.

If they can't manage to live off casual work, they become delinquents, for they too must eat. The rulers refuse to link unemployment with crime, contenting themselves with moralising. But Zambia is only one

Indeed, the same mistakes can be found in all these

countries, whatever their colonial past and whatever system of government they have adopted: capitalist or socialist, one has not fared better than the other.

This confirms my thesis: the main cause of the African catastrophe is to be sought not in political ideologies or economic options, but quite simply in the false idea of development which our example and advice inculcated in these countries and from which they have never been able to extricate themselves; the town and industry lead to a contempt of the village and agriculture which should be the two fundamental bases.

**Part of the solution to Africa's problems would be to give power to the women. But why so much inertia among the men?**

You have to put it down to colonialism, partly at least. In the past some African peasants were really hard workers, a fact which was underlined by the explorers. Besides the people were then well-fed except in times of drought and other kinds of natural disasters.

Today these people are seriously under-nourished. We hear their complaint: they always feel tired. It would be astonishing were it otherwise.

**But in that case there is no solution!**

There is only one solution, the one I have been on and on about for 20 years. What should be done is exactly the opposite of what fashionable economists pretend.

They say: a developing country must first centre itself on exports so that it can get the hard currency it needs to feed and equip itself. But I say: the priority for these countries is

to produce their own food and reduce their imports.

Each village, or at least each province, should be able to produce its own staple food. Is't this the most elementary common sense?

But this common sense is not the order of the day for the elite in power. It is not in the interests of the rulers to have self-sufficient villages. What they want are goods to export because it is the only way for them to get the currency which will allow them to buy not only industrial equipment but, above all, consumer goods, cars or other things, which they believe indispensable to their status.

**Suppose that you were given full powers in one of these African countries, where would you start?**

I would start by giving the peasants back their freedom so that they can organise themselves. I would free them from administrative constraint and arbitrary quotas. I would leave them free to grow what they wish.

Of course, technicians have to be sent to them — I don't scorn modern techniques — but to help them, not to replace them; and to allow them to organise themselves in their own interests.

We would not supply them with tractors but with very simple tools, hoes and axes, wheelbarrows and carts which are still almost totally lacking.



# Guns before butter as hungry Africa arms itself to the



Tanzanian soldiers on the march. Tanzania receives huge handouts and spent R258 million on defence in 1979

# Marching to poverty

S. Tribune 30/8/81 (1)

From BRUCE JOHNS in Salisbury

AFRICA is the world's poorest, most backward and least developed continent. Yet by one of the saddest ironies, it has more military officers than doctors, more soldiers than teachers.

It spends one and a half times more on defence than health and education combined and boasts a formidable arsenal of arms from Soviet-built T-54 tanks to Sam ground-to-air missiles. On average, African governments plough one-fifth of their gross national product into their armed forces. Some — like Zambia — spend even more.

Yet despite the continent's record of doubling defence expenditure every five years since 1963, African nations every year ask the richer countries for billions of dollars in aid.

This month the US Economic Commission for Africa announced that the continent, with 21 of the world's poorest 36 nations, would need at least R3 800 million in aid this decade.

Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda... he spent R52 million on MiG fighter bombers while his government was negotiating a huge loan from the IMF



Which is just about the amount 41 of those countries will collectively spend over the next four years on their armed forces and para-military police.

In a recent study the International Peace Academy concluded that the high cost of sophisticated weapons was scarcely justified for Africa's local security needs.

Take Zambia for example. Last year, while his government was negotiating a huge loan from the International Monetary Fund to save the country from bankruptcy, President Kenneth Kaunda signed away nearly R52 million to buy MiG fighter-bombers, missiles and anti-aircraft batteries from the Soviet Union — the biggest arms dealer in Africa.

Tanzania, also a former British colony, can claim

no external military threat. Yet the country — the largest recipient of Canadian aid (R28.5 million this year) — earmarked about R258 million for defence in 1979.

Despite the spending on arms, Africa's armies are not always as effective as they should be.

In 1978, in the Comoros Islands, off the East African coast, a handful of French mercenaries disarmed the police and army, killed the president and installed a new head of state.

Ethiopia and Angola share the services of about 37 000 Cuban troops — loaned to help fight civil wars in those countries. Several other African countries have been forced to hire European mercenaries to quell revolts or train their troops. More often than not

Africa's soldiers are used to snuff out local dissent.

In the tiny kingdom of Burundi, the minority Tutsis who rule with an iron fist ordered the army in the Seventies to massacre tens of thousands of members of the majority Hutu people who are politically impotent in their own homeland.

Several African presidents have been thrust to power by soldiers discontented with the leaders of the day. And once installed, the grateful president invariably rewards his troops with higher pay, new cars, homes and other perks.

As Africa flexes its military muscle, so the continent's economies weaken.

Millions of its 470 million people are starving, whole communities go without schools, clinics, and clean water. And ten percent less food is being grown now than a decade ago, according to the World Food Council.

Yet the population grows by 2.9 percent a year.

"There is much to be improved in their domestic performances," said the annual report of the World Bank earlier this month.

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As mentioned above user files stored on drum are not backed up. In fact they are liable to be lost if the system has to be 'rebooted', for example after a system crash. Furthermore the operators normally run a program called RMDRUM each morning. This program deletes user files from the drum without making a backup copy.

Recovery of files or elements of files

The Computing Service will, as a matter of course, recover the latest available copy of any file lost because of system problems. A file which has been 'rolled out' will be 'rolled back' without further user intervention if any run tries to assign it. There is obviously a delay while the correct tape is found and loaded. This can be a problem if the run which requires the file is a demand run - see the section 'Tips for users' below. Obviously files cannot be 'rolled back' when the computer is unmanned.

Users can request the Computing Service to recover files in various other circumstances. A file which has been REMOVED by the Computing Service within the last year can be reloaded on request by the user. Fill in the form provided for this purpose at Reception. Reloading of the files is normally done only in the late afternoon or evening.

A file which has been accidentally deleted may be recoverable if a request is made before all copies on backup tapes have been destroyed - this may be days or weeks depending on circumstances. Enquire at Reception. A file which has been corrupted by a user error should likewise be recoverable provided the user realises immediately that he has corrupted a file he can REVERT his file in a demand or batch run. In this case the file must not be deleted - see the explanation in 'Tips for users' below. The advantages of REVERT are that the process can be initiated by the user without having to call at Reception and that the recovered file should be available for use within perhaps half an hour (provided the computer is manned) rather than hours.

Users frequently corrupt (or accidentally delete) elements rather than whole files. Recovering the whole files. Recovering the whole files since the backup copy was made (or the accidentally deleted file has not been PACKED by corrupted element was reinstated. This can be done however RESCUE cannot be necessary for S account use advisor.

Backup of files that are no

User files which are not Service and the users. Any WILL CERTAINLY BE LOST. For Any user who has had a run wait for it to be recovered worth avoiding. There is corrupted this may not be copies have been corrupted. If it is known that a file this own backup on tape. The programs developed or bought programs tend to be forgotten Tapes can be purchased from available in three sizes: 60 upwards (cash or order) - price. Users' tapes can be stored.

18/8/81  
E Germany interested in SADCC

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — East Germany is interested in participating in projects undertaken by the nine nations that formed the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference to reduce dependence on South Africa.

Mr Johannes Remus, trade councillor at the East German Embassy in Maputo, told a Press conference that East Germany's Trade Minister would attend this year's Mozambique trade fair and hoped to have talks with representatives of all nine SADCC members.

Fifteen of East Germany's State trading companies will be represented at the fair.

East German goods on display will include trucks, tools and prefabricated houses.

ly used the user should arrange Y important in the case of rather than an individual. Such periods.

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problems for both the Computing approximately fourteen months

involves losing all changes made of the element if the service or the user since the fatal deletion occurred) it can be RESCUE. See 'Tips for users'. It is unfortunately elements RESCUED by the HOT SEAT

Service Reception. They are and 2400 foot and cost from R13 in a Bulletin from time to time. Users' tapes can be stored.

# Front-liners plan urgent Lagos talks

Starts 8/9/81

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PRES QUETT MASIRE

## 8.2. STATEMENT

There are two statement functions

### 8.2.1. Arithmetic Statement

#### Function:

To define an arithmetic statement function may be used

function name

where: function

the arguments are enclosed in parentheses

limited arithmetic expressions may not contain a statement function, the statement function

the maximum number of arguments is

#### Rules:

- (1) An arithmetic statement function reference is used in an arithmetic expression. The actual argument and type with the dummy arguments.

For example, the statement function

$$AVRGE(A, B, C) = (A + B + C) / 3.0$$

can be used with the following statement:

$$Z = Y - AVRGE(R, S, T)$$

The value for the actual argument R is substituted for its dummy argument A, S for B, and T for C. A value is returned to the statement function reference so that the arithmetic expression Y - AVRGE(R,S,T) can be evaluated and assigned to Z. The statement function reference

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This procedure

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We shall now look at the way to simple random sampling

### 8.1.3 Stratification

As students consists of 4000 male, 2000 male postgrads and 1000 of 400 students were drawn, they differ slightly from 0,6 and the. An example of stratification in random samples - 160 UG males and 40 PG females. The correct sex and graduate balance (allocation)

But this is not necessary with limited resources (as usual) we deliberately under- or over-represent sample. We shall see the reasons.

Stratification will basically be used to reduce the variance or sampling error of a sample (or achieve the same with a smaller stratified sample). Stratification is commonly used are sex, age, race (in South Africa), area, educational level and occupation. Other reasons for stratification may be that individual strata or groups have to be analysed separately, or that different methods of data collection (e.g. telephone vs mail) may be best in different strata.

## Sanctions left out of attack on SA ①

By Donald Knowler  
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Two Frontline African countries have told the United Nations that peace would not return to southern Africa until South Africa had given up control of SWA/Namibia.

But the countries, Zimbabwe and Zambia, did not make any fresh demands for economic sanctions to be imposed against South Africa.

During the special emergency session of the UN General Assembly on SWA/Namibia, Mr Witness Mangwende, Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister, yesterday accused the West of giving comfort to South Africa by exercising the veto on sanctions. He said the West was trying to undermine UN efforts to settle the issue.

He warned that if South Africa's "occupation" of the territory continued, so would the "ugly and dangerous consequences."

Zambia's Foreign Minister, Professor Lameck Goma, said that the latest incursion into Angola by South African troops demonstrated that the Pretoria Government was "a threat to international peace and security."

Earlier, Sir Anthony Parsons, Britain's chief delegate who spoke on behalf of the EEC, was critical of South Africa's action in introducing conscription in SWA/Namibia and extending the powers of the Council of Ministers.

● See Page 19.

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# Red star over Africa fast losing its sparkle

8/11/9/87

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By David Thomas  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

**SALISBURY** — With its recent capture in Angola of Soviet Sergeant-major Nikolai, the Pretoria Government has confirmed what it already knew — the Russians are in Angola.

But what is lost sight of in all the propaganda rhetoric is that the Soviet Union, while at present influential in a few African countries, is not winning in Africa.

Despite nearly 30 years of trying to impose its ideology on Africa even the Russians now admit that about 97 percent of this continent "belongs to the world's capitalist economy."

The irony is that South Africa is giving the Soviet Union its last chance to entrench its tenuous foothold in Africa.

According to Soviet observers in Africa the failure of Pretoria to agree to a peaceful solution in Namibia so far has delighted the Russians.

The USSR is as hostile to a peaceful solution in Namibia as it was to the Lancaster House talks which brought independence to Zimbabwe, a move the Russians denounced at the time as an "imperialist plot."

While the Soviet Union's aggressively anti-colonialist stand, backed with massive military aid, gained it the credibility of the national liberation movements at the time of their struggles, the almost complete decolonisation of Africa leaves little room

for the Russian bloc's continued exploitation of this affinity.

In the '50s and early '60s when most African countries were struggling for independence the Soviet Union was seen as an ally. But in most cases, once the aura of independence had worn off to be replaced with the reality of economic development, so too did the Russian star fade.

The Soviets found it increasingly difficult to justify their continued presence in Africa especially since they failed to follow up their military aid with economic help.

Since the early '50s the USSR and its allies have given African countries about R4 000-million in economic aid. The West, on the other hand, gave double this amount in economic aid to African countries in 1979 alone. That year the Soviet bloc gave only R21-million for

economic development in sub-Saharan Africa.

Compared with its military aid of R500-million for the same year, the Soviets' bread-and-butter assistance was insignificant. As the oft-quoted African response to this goes: "We cannot eat guns."

Only three countries in Africa are at present substantially within the Soviet orbit of influence — Ethiopia, Mozambique, and Angola. Even so the latter two Lusophone countries are not all that happy with these ties but continue to keep them — mostly because of their fear of South Africa, which has made military incursions into both their territories.

But although Angola receives a hefty chunk of Soviet military aid (R100-million in 1979) much of its economic activity remains dependent on Western companies — for instance for its oil operations and diamond mining (De Beers).

Mozambique too remains heavily dependent on Moscow and its allies for military aid (R120-million from 1976 to 1979) but President Samora Machel's government is increasingly looking to the West for aid, trade and investment.

## DEBT

Ethiopia, one of the poorest countries in Africa, is tied to the Soviet Union by a massive military debt of about R2 000-million.

But after Emperor Haile Selassie, Ethiopia, under the radical leadership of Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, is still



Zambia's Kaunda . . . bound to Russia by weapons purchase.



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By Jao Santa Rita  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

In 1977, a white man could have been appointed chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, if it wasn't for a coalition hastily formed in his country to prevent him from rising to power.

He was Mr Paul Berenger, leader of the leftwing Mauritian Militant Movement, who had earlier won the general elections in his country but had failed to secure an absolute majority.

Sir Seewoosagar Ranganam, an Indian, remained Prime Minister and a few months later welcomed African heads of state and government to the OAU Summit in Port Louis. They elected him the organisation's chairman for that year.

Seldom do whites get appointed to ministerial posts in black Africa. In some cases, however, whites have been chosen for less important portfolios, as in Kenya where the present Deputy Minister of Wild Life is a white.

Ironically, a close look at some southern African states reveals that those regimes regarded as the most radical and dangerous to white interests are the ones that have a greater number of whites in government and at ruling party levels.

Six years after his country's independence, Angola's Minister of Foreign Affairs, is still a cause of surprise whenever he appears at international forums to denounce the "white racist aggressions"

AFRICA

# The whites who help to lead the radicals

from South Africa against his country.

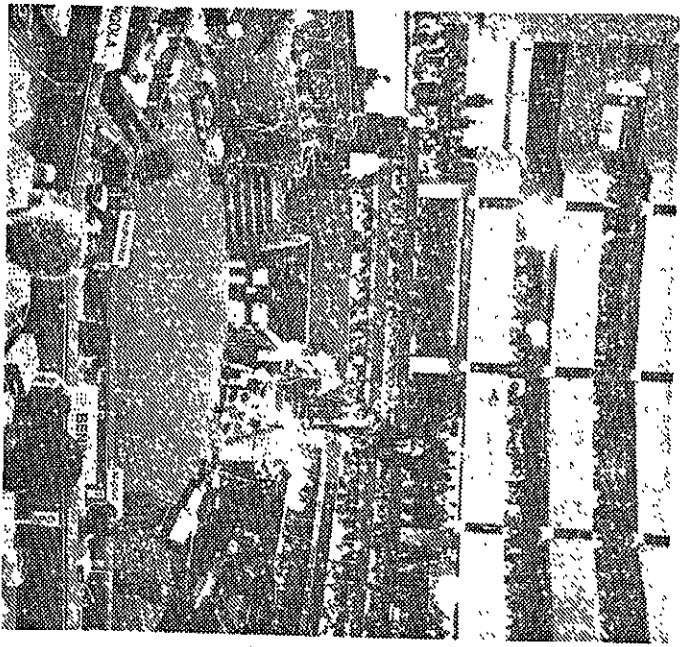
He is Mr Paulo Jorge, an Angolan white of Portuguese descent, who is also a member of the ruling MPLA's party central committee.

Before Angola's independence, MPLA was often accused by other rival nationalist movements of being controlled by non-blacks, because of the large number of whites and mixed race people it has at its top ranks.

The party's top ideologue, and once the close adviser of the late President Agostinho Neto, is Mr Lucio Lara, who is a coloured person. And the commander of its guerrilla forces was Mr Iko Carreira, a white.

In marxist-leninist Mozambique, the pattern is the same, only on a larger scale.

The country's top security man, who heads the country's secret services, SNASP, is Mr Jacinto Veloso, a former Portuguese Air Force officer, who deserted in the early '60s to Tanzania, where Frelimo was still organising its guerrilla army to launch the liberation war against the Portuguese.



OAU heads of state meeting . . . where whites still exert an influence.

He was promptly arrested by the Tanzanians who did not accept his pro-Frelimo statements, and he spent several months in jail before being released.

Mr Veloso quickly rose in the Frelimo ranks and is said to have planned Frelimo's military re-

Of the country's 22 ministers and deputy ministers, nine are white, eleven are black, one is an Indian and one is coloured.

The whites control the Information, Internal Trade, Ports and Transport, Telecommunications and Aviation, Industry and Energy, Finance and Security portfolios.

Two of them are Deputy Ministers of Interior and Health respectively.

The answer to this apparent paradox is found in Angola's or Mozambique's ideologies which claim to go beyond pure African nationalism.

People are appointed to Government or party positions according to their capability of implementing the political ideology of the party which is marxist-leninist.

Thus Africanisation, a word so often used in black countries, becomes totally irrelevant.

This choice often meets with suspicion from other, more modern African countries which regard the large number of whites in Government as a proof of foreign domination.

# Where slavery still goes on

Mauritania may have outlawed slavery but it is still part of the country's way of life, the Christian Science Monitor reports.

Sidi Muhammad, a high school student in this West African desert country, said he is emphatically opposed to slavery. "Slavery is a social scourge," he said without hesitation.

For Sidi Muhammad, as for most Mauritians, slavery is not an abstract entity. For traditional law holds that this son of a noble family will one day inherit 25 slaves who now belong to his grandfather.

Sidi Muhammad said he will liberate them all when they come under his control.

Ahmad, another Mauritanian high school student of noble birth, is also against slavery. In 1975, he liberated the slave given to him by his family. "Because I am a young Mauritanian for democracy," he explained.

But there are still slaves attached to

Ahmad's family. In fact, as Ahmad spoke, a girl of about 10, dressed in shorts and a T-shirt, entered the room. She was introduced as one of the family's slaves. Homad, about 25, is an ex-slave who fled his master about 10 years ago. Burly and energetic, he first found work in Mali as a porter and then as a shepherd.

Today he is a domestic servant for Ahmad's family in Nouakchott, earning \$50 a month — a salary that puts him above the average annual income of \$465. Homad said he sends part of his salary to his former master each month in the hope it will be distributed to his parents, who remained behind.

Despite the July 5, 1980, declaration by the Mauritanian Government that banned slavery "for good", meetings with Mauritians — like those recounted above — make it evident that the institution of slavery still exists and will continue to exist for some time to come in this former French colony.

"You want to know the effect of the declaration? Nothing," said Egyptian sociologist Mona Fikry, who has been studying Mauritanian society for two years for the Rural Assessment and Manpower Survey (RAMS), a project funded by the US Agency for International Development (USAID).

Fikry and others familiar with Mauritania's socioeconomic structure hasten to point out that slavery here is not based on the same type of brutality as that which governed the relationship of the American slave and his master.

A slave here is part of the family, and slavery part of an indigenous tradition in a society that has been rigidly stratified for at least 300 years. According to Ms. Fikry, being a master implies a series of financial responsibilities toward those in one's charge including the providing of food and clothing.

"The physical inhuman conditions linked to the Western form of slavery are inconceivable here," reported Abdul Wedoud Ould Cheikr, a Mauritanian sociologist at the Mauritanian Scientific Institute, in July 1980.

In general, observers say pressures are mounting toward the eradication of the institution of slavery. Under increasing public and legal scrutiny its practitioners are no longer so flagrant as they were 20 years ago. Slaves cannot be openly bought or sold (though there is little doubt among the experts that with a sufficient amount of cash and discretion a purchase could be arranged in one of the country's more remote regions).

Groups demanding rights for slaves and ex-slaves are emerging even if not yet officially recognized. Moreover, the continuing economic hard times — aggravated by 10 years of drought — are making the system more onerous for both master and slave.

Still, despite the evolution, slavery continues to be one of the fundamental facts of daily life in Mauritania, in its hinterland well as in its capital. "The institution (of slavery)

exists and in spite of definite changes it is perpetuated by a strong atavistic sense of tradition," said Cheikr, whose study was commissioned by the USAID-funded RAMS project.

And in its essential aspect, slavery remains the same as it has always been. "Slaves are traditionally never in complete control of their destiny and are in a permanent state of dependency," said Cheikr.

There are two types of slaves in Mauritania: *adb* and *haratin*. The former are domestic slaves occupied with household tasks; the latter field workers or herdsmen who live in a feudal relationship to their master. In this case of his grandfather, explained Sidi Muhammad, the *haratin* keep one-third of their harvest and return two-thirds to the master. For his part, the master allows the *haratin* the use of land that legally belongs to the master's family.

There are no reliable figures for the number of slaves in Mauritania, but "it would not be an exaggeration to say that the bulk of the traditional agricultural labour force ... of Mauritania is composed of slaves and ex-slaves," said Cheikr. Almost 50 percent of the workforce in a country of about two million people is estimated to work in the agricultural sector, according to the 1977 census.

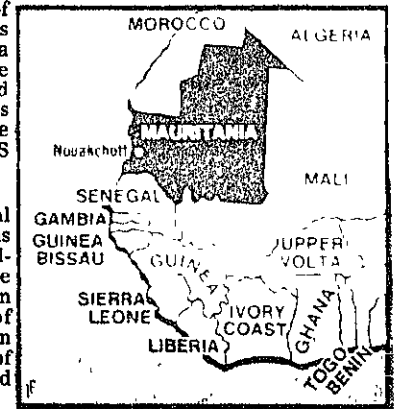
Mauritania is not alone in having a heritage of slavery. In most of traditional Africa, society was divided into a three-tiered hierarchy: nobles on top, artisans in the middle, and slaves on the bottom.

With the increase in education and the advance of wage labour, these divisions, have become less important in other African countries. But in Mauritania, where the economy is still largely nonmonetized, class distinctions remain institutionalized.

For the Mauritanian government the legal abolition of slavery may be the least thorny of the problems it faces. In fact, slavery has already been banned twice in Mauritania — by the French in 1905 and again when the country gained independence in 1960. The far more important problems are the economic ones.

The government has tried, in part, to attack these problems by promising to compensate the masters against the loss of their slaves. Though this intention was made public last July, no further details have been issued on how it is to be implemented.

Some observers, such as Fikry, criticize the government for not taking measures to help economically integrate the freed slave. After all, continues this vein of criticism, of what practical value is liberty in a society where, according to the 1977 census, 24 percent of the urban population is unemployed, where 10 years of drought in a country already four-fifths desert have



severely limited the agricultural possibility, and with less than half the population food needs can be met by national production?

"It's not the legal system; it's the economic system that keeps the slave enslaved. The question is: What are the alternatives? Where are they going to go?" said John Grayzel, an anthropologist-lawyer with USAID in Nouakchott.

To integrate the ex-slave into the country's economic circuit, the government must grant the right of ownership to the slaves who have worked the land for years and not the noble family who has the legal title, said Fikry. A land reform commission is studying the problem but has not yet issued a report.

Beyond the legal and economic measures, the abolition of slavery will require a change in some of the deeply imbedded attitudes of Mauritians. In the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, something as basic as the will of Allah have to be rethought. For example, Moctar, a nobleman and the proprietor of many slaves in his lifetime, explained that the institution of slavery is divinely sanctioned. It is God's will that slaves be ignorant and masters intelligent, he said.

He recounted that 15 years ago he had freed a slave who went to Nouadhibou, the country's economic capital, where he was hired to work in an iron mine. "There are always problems and it is always the master who must resolve them," said Moctar. First, the slave lacking identification papers, could not cash his paycheck. Second, the slave lied about his origins and took a Mauritanian wife of noble descent.

"They can cut your throat for that. That is very dangerous in Mauritania," explained Ahmad, who was interpreted from Arab to French.

The wife who suspected that she had been lied to brought the slave before an Islamic priest in order to settle the matter. The priest called Moctar, who divorced the slave on the spot, a right according to the master by traditional law.

Even for the educated, successful ex-slave it is difficult to overcome the traditional mentality. "It is impossible to integrate being an ex-slave. They (the ex-slaves) use different means. They will say they are something else," reported Fikry. "No one is proud of having been a slave."

# Black Africa plans strike force

Star  
14/9/81  
Own Correspondent

LUANDA — Black African leaders have discussed the creation of a Pan-African army, to be supported by sophisticated air and missile equipment, to drive South African forces from southern Angola.

Diplomatic sources here report that the frontline African States have offered Angola a range of military support, including MiG 25 fighters capable of taking on South Africa's Mirages and Impalas, reports the Guardian News Service.

African leaders have discussed the adoption of a new and much more aggressive strategy towards Pretoria.

"We think we can teach them a lesson. We can expel them from Angola and then go further by hitting their military bases in northern Namibia," one leader said.

Details of the African military support were discussed at Friday's meeting of the Frontline states in Lagos, the Nigerian capital.

Angola's President Jose Dos Santos has now returned to Luanda, where he is consulting his council of Ministers.

## CAMPAIGN

It is by no means clear that the African states will be able to deliver the goods which they have offered, nor that they would in fact be effective against the well-equipped South Africans.

African leaders say that the South African raid into Angola is only part of a wider campaign to destabilise black states in the southern part of the continent.

Relief workers returning from southern Angola have reported a further decline in military activity. They say they believe that South African troops have finally evacuated two of the strategic towns which they were occupying — N'Giva and Xangongo.

The Star's London Bureau reports that the Times today gives major prominence to two contrasting letters on the South African presence in Angola.

Mr J. F. F. Platts-Mills, QC, who visited Angola in February, reminds readers that "South Africans have no right of hot pursuit, as they claim, for they have no right (according to the ruling of the International Court of Justice in 1974) to be in Namibia in the first place."

## CONDEMNATION

In the second letter, Mr Billy Marais, of Windhoek says that while the British Press has reflected "expressions of shock, condemnation, indignation, etc. of South Africa's punitive moves into Angola as a true Namibian citizen I am fully aware of the dastardly and cowardly deeds of Swapo who operate from Angolan soil with Mr Dos Santos's approval and who kill innocent men, women and children of their own kin.

"Of this not a word of shocked condemnation from the Press, the West or anybody from 'outside.'"



The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, appears to have launched a new policy of détente towards supposedly hostile African nations.

Making his first post-election speech in Parliament, he extended a hand of friendship to Nigeria — one of the most vociferous opponents of apartheid — and adopted a conciliatory stance towards the frontline states.

While the offer to Nigeria is unlikely to bear fruit, diplomats are intrigued by his remarks.

They wonder if he is setting the stage for a dramatic announcement but concede they have no idea what it could be.

Throughout his speech Mr Botha continually suggested that past conflicts, invective and acrimonious exchanges should be played down and a new phase of co-operation with realism as the bottom line should be undertaken. He admitted the lack of a solution in SWA/Nami-

# Pik launches new détente initiatives

Star 18/9/81

via had been a divisive issue but said the hurdles ahead could be overcome.

"Although we are not yet at the stage where I can predict agreement is imminent substantive progress has been made on the basis of mutual co-operation," he said.

Punting his conciliation theme he said southern Africa was not "a house of confession" but its countries should all be more realistic. Mr Botha avoided references to South



Africa's incursion into Angola but his listeners were aware of its significance. If it were true that

Diplomats are wondering what the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha (left), has up his sleeve. The Star's Political Correspondent, PETER SULLIVAN, reports from Cape Town.

Swapo was tired of fighting and just wanted to return to the territory, and that Angola wanted the movement out an that the people of Zambia were tired of con-

dict, this position should be looked at anew.

"If South Africa and Nigeria could be drawn close together it would be of tremendous benefit to all," he said.

Mr Botha painted a picture of looming confrontation between the super powers. But said the Soviet Union could not sustain a war and he was, in any case, not one of those who believed it could win in a confrontation with the United States.

"I still believe each of the superpowers will start looking for new powers or constellations of powers to turn into allies," he said.

Two other remarks of his made diplomats sit up and listen carefully.

One was when he said that nuclear fuel for Koeberg had been a point of discussion with General Alexander Haig, US Secretary of State, during Mr Botha's recent visit to America.

The other was when he said South Africa was "too powerful" to be destroyed.

"This is not boasting. We are too powerful to be destroyed by conventional means," the Minister said. He talked about the pendulum of opinion swinging slowly and said while the Government was trying to slow its swing it needed leaders of Africa to halt it and swing it back towards constructive engagement.

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NEWS



# Star 18/9/81 Mugabe's R96-m trip

The Star's Africa  
News Service

**SALISBURY** — Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, leaves for Sweden on Sunday for an official visit that has already been assured of financial success.

Mr Mugabe has already been promised R13-million in co-operation aid for 1981/82 and during his stay in Stockholm the Swedish International Development Authority will inform him of its plans to spend R96-million in assistance to Zimbabwe over the next five years.

When Mr Mugabe was in exile in Mozambique, the Stockholm government was already providing his Zanu liberation movement with "humanitarian" aid.

This fell in line with previous policies in sever-



Mugabe . . . an old friend of Sweden's.

al other African countries. Praised by Third World countries and attacked by conservative Western politicians, that policy seems now to be paying off. Last month, when Sweden signed a R30-million aid programme to Mozambique, one of Frelimo's highest officials, Mr

Marcelino dos Santos, said Sweden showed that "one could be from the West without being colonial."

On the same day that SIDA announced its R96-million aid programme the bus and truck manufacturing giant, SAAB, announced that it will soon start producing trucks in Zimbabwe.

Swedish exports to recently independent African countries have been constantly rising. Exports to Zimbabwe rose from R37 000 in 1979 to more than R1-million in 1980.

Angola is now Stockholm's third largest customer in Africa. It imported R51-million of Swedish goods last year.

And last year Maputo imported more than R13-million of goods from Swedish firms.

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# Southern Africa plan proposed

DURBAN — There should be a high-level investigation into the possibility of a commodity exchange for southern Africa, Dr P G du Plessis of the Department of Business Economics at the University of Stellenbosch, said in Durban yesterday.

In the current international, political and economic dispensation it could be of great benefit to South Africa if it could get a more direct say in the international price-fixing of its important and strategic metals and minerals, as well as agricultural produce.

At present South Africa was to a large degree exposed to the actions of overseas middlemen who normally did not put SA's interests first, he told the annual congress of the Economic Association being held at the University of Durban — Westville.

The establishment of a proposed constellation of southern African states

could be promoted by a commodity market. It could hold great economic, financial and strategic benefits for all southern Africa if such a geographically localised market gained international recognition.

In the light of the quantities and strategic nature of the commodities the states of southern Africa had, it was difficult to understand why such a market had not already been developed. — Sapa.

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# Govt call for a <sup>ct</sup> 18/9/81 ~~37~~ summit meeting

By MICHAEL ACOTT

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, called yesterday for a summit meeting of leaders in Southern African to halt the almost inevitable drift towards conflict in the region.

In a lengthy and conciliatory speech during the debate on his portfolio, Mr Botha warned that unless decisions were taken soon, conflict would degenerate into war from which no country involved would profit.

"A historic responsibility rests on all the leaders of Southern Africa to get together and objectively review the whole situation," he said.

"We should put aside our ideological differences for the time being.

"Right now the drift towards confrontation must be arrested before we reach the precipice."

## Right decision

Mr Botha said future generations in all the countries involved would thank their leaders for having taken the right decision.

"The South African Government stands ready to take just that decision."

He also envisaged a new role for South Africa in the next 10 or 20 years as the East-West power struggle reached stalemate and co-operation increased within Africa and between states of the southern hemisphere.

He believed South Africa and Nigeria, two powerful African states with complementing resources and technology, could be drawn closer together to the benefit of the whole continent.

## Realistic

"With a little realistic assessment on the part of Nigeria and with certain ad-

## Eglin: 'Trigger action' needed

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — There would have to be a "trigger action" sparked by the South African Government if a Southern African summit were to become a reality, Mr Colin Eglin, chief Opposition spokesman on Foreign Affairs, said last night.

He was reacting to an earlier call by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, for the heads of government in Southern Africa to get together to avoid confrontation in the sub-continent.

"There are certain things which we should be doing in South Africa," Mr Eglin said.

There was not a "blatant wall of hostility" in Africa against South Africa "but we must be prepared to be bold in the adjustments which we must make", he said.

He agreed that the different countries should "get together" and that other countries should realize that "we are approaching the precipice".

However, as with Mr John Vorster's African detente, the Opposition hoped "that the government will take some action so that the heads of government (of Southern Africa) can come together".

(Report by Michael Acott, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town)



From page 1

justments on the part of South Africa, these two important African countries could become bulwarks in the true sense of the world against foreign imperialism"

Mr Botha's plea to Southern African leaders followed calls from opposition Foreign Affairs spokesmen for a dramatic government initiative to restore co-operation and stability in Southern Africa.

He conceded it would not be easy, given African perceptions of South Africa's policies — for which he said press reports which ignored positive developments were largely to blame — a history of antagonism and distrust and the dispute over independence for SWA/Namibia.

But, in what was taken as a strong hint that a SWA/Namibian settlement might at last be in sight, he said substantial progress had been made and a solution of outstanding issues was not impossible.

Mr Botha disclosed he had already broached the idea of a meeting with the Foreign ministers of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland

### Humiliate

"They think we want to use a ministerial meeting to humiliate them and boast to the press about it."

South Africa would not be intransigent and there was no need to "shout every time something happens" or to engage in invective as the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, was doing increasingly.

Mr Botha called instead for constructive efforts to "swing the pendulum of con-

front back towards co-operation". He believed that countries like Angola, Zimbabwe and Mozambique were tired of the regional conflict

Earlier the chief opposition Foreign Affairs spokesman, Mr Colin Eglin, recalled previous government statements seeking co-operation and understanding in Africa, but said it was now up to South Africa to take the lead as the situation was deteriorating

Such a meeting would be difficult but no more impossible than the meetings between the previous prime minister, Mr John Vorster, and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia or between President Sadat of Egypt and the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr Menachem Begin.

The New Republic Party spokesman, Mr Brian Page (NRP, Umhlanga) said South Africa should try "another Vorster-type initiative".

"We have a path back to the international community and that path is through Africa. Africa needs us."

South Africa should start again at the Limpopo and move on to the Zambezi and ultimately the realization of Jan Smuts' vision of the civilization and development of the African continent, he said.

To page 2



# Frontline hit force

How effectively could Africa's Frontline states unite to "teach South Africa a lesson?" JOCK HAWERS of the Star's London Bureau sums up.

The Frontline African states could muster a sizeable and well-equipped combined military force to oppose South Africa if they wished — but how effective it would be is anybody's guess, according to British analysts.

They point out that the creation of such a force would have to be a long-term project, and could not be put together and trained in weeks or even months.

The analysts were commenting on the news that Frontline leaders discussed the creation of a pan-African army at their recent conference in Lagos. The leaders are reported to have offered Angola a range of military support, including MiG-25 fighters with which to oppose South Africa's Mirages and Impalas.

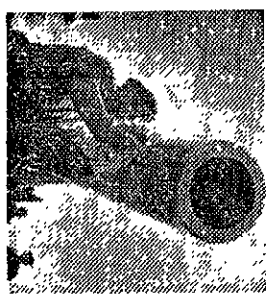
The latter report has surprised British commentators, for no black/African state is known to possess such sophisticated aircraft as the MiG-25 "Foxbat".

If they are available, they can come only from Libya, whose well-equipped air force has 35 MiG-25s, as well as a variety of other advanced types. Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi has already offered Angola military assistance.

Nigeria, with a buoyant oil-rich economy and perhaps the best trained army in



Gadhafi... angry man of the north.

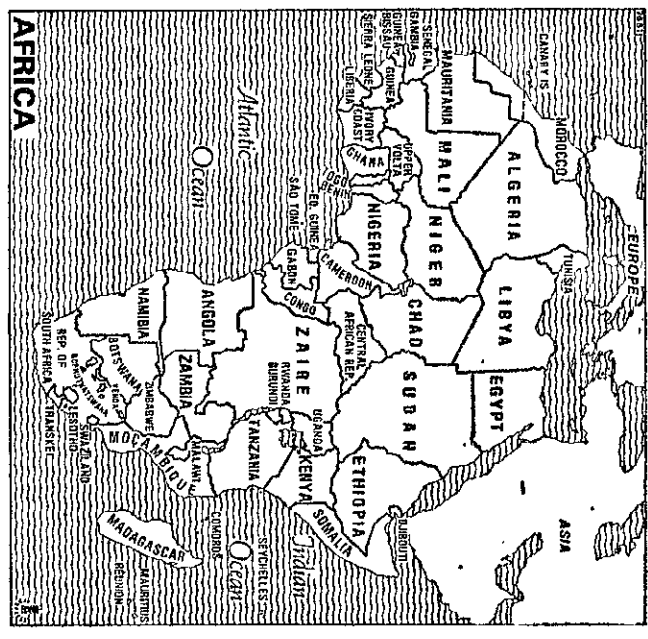


SA soldier... staying polished for action.

black Africa, could be expected to provide the backbone for any Pan-African army. It would also provide the money to fund such a force.

At first glance, the Frontline states — Zambia, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, with Kenya, and Nigeria "associate" members — would seem to have an overwhelming military advantage over South Africa.

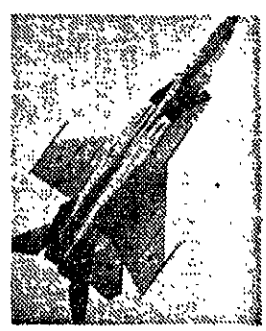
The eight states



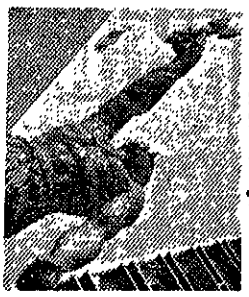
have total armed forces of nearly 3-million men, compared with South Africa's forces. And they have a vast preponderance of military equipment such as tanks and guns. But combat aircraft available to each side are more equal.

Nigeria is the most powerful of the eight states militarily, although her air force is smaller and weaker than some of the other states. The breakdown is:

Country	Total armed forces	Army	Navy	Air force
<b>ANGOLA</b>	Total armed forces: 32 500.	Army: 30 000 (285 Russian medium tanks, 50 light tanks, 200 armoured cars, 150 other armoured vehicles).	Navy: 1 000 (14 patrol craft).	Air force: 1 500 (37 combat aircraft).
<b>ZAMBIA</b>	Navy: 850 (light patrol craft).			
<b>ANGOLA</b>	Total armed forces: 14 300.	Army: 12 800 (30 medium tanks, 78 other armoured vehicles).		Air force: 1 500 (37 combat aircraft).
<b>ANGOLA</b>	Total armed forces: 32 500.	Army: 30 000 (285 Russian medium tanks, 50 light tanks, 200 armoured cars, 150 other armoured vehicles).	Navy: 1 000 (14 patrol craft).	Air force: 1 500 (37 combat aircraft).
<b>KENYA</b>	Total armed forces: 14 750	Army: 12 000 (12 British medium tanks, 55 other armoured vehicles).	Air force: 2 100 (20 combat aircraft).	Navy: 650 (seven large patrol craft).
<b>BOTSWANA</b>	Total armed forces: less than 1 000 men.	The army is equipped with light mortars and has Land Rover-type vehicles. The air force has about 15 aircraft, including five British Norman Defender transports.		
<b>TANZANIA</b>	Total armed forces: 51 850.	Army: 50 000 (66 medium Russian tanks, 50 light tanks, 150 armoured cars, 250 other armoured vehicles).		Air force: 1 000 (19 combat aircraft).
<b>MOZAMBIQUE</b>	Total armed forces: 24 300.	Army: 22 800 (350 medium Russian tanks, 50 light tanks, 150 armoured cars, 250 other armoured vehicles).		
<b>NIGERIA</b>	Total armed forces: 146 000.	Army: 130 000 (64 Russian T-55 tanks, 50 British Scorpions).	Navy: 8 000 (one frigate, four corvettes, plus smaller craft).	Air force: 8 000 (21 combat aircraft).



Foxbat... may come from Libya.



Nigeria's god of thunder... will it be heard in the south?

Figures are drawn from the Military Balance, 1980-81, compiled by Britain's International Institute for Strategic Studies.

# Constellation bank plan hits snags

RD 23/7/81

By HELEN ZILLE

THE proposed Southern African development bank — the economic foundation of the Prime Minister's proposed constellation of states — has run into problems.

Due to unforeseen setbacks and obstacles in important areas, the launching of the bank has been considerably delayed and no further news on the progress of the project is expected until November.

The multimillion-rand bank was envisaged by Government planners as the launch pad of the constellation of states, with a primary goal of stimulating regional economic development, particularly in certain designated homeland areas.

The planners hoped all Southern African states, including South Africa's northern neighbours, would join the scheme, but the original blueprint has since been scaled down.

South Africa and the various homelands are now regarded as potential members.

However, even this scaled-down model is now running into problems and according to informed sources the launching of the bank has been considerably delayed because of them.

## Restricted

The major obstacles include disagreement on qualifications for membership. Government officials have made it clear only fully independent states will be eligible for membership.

Non-independent states will be restricted to associate membership, carrying fewer rights, privileges and obligations.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, in particular, has rejected these conditions, saying that unless he is granted full membership status, he will shun the bank.

Independent homeland leaders and some Government officials are strongly opposed to the restricted approach and the planners are working hard to find a way round the impasse.

Economic and technical hitches are also snarling up the plan. Government planners working on the project have estimated the bank will need between R4 000-million and R5 000-million in order to succeed — a vast amount at a time when the country is facing an economic squeeze.

There is apparently resistance in top Government circles to this magnitude of allocation and the Cabinet has yet to take a final decision on the matter.

## Resistance

There is also a measure of resistance from organisations and individuals whose functions could become redundant or less important when the bank starts operating.

These groups are said to include the Economic Development Corporation and Benso, the research organisation attached to the Department of Co-operation and Development.

Much of their work will be incorporated into the operations of the new bank and Government officials want a complete change in style.

The new approach is said to be meeting strong resistance from vested interests in Benso and the EDC.

Despite these problems, people close to the planning of the bank believe the obstacles will be overcome and the bank will eventually be launched.



# Govt using sanctions, says Swart

CT. 24/9/81  
① (2/25)

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.** — The South African Government was yesterday accused of applying economic sanctions against neighbouring states as a political bargaining weapon.

The charge came from Mr Ray Swart, PFP spokesman on transport, who said that South African rail services and port facilities were being used as a diplomatic tool to force landlocked countries to accept this country's political policies.

The Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, denied the allegation, saying that all that was needed to negotiate rail links with Zimbabwe was the willingness of that country to approach South Africa at government level.

He challenged the Zimbabwe Government to negotiate with the South African Government on their railway problems.

"What are they that makes them better than other countries who negotiate with us on government level?" The governments of Zaire, Zambia, Malawi and Botswana had all negotiated with South Africa on government level but Zimbabwe refused to do this.

Mr Swart said during the third reading debate on the Railway budget: "It is a punitive or politically bargaining posture they are involved in in regard to our preparedness to assist neighbouring Southern African states in respect of transport services and it is motivated entirely by political considerations.

"The availability of our transport services, our railways and harbours to an otherwise landlocked interior are being used as a diplomatic tool in an attempt to make our neighbours tolerate our political policies."

It was clear from the responses on this issue from the government benches during the second reading debate that South Africa was deliberately playing "hard to get" for purely political

reasons.

"All over the world trade and economic links have survived political and ideological differences between nations.

"In Southern Africa we have in the past managed to have reasonable practical working arrangements with Mozambique, for example, notwithstanding our profound differences over political ideology."

Countries, he said, could only benefit from a two-way exchange of trade and economic resources and it was vital for South Africa's own interests that she took positive initiatives to stabilize the Southern African region politically, socially and economically.

"Poverty, hunger or economic break-downs in any of our neighbouring states can do nothing to strengthen our own stability, as the senior, most developed and powerful country in Southern Africa.

"Our reluctance to provide transport aid to Zimbabwe because of ideological differences does not only affect that country, it affects the whole region.

"We must remember the situation of Malawi and Zaire — these countries which are not hostile to South Africa but who will be directly affected if Zimbabwe is placed under pressure to the extent that it is unable to move its traffic.

Mr Swart said he believed South Africa's transport service should be encouraged to fulfil its right role in providing the communications so necessary to bring stability, peace and prosperity to the Southern African region.

"This minister has allowed the railways to be diverted from this role at a critical time in the history of the sub-continent." — Sapa

# Sanctions alleged

~~2007~~ (1) Angus 24/12/81

## Parliamentary Staff

THE South African Railways Administration had been influenced to operate sanctions against neighbouring states in regard to the availability of transport services, Mr Ray Swart (PFP, Berea) told the Assembly yesterday.

'It is a punitive or politically bargaining posture they are involved in in regard to our preparedness to assist neighbouring Southern African states in respect of transport services, and it is motivated entirely by political considerations,' said Mr Swart, speaking in the third reading debate on the Railways budget.

Later in the debate Mr Swart's accusation was strongly denied by the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, who said his department was not out to harm the interests of any states.

Mr Swart said: 'If there is one role which South Africa should be fulfilling in these troubled times, it is the positive role of assisting people to overcome poverty and achieve prosperity and stability by linking them to the markets of the world.'

Instead there had been a change of attitude on the part of the Railways on — particularly in recent months towards Zim-

babwe with the withdrawal of truck and locomotives.

Mr Schoeman said Zaire, Zambia, and Malawi and Botswana had all negotiated with South Africa at government level, but Zimbabwe had refused to do this.

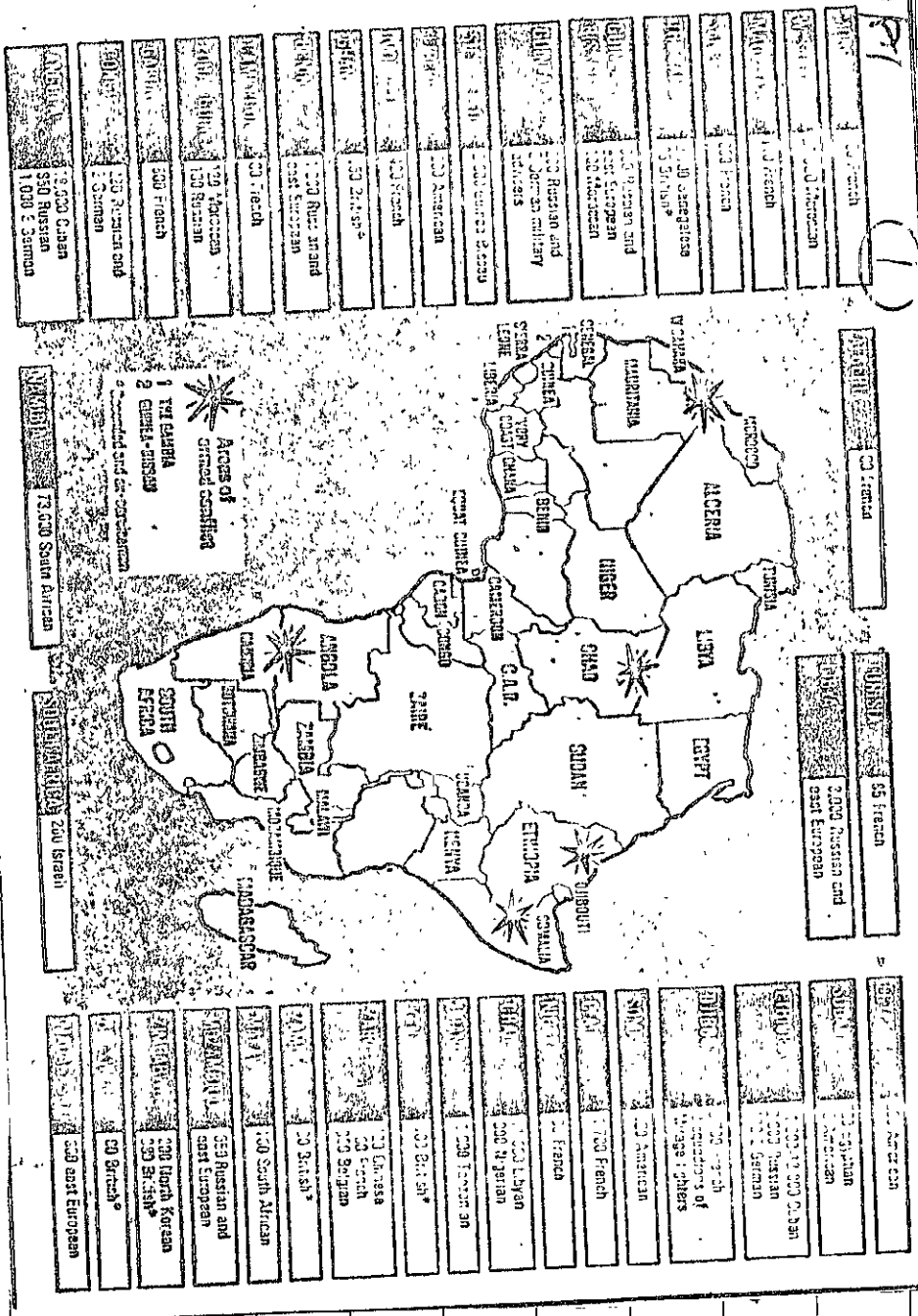
'What are they that makes them better than other countries who negotiate with us at government level?' he said.

There were 20 steam locomotives belonging to South Africa in Zimbabwe, and some diesel locomotives that were there on a contract which expired this winter were taken back.

'Now they want them back again,' he said.

Star 2579 21

Russian, Cuban and South African combat troops in Angola may be grabbing the headlines, but there are plenty of other soldiers on other people's territory in Africa. This map, from the Economist, provides at best a rough guess to who's where. Roughly speaking, a few countries on the continent will admit to having foreign soldiers on their soil. The smaller contingents listed are, in most cases, military advisers rather than combat troops. Some of these great warriors are doing surprising things. Cuban soldiers guard Western oil rigs off the coast of Angola; Nigerian troops are reported to be guarding oil installations in Libya - occupied Chad. French, Chinese and Belgian officers are training Zaire's army; North Korean and British officers work side by side in Zimbabwe; Russia and Morocco both provide trainers for Equatorial Guinea's tiny army. Israeli officers are said to be teaching anti-terrorist tactics to South Africa.



# Black states to meet Swapo on peace plan

By Donald Knowler, The Star Bureau

New York

Representatives of the Frontline states have scheduled a crucial meeting here with the South West Africa People's Organisation for Monday to discuss the renewed Western initiative on SWA/Namibia.

Mr Peter Mueshange, Swapo's secretary for foreign affairs, said yesterday that he would voice his "disappointment" over the Western statement issued on Thursday which outlined the initiative.

The five-nation Contact Group said negotiations aimed at achieving an internationally-recognised settlement during 1982 would start next month. Mr Mueshange said the statement offered "nothing new."

## Moi could play key SWA role

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan said here yesterday that the United States was prepared to press on in its search for a SWA/Namibia settlement.

And immediately afterwards Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi, the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, conceded that "a solution may be found" in the territory.

The two leaders spoke to the Press briefly after a meeting largely devoted to the contentious SWA/Namibian issue.

The Kenyan president is the first African leader to have met President Reagan for formal discussions, and observers believed he conveyed to the President Africa's fears that the Reagan Administration had tilted American policy towards South Africa.

In a farewell statement, President Reagan said the United States sought the "closest of ties" with Africa and that the United States was determined to find an internationally acceptable solution for Namibia.

The Kenyan President's moderate response to the Reagan statement is seen here as further evidence that progress continues to be made in the search for settlement.

As chairman of the OAU, Mr Moi could play a key role in helping the Reagan Administration gain African acceptance for the plan — the outlines of which will shortly be referred to the frontline states and Swapo for their reaction.

Thursday's statement by the Western contact group re-inforced the cautious optimism which Washington has displayed on its Namibian initiative over the past few months.

"At first glance there is nothing here that interests us, but we are waiting to see what the Frontline states make of it," he said.

Mr Mueshange said Swapo was maintaining its position that the Security Council's Resolution 435 was non-negotiable.

The five Western nations are seeking to strengthen the plan to incorporate certain guarantees for minority groups after independence.

South Africa has demanded such conditions and assurances that a UN military and administrative presence in the territory during the independence build-up will act impartially.

The Contact Group has not spelled out how the fresh negotiations will be carried out, but there is speculation here that the West will send a high-level team to black Africa and South Africa.

Mr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, has been tipped to head the delegation.

Mr Crocker met South Africa's Director-General for Foreign Affairs, Brand Fourie in Geneva this week and it is anticipated that the subject of those discussions will be related to the leaders of frontline nations.

In Windhoek, the chairman of the SWA/Namibian Ministers' Council, Mr Dirk Mudge, told Sapa yesterday that he expected a delegation of the Western contact group would consult directly with the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance next month.

"In any event, we will insist on direct negotiations with the West."

Mr Mudge said he was not prepared to comment further as he had not been told of new proposals from any source.

He said a diplomatic mission led by the US Deputy Secretary of State, Mr William Clark, had informed the DTA that the delegation would return to Windhoek. The Clark delegation visited the territory in June.

In Stockholm Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe, said yesterday that the UN plan for SWA/Namibia should have been implemented long ago.

"All nations, not least the big powers, must work to wreck the terrible apartheid system. The UN peace plan must be implemented soon. It should have been implemented long ago," he said.

At the UN Nigeria yesterday rejected any attempt to forge a link between SWA/Namibia independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

can teach South Africa a lesson, warn black leaders

# Pan-Africanism

A Pan-African military force would not be any kind of deterrent to South Africa, according to a prominent South African military analyst.

Prof. Mike Hough, director of the University of Pretoria's institute of strategic studies, said that such a Pan-African force would not be a real threat to South Africa's military dominance in Southern Africa.

"There are great logistical problems facing such a force, apart from the huge financial problems of equipping and maintaining it.

"Even if finance is available, from countries such as Libya and Nigeria, there are problems such as ideological problems between the states forming the force, for instance, there is a fear possibly of militarily — and economically — powerful Nigeria dominating the other participants.

"Sophisticated military technology does not necessarily mean military dominance. The military potential of a nation may be a paper appear overwhelming, but the war potential may be limited. This could be the case with such a Pan-African force.

"The Rhodesian, for example, forces had a low military potential, but a high war potential," Prof. Hough said.

He said that the Pan-African force has long been mooted, not necessarily as a force to act against South Africa, but as a peacekeeping force.

"Such a force could have political dangers for South Africa if the Soviet Union uses it as an opportunity to, through the sale of armaments, extend its influence in Africa," he said.

# War Force

S. Tubane  
27/9/81  
①



**ZAMBIA**

Total armed forces: 14 300.

Army: 12 800 (30 medium tanks, 78 other armoured vehicles).

Air force: 1 500 (37 combat aircraft).

**ZIMBABWE**

Total armed forces: 13 500

Army: 12 000 (46 medium tanks, 60 other armoured vehicles)

Air force: 1 500 (37 combat aircraft).

**MOZAMBIQUE**

Total armed forces: 24 300

Army: 22 800 (350 Russian tanks, 50 light tanks, 150 armoured cars, 250 other armoured vehicles.

Air force: 800 (36 combat aircraft).

Navy: 700 (nine coastal craft).

**ANGOLA**

Total armed forces: 32 500

Army: 30 000 (235 Russian medium tanks, 50 light tanks, 200 armoured cars, 150 other armoured vehicles).

**KENYA**

Total armed forces: 14 750

Army: 12 000 (12 British medium tanks, 55 other armoured vehicles).

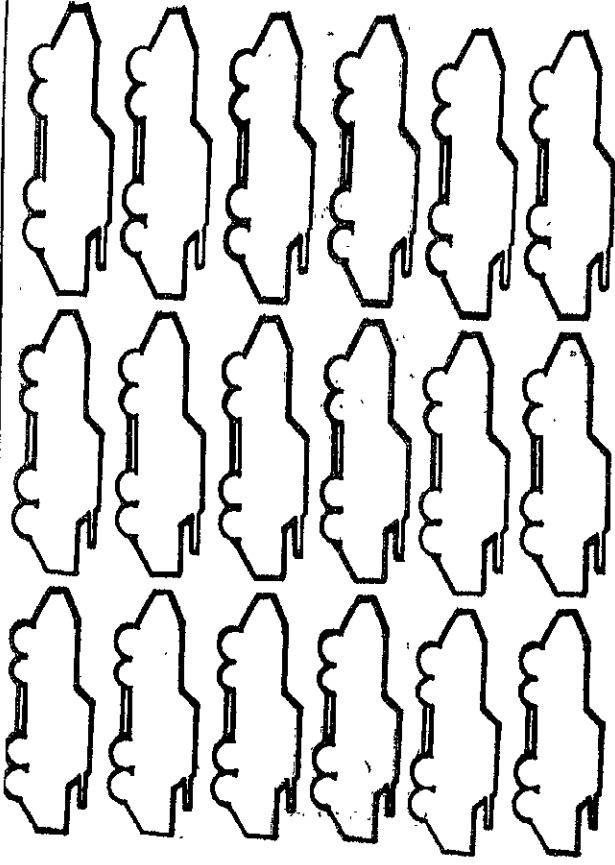
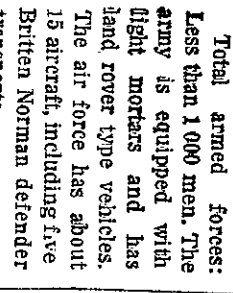
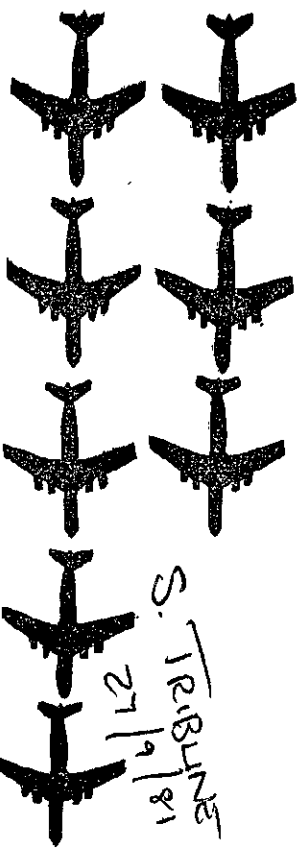
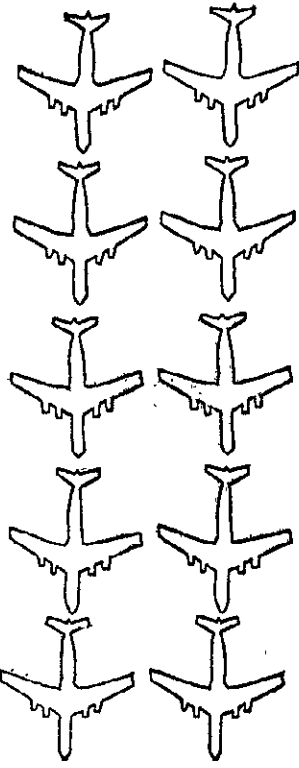
Air force: 2 100 (20 combat aircraft).

Navy: 650 (Seven large patrol craft).

**BOTSWANA**

Total armed forces: Less than 1 000 men. The army is equipped with light mortars and has hand rover type vehicles. The air force has about 15 aircraft, including five Britten Norman defender transports.

S. TRIBUNE  
27/1/81



**SOUTH AFRICA**

Total armed forces: 86 050.

Army: 71 000 (about 310 British and American tanks, 1 600 armoured cars, 230 scout cars, other armoured vehicles).

Air Force: 10 300 (204 combat aircraft).

Navy: 4 750 (three submarines, three frigates, 12 missile boats).

(Footnote: The figures are drawn from "The Military Balance, 1980-81," compiled by Britain's International Institute for Strategic Studies).

HOW they shape up . . . according to figures published by the Institute for Strategic Studies. South Africa's resources are represented by the light outlines, the Pan-African strength by the dark. For purposes of comparison, one aircraft outline equals 20 actual combat aircraft, one man stands for 20 000, one tank for an actual 100, and one armoured vehicle for an actual 100 as well.

## THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

# Fraser is in the hot seat as SA comes under fire

S. Express 27/9/81 (9)



• Malcolm Fraser  
... anxious to defuse tensions



• Robert Mugabe  
... his tactical skills are needed



• Robert Muldoon  
... in the dock over Bok tour

**MARSHALL WILSON** takes a look at some of the issues which will be raised in anger

ZAMBIA, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and other African nations are expected to mount a powerful lobby against South African interests when Australia hosts its first Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Melbourne from Wednesday.

The eight-day get-together marks the first time all 42 of Africa's national leaders have been able to discuss behind locked doors several issues crucial to the well-being of the

Commonwealth.

Ironically — some 20 years after South Africa opted out of the Commonwealth — the Republic is sure to feature prominently in heated debate. Items likely to cause most concern are the Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand, with Prime Minister Robert Muldoon in the dock, as well as South Africa's role in what some world leaders see as being a destabilising influence in the southern African region.

At a time when open hostility between Black and White mem-

ber states has threatened to divide the Commonwealth along racial lines, Australian host Malcolm Fraser will be anxious to defuse both issues.

And with the success he earned in helping Zimbabwe towards independence — and the close personal relationship he formed at the time with Prime Minister Robert Mugabe — Mr Fraser will be looking to his ally to help ease the tensions when the question of South Africa comes up.

And come up it must, since African nations and some from

the Caribbean have vowed to boycott next year's Commonwealth Games in Brisbane unless the Commonwealth heads of government talks raise the Springbok tour issue.

They argue bluntly that New Zealand breached the Geneva Agreement by refusing to call off the Springbok rugby tour, while, just as stubbornly, Mr Muldoon declares he did not.

And as determined as countries like Nigeria, Barbados, Jamaica and even Uganda are to stay away from Brisbane unless New Zealand is censured or

barred from competing, so is Mr Muldoon determined to stand his ground.

On another tack, but equally as likely to blow up a storm, is the question of South Africa's apparent refusal to allow elections in South West Africa until such time as Swapo backs off and lets the locals get on with the job.

With Britain and Canada both having taken part in initial big Five attempts to get South Africa to see reason, Commonwealth heads will seek assurances in Melbourne that the existing impasse will not continue much longer.

Mr Fraser's immediate task as conference chairman will be to keep delegates on an even course of discussion, without allowing inflamed feelings pertaining to racism to spoil debate or hinder progress.

Therein lies another story.

For a recent World Council of Churches study tour of Australia claimed the country was practising racism against its small Aboriginal population; with Queensland, where the Commonwealth Games are due to be staged, singled out as the most blatant transgressor.

Queensland's militant Aboriginal population say about 5,000 will demonstrate outside the meeting's headquarters later this week.

Their demands are for land rights in Queensland, where Premier Johannes Bjelke-Petersen has refused to see their leaders on the grounds that he has long since debated the matter.

Those are just some of the problems which confront Mr Fraser as he prepares to greet his guests.

Yet, while SWA, South Africa's incursion into Angola, hunger in struggling African countries and human rights loom as significant issues, perhaps sport and sporting ties with South Africa will prove the Achilles heel.

There is no doubt New Zealand has been tainted by association. Unless Mr Fraser manages to divide politics from sport — an impossible task, as the South African Government will bear witness — then conceivably the 1981 meeting could develop into a racial bunfight the likes of which we have never seen.

The ball rests with Mr Fraser, and Mr Mugabe with his undoubted cool head and tactical ability would do well to stand ready to help field the barrage of up-and-unders.

If he chooses not to, Mr Fraser is in trouble and the talks may prove the biggest embarrassment of his political life.



A giant exercise in bookkeeping, involving some R900 million, has almost been completed in East Africa. This total was the assets and liabilities of the three countries of the East African Community — Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda — when the Community broke up in the mid-70s.

A final settlement of who pays who what, is due about November, after which the bill has to be ratified by the three governments. How it is divided up is still a secret between the governments and the World Bank-appointed mediator, Dr Victor Umbricht. With 242 experts in various fields, he is drawing up the account.

Among the creditors of the East African Community are the World Bank, the Canadian Government, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, Sweden and the United States.

On the agreed settlement of this enormous bill depends to some extent the future wellbeing of the countries of East Africa, embracing some 60 million people. It could mean a new look for the whole area.

The land involved stretches from the Tanzania border, along the borders of Zaire, Burundi, Rwanda, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and down the long Kenya coast.

It includes Lake Victoria, Africa's biggest lake, vast areas of forest, arable land and desert, and the cities of Dar es Salaam, Nairobi and Kampala. East Africa is a very large chunk of the continent of Africa.



Kenya's Moi, Uganda's Obote and Tanzania's Nyerere — now that the bills are coming in will they be persuaded to resurrect some form of East African community?

# Heavy bills brings East Africa's heads together again.

DD 30/9/81

①

It has been made clear by one of the parties to the agreement, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, that the re-opening of the Tanzania border with Kenya — closed in anger when the Community collapsed — depends on its acceptance by all the parties.

But it is no secret that the three Presidents, Nyerere, Moi of Kenya, and Obote of Uganda, in recent talks have been planning a revival of at least part of the close association that

existed before the break-up of the Community.

They are coming round to the realisation that there is something good in East African co-operation after all. All three have spoken in favour of it. There were some useful

**JOHN WORRAIL reports from Nairobi on the huge book-keeping exercise, now nearing completion, that arose from the break-up of the East African Community.**

get-togethers during the recent Organisation of African Unity Summit in Nairobi in extremely cordial circumstances. The Presidents have visited each other. Nyerere has been to Nairobi twice since the OAU summit. Co-operation may never be to

get-togethers during the recent Organisation of African Unity Summit in Nairobi in extremely cordial circumstances. The Presidents have visited each other. Nyerere has been to Nairobi twice since the OAU summit. Co-operation may never be to

were the raison d'être of the Community.

Linked together in tribal terms anyway, many East Africans did actually feel as though they belonged to a wider cultural and geographic entity than their own countries. At first borders meant very little.

There was an active common market, which eventually became a sore source of controversy, largely because Kenya, with its more sophisticated industrial back-up, did rather well out of it. There was growing conflict between socialist Tanzania and capitalist Kenya.

Easily forgotten now is the East African Railways system, serving the whole Community; the greatly respected East African Airways Corporation; the East African Harbours; the East African Posts and Telegraphs.

But for years they carried the seeds of conflict. As territorial chauvinism grew stronger than the Community idea, they broke apart. The joint political will to keep them going was not strong enough.

Specially regrettable was the parallel collapse of the scientific, agricultural, veterinary, meteorological, aviation and medical institutions that were a valuable part of the Community.

It could be that when they all get that huge bill of assets and liabilities out of the way, the three countries can move closer again to economic co-operation, even though it will never be as it was before. — GEMINI

The experience of East Africa could well be a warning to other regions considering a similar economic grouping. This was a wanton break-up of what observers of the African scene saw, as the first and only experiment in regional co-operation in Africa.

But it was more than that. The Community had its own Parliament, with Community departments and real live ministers, and an administrative capital, Arusha, in Tanzania.

Historians will dig deep into the quarrels, disputes, financial wrangles and personalities involved. Tanzania blamed Kenya, Kenya blamed Tanzania, and the advent of Idi Amin, of course, contributed to the collapse.

What the three countries lost when the East African concept was abandoned could not be measured in economic and financial terms alone, though these



# IISS REPORT

①

## African arms build-up

FM 2/10/81

The Kremlin factor has given a curiously top-heavy look to the weaponry in the hands of SA's neighbours Mozambique and Angola, according to the International Institute for Strategic Studies' (IISS) latest report of the *Military Balance*. Mozambique, for example, with a defence budget of only \$198m has 350 tanks for its army of 25 000 — compared with Nigeria (\$1,7 billion budget) 115 tanks and 140 000 men or SA (\$2,6 billion) 310 Centurion-Olifants, Shermans and Comets and 76 000 in uniform full time.

Aid is the answer. As the IISS pointed out this week, gifts are not included in defence budgets. In addition, there are tanks and tanks: 300 of Mozambique's are Russian T-34s, a World War 2 relic roughly equivalent to the Sherman.

Oddly, in view of its distance from the "enemy" SA, Angola's 285 tanks include 150 T-54s which might be a better match for the SADF's 250 modified Centurion-Olifants. What is also missing from the IISS count of arms and men (see table) is any estimate of strengths or weaknesses in the industrial logistical back up needed to keep the hardware in service. Nor does its report pretend to offer any clue to the *effectiveness* of the forces.

The IISS estimates show that in spite of the arms build up in Africa official defence budgets (excluding aid) are relatively mod-

### NEIGHBOURLY ARMS INDICATORS

(SELECTED IISS FIGURES)

#### ANGOLA:

Defence budget: . . . . .	not available
Manpower: . . . . .	33 000 (army 30 000, airforce 1 500, navy 1 500) plus 21 500 Cubans and East German advisers
Tanks: . . . . .	85 T-34, 150 T-54, 50 T-76 (light)
Armoured cars: . . . . .	200
Artillery pieces: . . . . .	120 (76 mm to 130 mm)
Combat aircraft . . . . .	41 (20 MiG-21, 18 MiG-17)
Helicopters: . . . . .	37
Vessels (attack and patrol) . . . . .	18

#### MOZAMBIQUE:

Defence budget: . . . . .	198m \$ (1981)
Manpower: . . . . .	26 700 (army 25 000, airforce 1 000, navy 700) plus unspecified advisers
Tanks: . . . . .	300 T-54, 50 PT-76 (light)
Armoured cars: . . . . .	50
Artillery pieces . . . . .	330 (76 mm to 152 mm)
Combat aircraft . . . . .	35 (MiG-21 and 17)
Helicopters: . . . . .	14
Vessels (patrol) . . . . .	8 (2 on order)

#### ZAMBIA:

Defence budget: . . . . .	338m \$ (1979)
Manpower . . . . .	15 500 (army 14 000, airforce 1 500)
Tanks . . . . .	60 T-54 and T-55
Armoured cars . . . . .	50
Artillery pieces . . . . .	18 (105 mm)
Combat aircraft . . . . .	49 (MiG-19, MiG-21, F-6, Jastreb)
Helicopters: . . . . .	41

#### ZIMBABWE:

Defence budget: . . . . .	444m \$ (US)
Manpower: . . . . .	34 000 (army 33 000, airforce 1 000) — excludes 16 000 ex-guerrillas and other reserves
Tanks: . . . . .	10 t-34, 10 t-54
Armoured cars . . . . .	55
Artillery pieces . . . . .	18 (25 pounders and 5,5-inch)
Combat aircraft: . . . . .	39 (Canberra, Hunter, Vampire - Hawk on order)
Helicopters: . . . . .	38

est. Among the 16 black African states published, military spending totals only \$531m, or 3% of their combined gnp or gdp.

The figure for 12 of the bigger economies (excluding Angola for which no defence budget is available) comes to \$4,1 billion, or 4,3% of gnp/gdp. And of that more than 40% is Nigeria's \$1,5 billion outlay.

Zimbabwe, lumbered with unemployed Zanu-Zipra guerrillas, is the second biggest spender on \$444m (US). Its hardware will be no surprise to SA.

# The legacy of Africa's three most brutal tyrants

CT 5/10/81

(1)



From  
**ANTHONY  
DELIUS**

LONDON. — At the beginning of October two years ago there was a great deal of celebration going on in many African political circles. A new era in improved government seemed at hand. In a period of six months Africa had rid itself of its three most brutal tyrants, and the latest and possibly the worst of them to be finally dealt with, President-for-life Francisco Macias Nguema Biyoco, of Equatorial Guinea, was executed by firing squad in a prison courtyard on October 1, 1979.

Compared with him the gross Idi Amin, who had been chased out of Uganda in the last days of April, and Emperor Jean-Bedal Bokassa of Central African Republic, turned out for massacring schoolchildren earlier in September, seemed almost genial fellows. All of them appeared quite undeniably mad.

## Enduring slur

It was these three men in particular who much of the rest of Africa felt cast an enduring slur on the country's capacity for humane government. Other eccentrics and catastrophes could be explained away by rulers' and peoples' inexperience in government, due to gaps caused by colonial suppression, by being saddled with independence constitutions totally unsuited to African conditions and customs, by "neo-colonialism", and by a crippling lack of development.

Africa had to learn by its mistakes, even if it meant the soldiers taking charge while politicians and civil servants went back to school to study what went wrong. But Nguema, Amin and Bokassa were so appalling, absurd and cruel as to be inexcusable by any standards, even in a world which had so recently known Hitler, Stalin and Pol Pot.

Within the last few weeks we have been hearing of the latest developments in Uganda, the Central African Republic and Equatorial Guinea, since they got rid of



Amin... in exile

these terrible rulers. The lesson is that it takes a long time to get over the consequences of bad rulership.

Equatorial Guinea is formed of the former Spanish possessions in West Africa, the famous and wealthy island of Fernando Po and a very obscure piece of mainland called Rio Muni. Some Africans are inclined to explain President Nguema's record by the fact that the area spent nearly the whole of its last 30 years as a colony under the control of the Spanish dictatorship of General Franco. Within a year of being granted independence in 1968 the stunned citizens of the territory found it being rapidly translated into the most notorious and savage little dictatorship independent Africa has ever known — and, I dare say, will ever know.

Nguema once in power proceeded fairly quickly to intimidate most of the Spanish settlers (about 7 000) into fleeing the country, and then he would seize their businesses. He went on to have his UN ambassador and his foreign minister killed when they tried to improve relations with Spain, and most other (82) politicians in the country were subsequently wiped out. In fact in the decade or so he ruled the country, Nguema killed one-tenth of the original population of 300 000 — by the end 100 000 citizens had fled the country. He introduced forced la-



Bokassa... in exile

bour and well over half the country had a spell in jail — when the jails were overflowing, he simply had some prisoners killed off to make room for others. Sometimes he buried them alive.

He adopted two titles to show his wisdom and even godliness as a ruler — "The Unique Miracle" and "The Grand Master of Science, Education and Culture". When he had reduced the country to bankruptcy — the main crop, cocoa, was reduced to one-tenth its size by 1974 — his economic remedy was simple. He murdered the director of the central bank, closed the bank itself down, and decided to keep as much of the country's currency as he could under his own palace roof. It arrived there by the ton, lorry-loads and ship-loads of it. He allowed the Russians to fish as hard as they could from the rich fishing grounds off his coastal waters, and ship the hauls back to the USSR, while his own subjects starved.

After 11 years of this the survivors among his battered subjects were ready to follow anybody who promised to get Nguema off their backs. African rulers were threatening to denounce Nguema's terrible human rights record before the OAU and clamour against him was raised by Amnesty.



Nguema... executed

the International Commission of Jurists, the Catholic Church and the UN. In the end it was the number two man in the country, Nguema's cousin no less, Lieutenant-Colonel Teodoro Nguema, who led army and navy men in a coup to remove the president, on the grounds of his increasing mental unbalance.

It certainly seems that mental instability does not run in the family, because Colonel Teodoro Nguema began restoring links with the now democratic government of Spain, inviting back the priests and teachers of the Catholic Church, expelling the Russians and getting the EEC and the IMF to help rebuild the country's battered economy. The Spaniards after much caution have just entered into a new agreement with Equatorial Guinea. Caution remains among many of the best-trained Guineans who fled the country. They are still hesitating to return and put themselves under the care of another member of the Nguema family.

Uganda and the Central African Republic have not managed to engineer such a comparatively smooth aftermath to their experience of tyrannical madmen. Many Ugandans believe that the condition of their country is almost as bad now as it was

under Amin. While their former murderous ruler watches from the swimming pool of an undistinguished family hotel in Saudi Arabia, Ugandans suffer increasingly from two groups of anti-government guerillas, thieving and mutinous troops, robbers and thugs of all descriptions, and the periodic raids for loot by the remnants of Amin's army. Good neighbour Julius Nyerere, having brought his own country to the edge of bankruptcy by supplying the army to liberate Uganda, has had to withdraw most of that army. Obote is desperately struggling, with what funds he can get from abroad, to salvage Uganda from the social, material and political wreckage Amin left behind.

Ex-Emperor Bokassa now lives modestly in a suburb of Abijan, capital of Ivory Coast. Perhaps in moments of reflection he wonders whether it was the advice from his French, Israeli and even Libyan advisers that wrecked his plans for an ideal state in the guise of a Napoleon-style empire. He sought to instill public virtue by the brutal public beatings-up of convicted thieves and robbers. He sought to get extra funds for his dreams by accepting promises of bribes by President Gaddafi to convert to Islam, and crowned himself emperor like Napoleon to increase his own grandeur and spectacle for his people.

When even schoolchildren could no longer stand the absurdity of all this, he led his forces in massacring numbers of them. His gifts of diamonds to the French president finally helped to bring down that president politically, but not before African presidents had induced him to get rid of Bokassa. Today Central Africa still struggles on to restore its economy, and a military man has recently had to take over from Bokassa's successor to help in the process.

# East Africa near a new era of economic co-operation?

NAIROBI. — A giant exercise in bookkeeping, involving some R750 million, has almost been completed in East Africa. This total was the assets and liabilities of the three countries of the East African Community, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, when the community broke up in the mid-70s.

A final settlement of who pays who what is due about November, after which the bill has to be ratified by the three governments. How it is divided up is still a secret between the governments and the World Bank-appointed mediator, Dr Victor Umbricht, who, with 242 experts in various fields, is drawing up the account.

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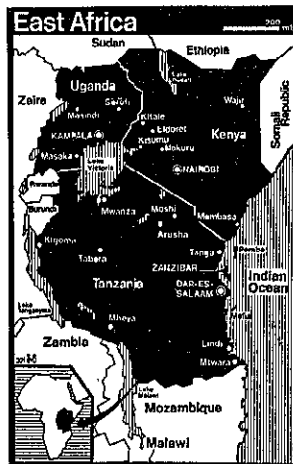
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The land involved stretches from the Tanzanian border, along the borders of Zaire, Burundi, Rwanda, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and down the long Kenya coast. It includes Lake Victoria, Africa's biggest lake, vast areas of forest, arable land and desert, and the cities of Dar-es-Salaam, Nairobi and Kampala. East Africa is a very large chunk of the continent of Africa.

It has been made clear by one of the parties to the agreement, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, that the re-opening of the Tanzanian border with Kenya — closed in anger when the community collapsed — depends on its acceptance by all the parties.

But it is no secret that the three presidents, Nyerere, Moi of Kenya, and Obote of Uganda in recent talks have been planning a revival of at least part of the close association that existed before the break-up of the commun-

From JOHN WORRALL



ity. They are coming round to the realization that there is something good in East African co-operation after all — all three have spoken in favour of it.

There were some useful get-togethers during the recent OAU summit in Nairobi in extremely cordial circumstances. The presidents have visited each other. Nyerere has been to Nairobi twice since the OAU summit. Co-operation may never be to the extent that existed in the late-lamented East African Community, but is obviously better than the fractious divisions of the last five years of the community's life.

One common factor motivating co-operation is the economic downturn in all three countries, and a growing energy problem that needs regional co-operation if it is to be solved satisfactorily. A solution could lessen the high cost of technical inputs, research and training, for alternative sources. An East African energy authority has been suggested.

The experience of East Africa could well be a warning to other regions considering a similar economic grouping. This was a wanton break-up of what observers of the African scene saw as the first and only experiment in regional co-operation in Africa.

But it was more than that. The community had its own

parliament, with community departments and real live ministers, and an administrative capital, Arusha, in Tanzania.

Historians will dig deep into the quarrels, disputes, financial wrangles and personalities involved. Tanzania blamed Kenya, Kenya blamed Tanzania, and the advent of Idi Amin, of course, contributed to the collapse.

What the three countries lost when the East African concept was abandoned could not be measured in economic and financial terms alone, though these were the *raison d'être* of the community. Linked together in tribal terms anyway, many East Africans did actually feel as though they belonged to a wider cultural and geographic entity than their own countries. At first borders meant very little.

There was an active common market, which eventually became a sore source of controversy, largely because Kenya, with its more sophisticated industrial back-up, did rather well out of it. There was growing conflict between socialist Tanzania and capitalist Kenya.

Easily forgotten now is the East African Railways system, serving the whole community; the greatly respected East African Airways Corporation; the East African Harbours; the East African Posts and Telegraphs.

Specially regrettable was the parallel collapse of the scientific, agricultural, veterinary, meteorological, aviation and medical institutions that were a valuable part of the community.

It could be that when they all get that huge bill of assets and liabilities out of the way, the three countries can move closer again to economic co-operation, even though it will never be as it was before.

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● The writer, formerly on the staff of the Cape Times, is a freelance journalist working from Nairobi for British and American newspapers and magazines.

# Africa keeps on buying in SA

By GERALD REILLY

THE value of South African exports to other African countries is expected to exceed R1 000-million this year for the second year in a row, according to Government sources in Pretoria.

According to figures released in Pretoria yesterday by the Department of Customs and Excise, the value of African exports for the first five months of the year amounted to R400,5-million.

Last year exports amounted to R1 098-million.

## Campaigns

The sources pointed out that in spite of unabated hate campaigns against South Africa and its discriminatory policies, 46 African countries traded with South Africa last year — and are still trading with this country.

Trade with Africa, the sources said, could be doubled if inhibiting factors such as struggling economies, an inability to pay, inadequate transport and fears of international reaction were removed.

In spite of commitments to boycott South Africa most African countries found it cheaper to buy on the South African market than in Europe or the East.

Main reason for this was high transport costs.

"South Africa is the closest manufacturer and supplier of a vast range of commodities desperately needed in these underdeveloped countries — and the prices are more than competitive", the Government source stated.

## Food

Food is the prime need in Africa, and South Africa is the only country on the continent consistently producing big export surpluses.

And because of expanding populations and a lack of farming expertise, most countries will continue to depend to some extent on supplementary food imports from South Africa.

According to the South African Agricultural Union, international statistics show that the tendency for food production to fall throughout the continent is continuing and there are no signs of a slowdown in exploding populations.

So irrespective of the international hostility beamed against the Government, South Africa will grow in importance as a supplier of goods and raw materials to Africa — a situation which slots in well with the Government's political and diplomatic strategy.

Ste 9/10/81  
**African loans**

World Bank's affiliate, the International Development Association (IDA) had approved credits totalling 56-million dollars for Zaire, Sudan and the Congo.

Zaire is to get 26-million dollars. The Congo would get 17-million dollars and the Sudan 13-million dollars.

— Reuter.

# All-American law group

MBABANE - Eighteen African countries, including South Africa, have established an All-African Law Reform Association at the end of a controversial law conference. *Swetla 19/10/87* (1)

Delegates from Uganda and Tanzania boycotted the conference after they learnt South Africans would be attending. South Africa and Transkei were represented by Prof E Vilakazi of the University of Transkei, and Prof J D van der Vyfer and Mrs Carmen Nathan, both of the University of the Witwatersrand.

A spokesman for the association said the conference had been called by students of the Universi-

ty College of Swaziland to compare customary African law and Roman Dutch law, and to examine the rights of the individual in African society.

The conference adopted a resolution deploring apartheid as a "violation of fundamental human rights," and urging "all who believe in human rights everywhere in the world to take all steps necessary to bring about the total abolition and eradication of that system."

# Anglo pleads for new mines policy in constellation

Star 20/10/91

A strong plea for a common exploration and mining policy in South Africa's proposed constellation of states has been made by a director of Anglo American, Mr Denis Etheredge.

He was speaking at a seminar on "Alternative Structures for Southern Africa Interaction" held by the Institute of Foreign and Comparative Law at the University of South Africa.

Praising the role of transnational companies like Anglo American and De Beers, he said they had played a greater part in the economic development of southern Africa than the colonial powers.

Many countries in the region had chosen socialism after independence, and transnational companies — including the mining giants — had been

subjected to government interference which had made them less effective.

"Taxation arrangements have been tampered with, marketing subjected to interference, and nationalisation of assets has taken place," Mr Etheredge said.

The initial constellation would comprise "old" South Africa, including the newly independent states and the homelands in which the transnationals operated across political boundaries. And these included economic, legislative and tax regime boundaries he added.

"Gold and coal aside, the immense mineral wealth of South Africa has been fragmented among a number of independent countries, and includes such strategic minerals as manganese, platinum and chrome."

Mr Etheredge said the fragmentation of mineral resources had happened at a time when mining

and treatment of minerals involved such high risks and massive capital investment that only the large mining houses could assemble the funds, technology and expert manpower to get new mines started.

"The concept of regional development co-operation transcending political borders spelt out by the Prime Minister in his speech at the Assacom Congress in October last year offers the best opportunity for co-ordinated and constructive industrial and commercial development.

"The standardisation of laws and practices affecting prospecting and the opening of mines, common and fair tax regimes, and in the overall, the continuance of private enterprise in mining, will ensure that the many political boundaries do not impede the best exploitation of our mineral resources," he said.



**Commission**

STA 20/10/87

①

LISBON — The Socialist International is planning to send a commission of inquiry on a tour of southern Africa to study the region's problems.

# Africa's problems 'cut down on investment'

RDM 2/10/81

THERE is no doubt that the political and economic problems of Africa, and the excessive demands placed on transnationals prepared to explore and mine in countries on the continent, has played a part in Africa being virtually at the bottom of the list of new mining investment in recent years.

By JOHN MULCAHY

Mr Dennis Etheredge, chairman of Anglo American Corporation's gold division, in an address this week to the Unisa conference on "Alternative Structures for Southern Africa", referred to an investment survey by the US Mining and Engineering Journal, which revealed that while over \$200 000-million was spent world-wide, from 1974 to 1981, under \$24 000-million was spent in Africa, of which half was in South Africa.

As the minerals in the survey did not include coal, chrome, platinum metals and manganese the overall SA figure would be much higher, but the rest of Africa not much higher than \$11 000-million.

The concentration on new mining investment was in South America, at \$56 000-million, while North America, Asia, Japan and Australia were all at least 0% greater than Africa.

Mr Etheredge said historically it was no exaggeration to state that transnationals played a greater part in the economic development of Southern Africa than the colonial powers themselves.

Southern Africa presented an unhappy economic picture, said Mr Etheredge, with most states south of the equator — 22 recognised by the United Nations and three which have become independent of SA — hopelessly too small and too economically fragmented to be viable units.

"To his number must be added

virtually all the homelands, the self-governing states."

Many of the sub-equatorial states had chosen the socialist path since independence, and transnationals had either disappeared or become less effective.

Transnationals were prime targets in any move towards socialism, said Mr Etheredge.

Turning to Southern Africa, the area likely to comprise the initial "Constellation of States", Mr Etheredge said the inescapable fact was that SA's immense mineral wealth had been or was being fragmented among a number of independent countries.

"Gold lies wholly in white South Africa, but when you look at strategic minerals such as manganese, the platinum group metals and chrome, you find that these are now spread across a number of self-governing and independent states."

The fragmentation of mineral resources had happened at a time when mining and treatment of minerals involved such high levels of risk and massive capital investment that only the large mining houses around the world — and international financial institutions such as the World Bank — could assemble the funds, technology and manpower to get new mines started. Shafts and plants cost hundreds of millions of rand, said Mr

Etheredge, and in time to come deeper mines and lower grades could increase the investment risk to a point where the normal forces which provided the incentive to private enterprise would no longer work.

The concept of regional development co-operation transcending political borders offered the best opportunity for co-ordinated and constructive industrial and commercial development, said Mr Etheredge.

"But mines are where you find them and the best guarantee of orderly exploitation of the vast mineral resources in the Constellation will be a commonly agreed exploration and mining policy."

The standardisation of laws and practices affecting prospecting and the opening of mines, common and fair tax regimes and the continuance of private enterprise in mining would ensure that the many political boundaries did not impede the best exploitation of Southern Africa's mineral resources, said Mr Etheredge.

"South Africa has as good a set of mining laws and regulations as anywhere in the world — particularly now that discriminatory practices are to be removed — and the perpetuation of these throughout Southern Africa will ensure that the unhappy fate which seems to have befallen mining in some parts of the sub-continent will not apply to the Constellation."

THE initial scepticism with which South African politicians, businessmen and commentators greeted the formation of the nine-member Southern African Development Co-ordinating Council (SADCC) has begun to give way to a growing feeling that it should be taken more seriously, according to Professor Gavin Maasdorp, of Natal University's Economic Research Unit.

The SADCC has been referred to as the "counter-constellation" because of the opposition of its nine members — Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi — to Prime Minister P. W. Botha's proposed constellation of Southern Africa states.

But, Prof Maasdorp said in a paper delivered at Unisa's conference on Southern Africa this week, scrutiny of SADCC documents and discussions show that its objective is not confrontation with Pretoria — but reduction of their economic dependence on South Africa through increased co-operation with one another, particularly in transport, trade and labour.

Prof Maasdorp listed four prerequisites for the SADCC to emerge as a viable project instead of a mere platform for political oratory. The first two would be helpful rather than harmful to South Africa and the second two neutral rather than inimical.

- The pre-conditions are:
- Maintenance of political stability and peace in Southern Africa, with settlement of the Namibian dispute vital to this aim.
  - The SADCC has a

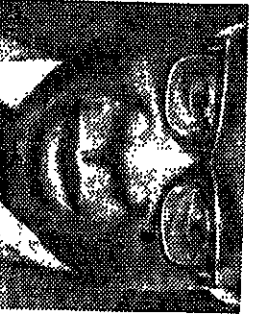
# Don't Write Off

## that other constellation

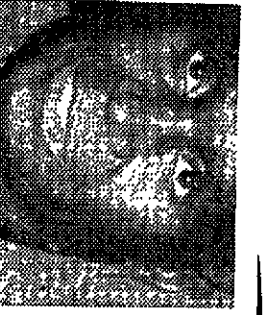
PATRICK LAURENCE reports on an assessment by Prof Gavin Maasdorp of the Frontline states' attempts to reduce their dependence on Pretoria.



MR SAMORA MACHEL Blamed for problems



MR ROBERT MUGABE Tension increased



MR KENNETH KAUNDA Depends on SA transport

stake in seeing peaceful change in South Africa. A climate in which neighbouring countries provide bases for armed infiltration into South Africa, and in which South Africa in turn retaliates militarily, could disrupt progress."

● Prevention of mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Referring to the SADCC conference in Maputo last November, he said: "Mr Peter Mmusi (the conference chairman), stating that he spoke on behalf of the nine, re-iterated he was not in favour of sanctions."

● An improvement in the world economy.

● Economic efficiency in the nine-member states.

"There are critical shortages of skilled manpower (in the nine) which hamper key operations,

especially in the transport sector," said Prof Maasdorp.

He implicitly advises Pretoria to treat the SADCC with sympathy rather than hostility and not to be alienated by hostile oratory from leading politicians in the nine.

"A distinction must be made between rhetoric and reality. South Africa should recognise that, so long as its domestic policies are unacceptable internationally, it will be subjected to abuse.

"South Africa should not be unduly sensitive about the aims of the SADCC. They are natural when a number of countries are faced with one large, dominant neighbour.

The SADCC has forced Pretoria to postpone its hopes of draw-

ing South Africa's neighbouring states into the proposed constellation and, consequently, to concentrate on using the constellation as a vehicle for improving ties with its own "black homelands."

But, Prof Maasdorp contends, by forcing Pretoria to give priority to developing its own poorer regions this may be a blessing in disguise.

South Africa has 75% of the sub-continental rail network and the most efficient ports. Its transport system has been handling an increasing proportion of the foreign trade of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Zaïre in the past few years.

Between 70 and 74% of Zimbabwe's foreign trade goes through South African ports, but by March next year it could to

drop to 60% if SADCC projects to improve railway and harbour facilities in Mozambique have the desired effect.

In the interim, however, transport problems have caused tension between Zimbabwe and Mozambique, with Zimbabwe blaming Mozambique for not ralling sufficient petrol from its ports and Mozambique counter-claiming that Zimbabwe had not sent sufficient trucks for it to fulfil the task.

Professor Maasdorp said: "Mozambique is apparently using Zimbabwean wagons for carrying its sugar internally."

Zimbabwe can ill afford to allow its trucks to be used to supplement Mozambique railways because it desperately needs the trucks itself, partly because of South Africa's decision to with-

draw 25 trucks from Zimbabwe — purportedly because Zimbabwe, in turn, was not returning SAR trucks quickly enough.

Zimbabwe, Professor Maasdorp adds, was using South Africa's trucks for its own internal purposes.

"Transport problems were causing the loss to Zimbabwe of (about R7-million) worth of foreign exchange a week."

On trade with South Africa, which the SADCC hopes to reduce, he said: "Despite political rhetoric, 48 of the 49 OAU states trade with South Africa. Apart from exports of R1 000-million within the Southern African Customs Union to the BLS (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland) countries in 1980, South Africa exported goods worth R1 100-million to the rest of Africa."

Last year South Africa's trade with Zambia increased by 150% and South Africa rose from being Zambia's fifth supplier to second place.

Unless the SADCC can take effective steps, the volume of trade with South Africa trade is likely to increase, as high and rising transport costs enable Pretoria to provide the required goods more cheaply than its overseas competitors.

Six of SADCC's nine member countries — the BLS countries plus Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Malawi — remain dependent on South Africa as an absorber of their migrant labour.

Reduction of their dependency in this field without major disruption to their own economies is another major challenge, particularly as South Africa, with its own black unemployment problem, will find it relatively easy to adjust to a cut-back on SADCC migrant workers.

# REDS ON THE RAILWAY

By NORMAN CHANDLER

## Chinese are tipped to build Botswana-Namibia link

BOTSWANA is to build a railway across the Kalahari Desert to help black states avoid using South African transport links and ports.

In spite of official denials, the Chinese communists are tipped to build it — just a few years after completing the Tanzam railway linking Tanzania and Zambia.

South Africans will be banned from the Trans-Kalahari railway work force, sources in

Botswana and South Africa told me yesterday.

The Africa Institute, based in Pretoria, says lessening of trade links by black Africa with South Africa is "understandable".

The expertise developed by the Chinese during the building of the Tanzam railway is the reason they are "almost certain" to be chosen when contracts for the multi-million rand

project are handed out.

"The Chinese will get it — there is no doubt about that," said one source, who added that it was "highly likely" that one of the conditions in the contracts would be that no South African technicians work on the project.

"The railway will be a wholly Chinese project to link Botswana to Namibia and, as far as Africa is concerned, South Africans will

not be welcome in the work force, in spite of the fact they may have the ability."

The money for the project is coming from a R2 000-million appeal made recently by the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC) to 30 industrialised nations and the oil producing states.

SADCC's aim is to lessen the dependence of independent states on South African trade

routes.

Botswana's Minister for Works and Communications, Mr C W Blackbeard, told me that no contracts had as yet been signed — "I have no knowledge of the Chinese being involved, but that doesn't mean to say they will not be," he said.

His country's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Archie Mogwe, said he was unaware of Chinese involvement.

A top Botswana businessman, Mr Richard Mannathoko, said in the capital, Gaborone, that "there is a lot of talk here" about the railway.

He said the railway's Botswana terminus would be Gaborone.

"As far as I am aware, the railway will cross the Kalahari to link up with the existing Namibia system at Gogabis," he said.

I understand that the route is to be from Gaborone to Molepolole and then to Jwaneng, Ghanzi and west to Namibia.

This would open up vast tracts of the area, one of the world's great cattle ranching districts.

A source told me that initial surveys on the line of rail were to begin early next year.

The inhospitable desert — with giant sand dunes and stunted trees, along with wild animals such as lion and hyena — is likely to make the survey a costly and lengthy business.

One of the main reasons for the railway is to exploit massive coal, soda ash and other mineral reserves known to exist in the Kalahari and at Sua Pan in northern Botswana.

"Coal is found just about everywhere in Botswana," Mr Mannathoko, who is resident director of an oil company, told me.

A spokesman for Botswana's Ministry of Commerce and Industry says the exploitation of vast mineral resources would assure the country "of a solid income for many years".

### New mine

A new diamond mine is due to come in to operation at Jwaneng — 130km west of Gaborone and through which the railway will run — and a giant coal deposit proved to have more than 4 000-million tons has been found between Mmamabula and Mahalapye, north of Gaborone.

According to informed sources in Botswana, most of that coal deposit has already been sold to the Japanese, and South Africa is closely involved in exploiting the coal field because of the development of the north-western Transvaal area around Ellisras.

A huge multi-chemical deposit at Sua Pan, in northern Botswana — now being surveyed by a international engineering and management company on behalf of African Selection Trust, part of the giant BP International group — is said to contain 40 000-million tons of potash, 133 000-million tons of salt and 28 000-million tons of soda ash.

The soda ash deposit is equal to half the world's known reserves. It is regarded internationally as a key strategic mineral because of its use in steel production.

All three deposits are sufficient to end all importation of soda ash, potash and salt to every country in Southern Africa, including South Africa.

Negotiations are taking place about potential international markets.

### No threat

I was told that it is planned to pump the brine 200km from the pan to a refinery built on the existing Botswana railway link and then to export it over the Trans-Kalahari route.

It would be the railway's biggest revenue-earner.

A spokesman for BP told me it was still too early to discuss development of the project, but confirmed that it had received the concession to develop the deposit.

One of the main reasons for the railway line is to help landlocked central African states to avoid South African railways and harbours and help lessen their dependence on trade routes through South Africa.

The railway is one of the major projects decided upon by the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC), which early next year opens its secretariat in Gaborone.

SADCC has listed 977 transport and communication projects.

Support for the lessening of trade links with South Africa this week came from an unexpected quarter — the Africa Institute of South Africa.

The organisation says in its latest bulletin that until transport links are completed, the bulk of goods from landlocked states "will have to go through Mozambique if the aim of lessening dependence on South Africa is to be achieved..."

"SADCC members have already stressed that the lessening of dependence constituted no threat or confrontation with South Africa."

Sunday Times

**SADCC office**  
GABORONE — The  
Southern African Co-  
ordinating Council is to  
set up a permanent secre-  
tariat here early next  
year.  
This emerged at the  
SADCC seminar attended  
by officials of the ANC,  
PAC and Swapo and  
representatives of the  
member-states of the  
Lesotho, Swaziland, Zam-  
bia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania,  
Angola, Mozambique and  
Malawi. — The Star's Af-  
rica News Service.

South Africa's foreign policy initiatives are being hampered by her own actions. Deon Delpoort reviews arguments at a recent seminar on this issue.

## Rebuff to SA unity plan

Star 27/10/77  
①

South Africa's negative foreign policy and hated internal policies are the main barriers to her plans for regional co-operation.

This was the view of most speakers at a seminar on "Alternative Structures for Southern African Interaction" held at the University of South Africa.

The much vaunted "Constellation of States" unveiled at the Carlton Conference, was not likely to expand beyond South Africa and her "homelands," academics agreed.

Neighbouring black states like Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe have rebuffed the concept, regarding it as a strategem for economic dominance by South Africa.

In his opening address, the chancellor of Unisa, Mr Justice V. G. Hiemstra, Chief Justice of Bophuthatswana, outlined these problems before turning his attention to the internal constitution-making process and criticised the Government for leaving blacks out of the process.

He urged internal black leaders to take the initiative and produce an alternative constitutional plan for multiracial accord, that would include provisions for the safeguarding of minorities.

"Southern Africa states have long held the view that their economic interests lay in loosening their dependence on South Africa and diversifying their economic relationships with other countries," Professor Gavin Maasdorp of the University of Natal, told seminar delegates.

A number of speakers dealt with economic and functional links between South Africa and her immediate neighbours and argued that these need to be strengthened.

Chief among these is the Southern African Customs Union of South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

One researcher, Mr G R Haworth, pointed out that the granting of independence to South Africa's homelands could lead to problems in the union.

The BLS countries regarded South Africa's customs agreements with the independent homelands as an internal constitutional arrangement and as having no effect on their dealings with South Africa under the Customs Union, he said.

All the parties to the Customs Union showed a desire to continue with the arrangement but "as attitudes on both sides of the cleavage grow more militant, it would become more difficult for members to separate economics from politics. If tensions escalate, it is questionable whether even the Customs Union will be able to withstand the disintegrative pressures," Mr Haworth warned.

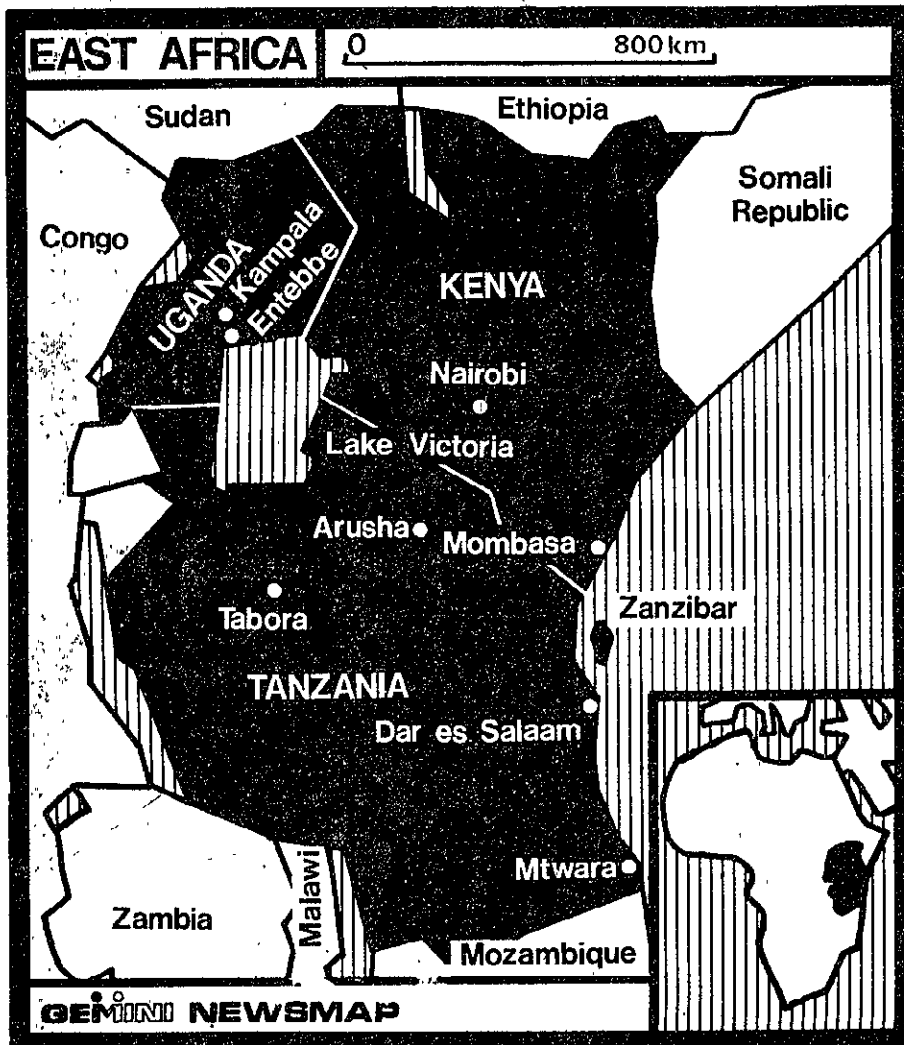
Another avenue for regional interaction was through transnational companies and their role in the economic development of southern Africa.

Their role had become less effective as government interference increased when countries turned to socialism after independence. Mr Denis Etheredge, a director of Anglo American told delegates.

He pleaded for a common exploration and mining policy in South Africa's proposed constellation.

Professor John Barratt, of the SA Institute for International Affairs, there were fears of a shift in South African regional policy from one of pragmatic co-operation with political hostile neighbours to a policy of destabilising neighbouring states.

East African Community are finally settled. Gemini News Service columnist John Worrall reports from Nairobi, looking at the vast book-keeping exercise now nearing completion and at the possibilities it holds for a rebirth of joint progress . . .



29/10/81  
①

# Start of a <sup>①</sup> NM 29/10/81 new era for East Africa?

A GIANT multi-million-rand exercise in book-keeping has almost been completed in East Africa, involving the assets and liabilities of the three countries of the East African Community — Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda — when the community broke up in the mid-70s.

A final settlement of who pays who what is due about November, after which the bill has to be ratified by the



PRESIDENT Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

three governments. How it is divided up is still a secret between the governments and the World Bank-appointed mediator, Dr Victor Umbricht, who, with 242 experts in various fields, is drawing up the account.

Among the creditors of the East African Community are the World Bank, the Canadian Government, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain, Sweden and the United States.

On the agreed settlement of this enormous bill depends to some extent the future well-being of the countries of East Africa, embracing about 60 million people. It could mean a new look for the whole area.

The land involved stretches from the Tanzanian border along the borders of Zaire, Burundi, Rwanda, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and down the long Kenyan coast.

It includes Lake Victoria, Africa's biggest lake, vast areas of forest, arable land and desert, and the cities of Dar-es-Salaam, Nairobi and Kampala. East Africa is a very large chunk of the continent of Africa.

It has been made clear by one of the parties to the agreement, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, that the re-opening of the Tanzanian border with Kenya — closed in anger when the community collapsed — depends on its acceptance

by all the parties.

But it is no secret that Presidents Nyerere, Daniel Moi of Kenya and Milton Obote of Uganda in recent talks have been planning a revival of at least part of the close association that existed before the break-up of the community.

They are coming round to the realisation that there is something good in East African co-operation after all — all three have spoken in favour of it.

There were some useful get-togethers during the recent OAU Summit in Nairobi, in extremely cordial circumstances. The presidents have visited each other. Nyerere has been to Nairobi twice since the OAU summit.

Co-operation may never be to the extent that existed in the late-lamented East African Community, but it is obviously better than the fractious divisions of the past five years.

One common factor motivating co-operation is the economic downturn in all three countries, and a growing energy problem that needs regional co-operation if it were to be solved satisfactorily.

A solution could lessen the high cost of technical inputs, research and training for alternative sources. An East African Energy Authority has been suggested.



PRESIDENT Milton Obote of Uganda.

The experience of East Africa could well be a warning to other regions considering a similar economic grouping.

This was a wanton break-up of what observers of the African scene saw as the first and only experiment in regional co-operation in Africa.

But it was more than that. The community had its own Parliament, with community departments and ministers, and an administrative capital — Arusha, in Tanzania.

Historians will dig deep into the quarrels, disputes, financial wrangles and personalities involved. Tanzania blamed Kenya, Kenya blamed Tanzania, and the advent of Idi Amin, of course, contributed to the



PRESIDENT Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya.

collapse. What the three countries lost when the East African concept was abandoned could not be measured in economic and financial terms alone, though these were the raison d'être of the community.

Linked together in tribal terms anyway, many East Africans did actually feel as if they belonged to a wider cultural and geographic entity than their own countries. At first, borders meant very little.

There was an active Common Market, which eventually became a sore source of controversy, largely because Kenya — with its more sophisticated industrial back-up — did rather well out of it.

There was growing conflict between socialist Tanzania and capitalist Kenya. Easily forgotten now is the East African Railways system, serving the whole community; the greatly respected East African Airways Corporation; the East African Harbours; and the East African Posts and Telegraphs.

But for years they carried the seeds of conflict. As territorial chauvinism grew stronger than the community idea they broke apart; the joint political will to keep them going was not strong enough.

Specially regrettable was the parallel collapse of the scientific, agricultural, veterinary, meteorological, aviation and medical institutions that were a valuable part of the community.

It could be that when they all get that huge bill of assets and liabilities out of the way, the three countries can move closer again to economic co-operation, even though it will never be as it was before.



# Africa to get it's own giant common market

STAR  
5/11/81 (1)

On December 21, in Lusaka, heads of state of 18 African nations, which are as diverse politically as they are geographically, are to sign a treaty setting up a preferential trade area.

The draft treaty was finalised at a conference of minister's of finance, trade and economic planning in Addis Ababa this month.

The agreement provides for co-operation in the areas of industry, agriculture, transport and communications.

It will also remove customs barriers and facilitate transit trade.

The preferential trade area is being formed under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Africa.

Southern African nations included so far are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

According to Nairobi sources the so-called BLS states (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland) insisted on consultations with South Africa before making firm commitments to the treaty.

As an indication of the success of moves made so far, diplomats point to the inclusion of Ethiopia and Somalia which have let economics override the political differences that boiled over into full-scale war in 1977/78.

The third nation from the volatile Horn of Africa to be included is Djibouti.

The other countries involved are Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, the Seychelles, the Comoros, Mauritius and Madagascar.

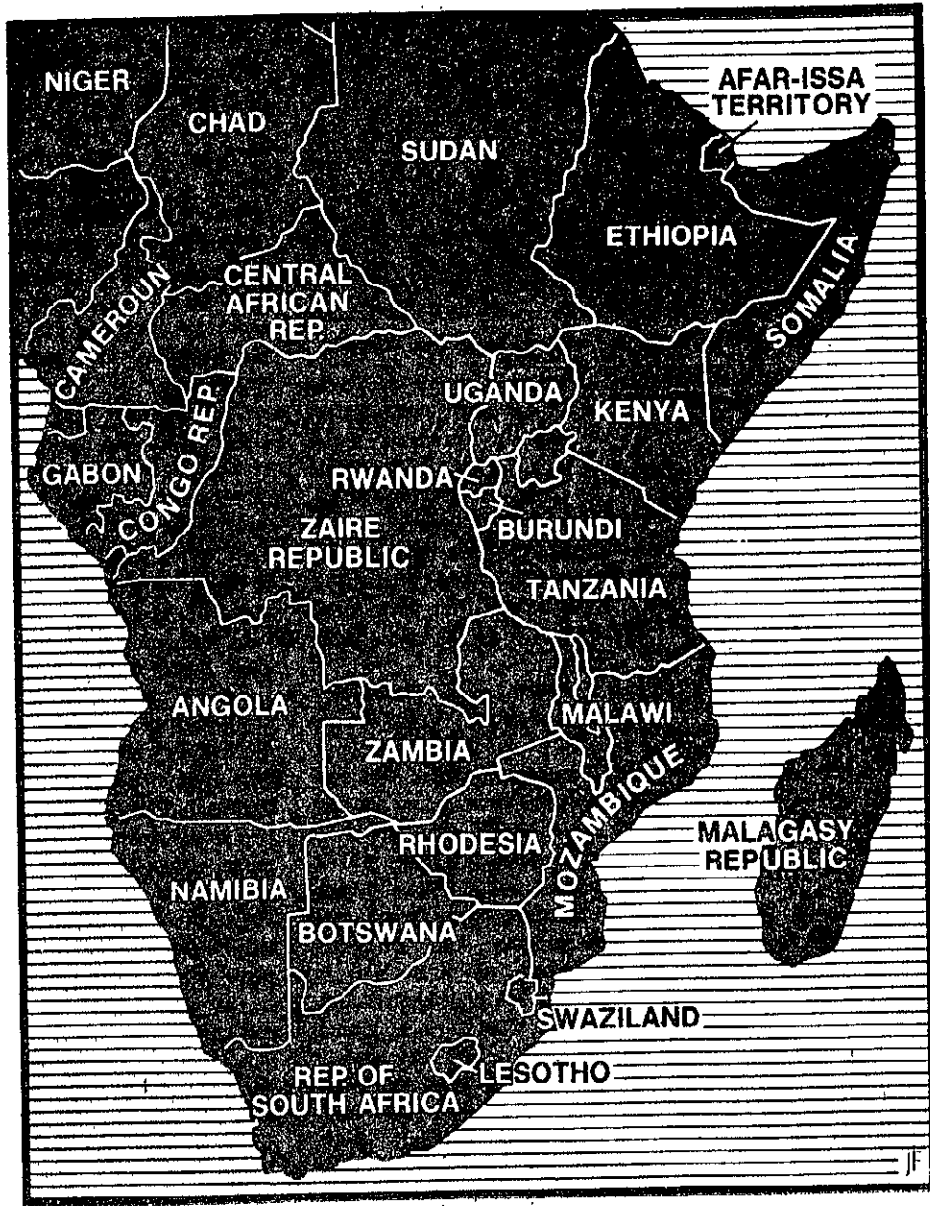
A spokesman for the 18 said in Addis Ababa he saw them eventually evolving into a regional common market.

"If we can accomplish that we will dramatically change for the better the living conditions of all our people."

The spokesman said the region's economic potential was enormous with vast supplies of base metals and other raw materials. Energy potential was provided by reserves of oil, coal and uranium and by hydro-electricity and unlimited solar energy.

Zimbabwe and Kenya were already suppliers of industrial products not found in the other states.

A spokesman pointed out that the region was



**Eighteen nations ranging from Ethiopia in the north to Lesotho in the south will soon take a major step towards establishing a southern and east African "preferential trade area" encompassing more than 120-million people. Brendan Nicholson of The Star Africa News Service reports on the move from Nairobi.**

already a major supplier of products such as meat, skins, fish, coffee, tea, sugar, spices, vegetables, seeds and oils, cotton, tobacco, timber, glassware and cloth.

"This treaty is full of promise." The community, of Kenya, Tanzania and

Uganda, fell apart in 1977 amid charges and counter charges over each country's responsibility for its debts.

Estimates of the value of the community's assets range from approximately R800-million to around R8 000-million.

The Kenya-Tanzania

border has been closed since the breakup.

As a free trade agreement cannot cross closed borders, the governments of Kenya and Tanzania are going to have to find a solution before the Lusaka Treaty becomes fully effective.

The treaty may well provide a way for the border to be reopened before the end of the year without either government losing face.

A spokesman for the 18 states said in Addis Ababa that Namibia would be welcome to join the group as soon as it became independent.

South Africa could not be included until the suspension of its membership of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa was lifted, he added.

# EXCISE

Sus TRIS (FIN) 8/11/81 (1)

# DIPLOMACY

## Finance Reporter

BLACK African efforts to prise South Africa's neighbouring states away from its economic sphere of influence will suffer a sharp setback if agreements reached at a secret meeting in Pretoria last month are put into practice.

The meeting was attended by senior civil servants from South Africa, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho, the four members of the Southern Africa Customs

Union.

It was the culmination of a year of talks to renegotiate the formula used by this country to share its customs and excise duty revenues among the other three territories (known as

the BLS states).

Pretoria is understood to have agreed to size-able increases said to be more than 10 percent, in its payments. Although agreement has been

reached by officials it still needs the formal approval of the four governments involved.

It is hoped the new formula will be implemented by the middle of

next year, but South Africa is believed to have warned that the drop in its own tax revenues, as a result of the lower gold price and the business downturn, may force a delay.

The agreement on higher payments is clearly an effort to neutralise moves by the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Council (SADCC) to lower the dependence of the region's black-ruled countries on South Africa. The BLS states are SADCC members, too.

Customs Union revenues are the largest single contributors to the Swaziland and Lesotho budgets and the second largest to Botswana.

Botswana's share next

year, under the existing formula, is budgeted at around R110-million. Swaziland will get R82,7-million. Lesotho received R72-million in 1979 — three quarters of total government revenue.

The formula was last renegotiated in 1977 when a "stabilising factor" was agreed to ensure that BLS revenues stayed at between 17 and 23 percent of import values.

However, income has stagnated recently, partly as a result of a drop in imports as large capital projects are completed.

South Africa has separate customs agreements with the independent homelands. Payments to the BLS countries, the Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana totalled R402-million in 1979/80.

# Nine seek mining accord

Agree 19/11/78

**Argus Africa News Service**

**BLANTYRE.** — Zimbabwe has proposed the creation of a joint nine-nation mineral marketing authority for black-ruled Southern Africa aimed at increasing incomes from natural resources.

Delegates to the conference here of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) are also considering a Zimbabwean proposal that SADCC member states co-operate to ensure that mined minerals are processed in their countries of origin before export.

A Zimbabwean report notes that this would increase employment and foreign exchange earnings for the nine.

## MAJOR AIM

Among the SADCC's major aims is a reduction of member states' dependence on South Africa and other industrialised states.

Representatives from Zimbabwe's SADCC partners, Malawi, Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are considering the proposal contained in an exploratory document on the possibilities for co-operation between the nine on mining matters. Between them, the SADCC countries are

among the world's leading producers of asbestos, cobalt, copper, chrome, diamonds, iron ore, lithium and zinc.

## REFINEMENTS

The Zimbabwean proposal, expected to get a conditional nod from the conference as a broad outline of intent, is likely to have to undergo a series of refinements before any specific projects are mooted probably next year.

The report also suggests the development of a stainless steel industry within the SADCC.

It proposes the establishment of a Southern African mining industry development agency to co-ordinate mining developments.

In world terms, notes the report, the SADCC region is of strategic importance to the developed countries. The nine are complaining that aid promised

them by some Western nations and international aid agencies has been too slow in reaching them.

The complaints are contained in a document tabled here at the first full report-back on progress made by the SADCC since its formation in Lusaka in April last year.

More than R500-million has been pledged at a conference in Maputo in November last year — most of it earmarked for the development of roads, railways and telecommunications.

## R270-M

About R270-million has so far been allocated, R52-million of it from the coffers of SADCC member states, according to conference documents.

A major portion of the blame for slow progress on the development of transport projects is, however, laid at the feet of donors in one document. They are called upon to

'facilitate the speedy commitment to the funds pledged.'

According to SADCC sources, the 19-month-old fledgling economic bloc is exerting an old problem in attempting to get promised aid.

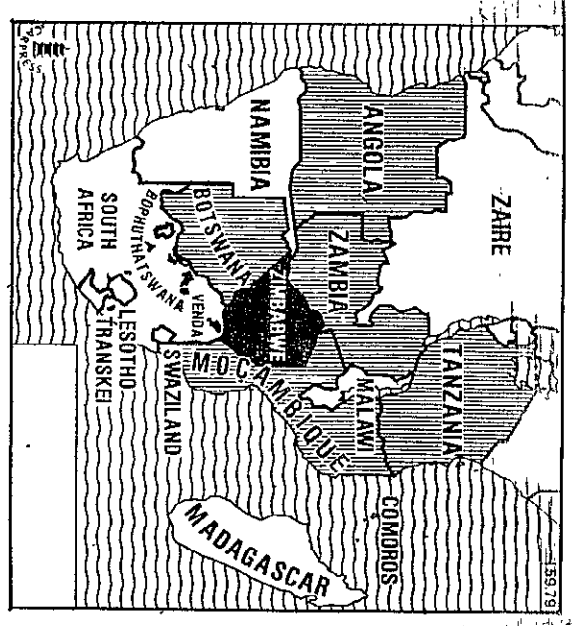
## CONDITIONS

Donor countries and agencies, — although almost universally pleased with the 'slow but sure' development strategy adopted by the SADCC — are in some cases said to be laying down difficult conditions for the supply of promised grants or soft loans.

Work will begin early next year on a Zimbabwean plan to make black-ruled Southern Africa a self-sufficient in food.

Funding from Western nations and international aid agencies has been pledged for nine 'food security' projects administered by the SADCC.

Among the donors are the United States, Canada,



the European Economic Community and Australia. The nine projects include investigations into the creation of a regional food data bank, an early warning system for shortages and surpluses, the creation of a regional food reserve and a study on a regional institute of food technology.

A small Zimbabwean-based technical unit will also be set up in 1982 to oversee developments, according to sources.

The progress in Zimbabwe's efforts at developing the food security plan is recorded in documents before the report-back meeting.

At this stage, the SADCC's most advanced

institution is the Mozambique-based Southern African Transport and Telecommunications Commission (SATTC).

Swaziland's Manpower Development Committee, expected to receive pledges of aid at the meeting here, is its second most advanced programme.

News of the latest developments in the Zimbabwe food plan means it could be on a par with the Swazis some time next year.

At this stage in the SADCC's development, each member state is charged with investigating a particular area of possible development co-operation.

# SADCC gets its act together

BLANTYRE — The output of paper planning by nine black-ruled southern African states who have formed a fledgling economic bloc vastly exceeds their practical progress so far. And that pattern appears set to continue for at least the next two years.

But the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) has every reason to be pleased with its limited progress, and has deservedly earned respect in world capitals and among international aid agencies.

That respect — for its relatively hard-nosed, down-to-earth outlook and behaviour — is perhaps the SADCC's greatest achievement. Where aid to underdeveloped countries has become a sick joke in many Western governments, the SADCC is greeted as a welcome exception.

Comprising Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, the SADCC is seen as having intelligent leadership, logical and limited objectives, and providing a sound strategy for the development of a potential rich portion of the African subcontinent, with 56-million people.

Kenya, Zaire and Burundi now want to join the club but, according to SADCC ministerial sources, they are being held off. In the case of Zaire, its territorial claims on some Zambian territory are said to be a major factor.

The SADCC has said that an internationally recognised Namibia and a non-racial, democratic South Africa are regarded as natural and welcome potential members.

And the sooner Namibia gains recognition, the better for Botswana which wants to route coal exports to Walvis Bay on a planned rail line which would also open up its western desert.

The SADCC's "slow but sure" strategy has meant a sparse bureaucracy. Three tiers of government have been established: annual summits of heads of state or government; a council of cabinet ministers, comprising only those portfolios regarded as relevant; and a standing committee of officials. A small Botswana-based secretariat is to be appointed in April, and will take office in July.

Only one semi-autonomous body, the Mozambique-based Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC), has been set up. Otherwise, each country has been charged with investigating a specific area of possible co-operation.

The SADCC's objective is its determination to reduce member states' dependence on South Africa as a sort of "counter-constellation" — but that is a subsidiary aim.

Mainly, the nine black-ruled states are determined to develop their own infrastructures and economies, and thereby break their cycles of underdevelopment and so achieve regional self-reliance.

And there is no necessary contradiction between that aim and South Africa's own economic interests in the sub-continent. Rather, it is

potentially to South Africa's advantage.

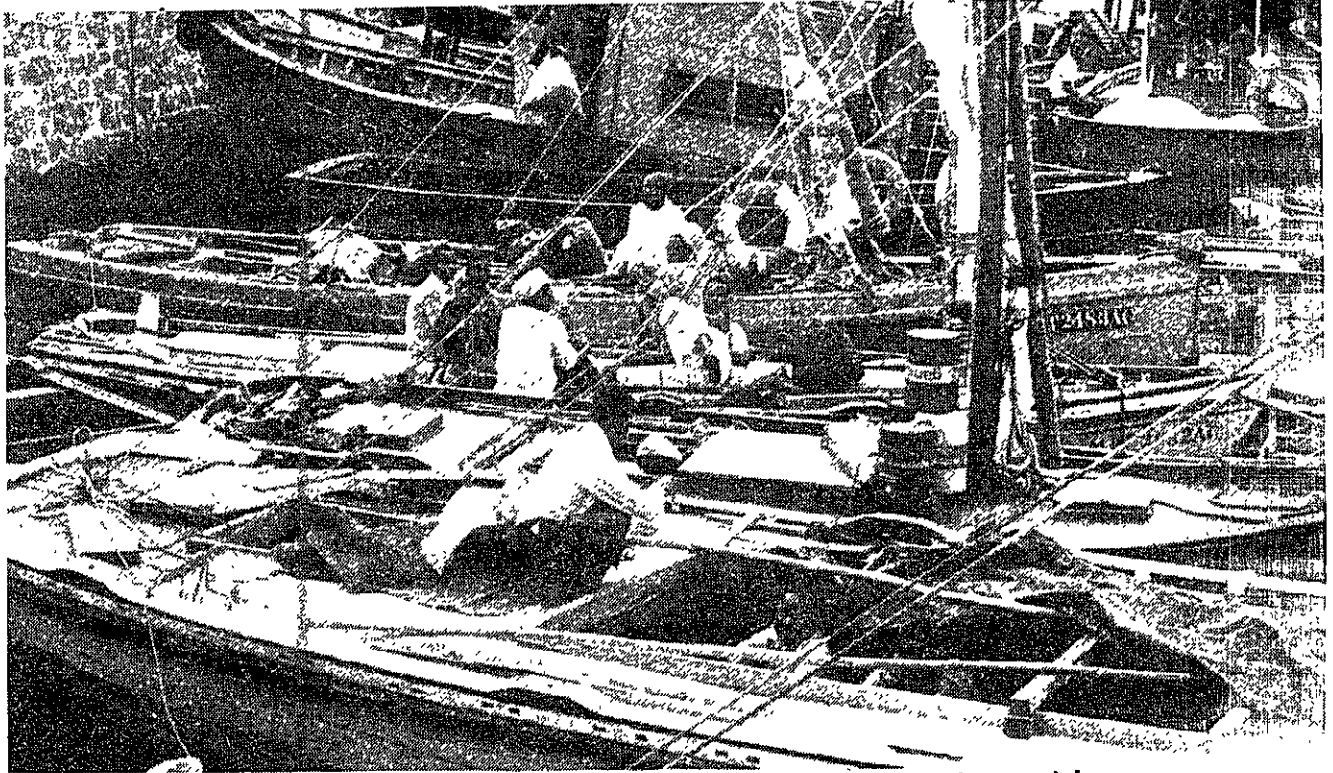
In the 19 months since the SADCC's formation at a Lusaka summit in April last year, the nine have achieved most progress in the field of transport and communications which they designated their first priority.

Needing about R1 500-million for the plans being administered by its subsidiary transport and communications commission, it has been promised some R500-million in aid and soft loans, but received and committed about R238-million of that amount to specific projects.

Which indicates a major problem being experienced by the SADCC: How is it to get donor countries and agencies to honour their promises speedily? This was a major, though muted bone of contention at the SADCC's first full report-back meeting on progress held in Blantyre recently.

Of the 97 transport and communications projects, three have already been completed, six are in the study phase, 23 in the design stage, while 10 are in the tender, construction or delivery phase. A further 14 projects are being discussed with financiers, and eight have been partially completed.

The most advanced or completed projects are minor rehabilitation programmes. Most of the major projects are in Mozambique where the planned improvement



MAPUTO: A port that's crucial to four land-locked countries.

to railways feeding that country's three ports, and to the harbours themselves, are crucial to landlocked Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Swaziland.

Some R1 000-million is earmarked for transport systems to the ports of Nacala, Beira and Maputo.

But, in all cases, the major projects are either in the feasibility or planning stages, with completion not expected before at least 1986. Until then, dependence on South African Railways will continue.

Next year, the SADCC is to concentrate on industrial harmonisation, thus far the responsibility of Tanzania. Priority areas are food and clothing production, and co-operation on the development of appropriate technology.

But this and other areas presently lag behind transport and communications. Their output of paper planning and feasibility studies is even more prolific.

Yet there have been small, though significant achievements. Among them is the development by Botswana of a foot-and-mouth vaccine which it will supply to the whole region.

Zimbabwe's investigations into a regional food security plan and Swaziland's studies on manpower development in the region should be complete by the end of 1982, so opening the way for practical developments. These are expected to include a central data bank on food production, the creation of a regional food processing institute, and regional training institutes in different SADCC

states which would avoid expensive duplication.

Angola has yet to produce anything comprehensive on regional energy. This is blamed, say SADCC sources, on the way "the South Africans have been keeping them so busy."

Zimbabwe's unsolicited though interesting recommendations at the Blantyre meeting that the SADCC look into joint mineral marketing and ways of ensuring minerals are processed before export have now been handed to the hapless Zambians for further investigation.

This co-incided with an order from the council of ministers that Zambia go away and think yet again about its ambitious proposal for a regional development fund controlling about

R4 000-million and the financing of all SADCC projects.

The recommendation was rejected as absurd at this stage, and contrary to the SADCC's policy of avoiding expensive, centralised bureaucracies.

These self-imposed limits reflect the realistic assessment by the SADCC nations of their own difficulties and shortfalls: money and expertise among them.

But such development demands sound planning. And the latter is where member states' efforts are most evident. They are doing their homework. They are behaving as though they know that the assertion of political independence in Africa is meaningless without relative economic autonomy. — SOWETAN Africa News Service.

## ZIMBABWE

### Nine in need

① FM 4/12/81

The nine Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) states still need large amounts of foreign aid if they are to realise their ambitious plans to reduce regional economic dependence on SA. Of their crucial US \$1.8 billion transport budget, for instance, less than \$200m has been raised as yet from external donors.

Nonetheless, the SADCC, comprising Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique, is making progress.

The recent ministerial conference of the SADCC was largely concerned with a review of developments, focusing primarily on transport. According to the official communique issued at the end of the meeting, more than 40 projects are either underway or already completed.

The transport projects include road and railway developments in all nine countries, port facilities in Angola and Mozambique and civil aviation projects in Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique. For the landlocked states of the region -- and especially for Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana -- the key projects are those designed to increase railway capacity in Zimbabwe and the railway and port capacity of Mozambique. Some \$437m are earmarked for developing Maputo port -- specifically for improving the entrance channel, constructing a coal terminal and providing more equipment for the container terminal. More than \$450m is earmarked for developing the port of Beira -- half of which will be spent on dredging the entrance so that it can handle larger vessels.

The third major port development in Mozambique is at Nacala where there are plans to spend some \$300m. Nacala has better natural potential than Beira and its development would assist Malawi and help open up northern Mozambique. But for the

way and road traffic between Zimbabwe and Beira, but also threatens to delay the re-opening of the oil pipeline from Beira to Umtali in Zimbabwe, which will release transport capacity in the region to move other traffic.

The oil pipeline was scheduled to re-open in January 1982 but could be delayed for some weeks. Once it does re-open, and provided it is not subject to frequent attack by MRM, it will make Zimbabwe independent of the SA Railways and ports for petrol and diesel. The inter-relationships between the various SADCC programmes cannot be exaggerated. Thus Zimbabwe's role in providing food and security for the region is dependent on the ability of the transport system to move the necessary fuel and fertiliser. This year farmers in Zimbabwe have been hit by transport shortages within Zimbabwe itself (due in part to the diesel shortage) and externally due to the failure of the system to handle exports. Partly as a result Zimbabwe will have a maize surplus of 1.25 Mt piling up at the end of this season.

If there is a normal rainy season, the maize surplus will grow by a further 500 000 Mt in 1982. Transport is not the only snag -- ability to pay is another. Zimbabwe has the food to export but some of its less fortunate neighbours cannot pay for the imports.

hard-pressed Zimbabweans and Zambians, the key to an improved transport situation lies primarily with Maputo and thereafter with Beira.

The Pungwe River bridge was blown up by Mozambique Resistance Movement (MRM) guerrillas a month ago and no traffic has been moving to the port of Beira from

Zimbabwe since late October. This, of course, is the second dimension of the transport plans. There has to be security against sabotage, which has not only disrupted rail-



By Howard Barrell

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Respect for its relatively hardnosed, down-to-earth outlook and behaviour is perhaps the SADCC's greatest achievement.

Where aid to underdeveloped countries has become a sick joke among many Western governments the SADCC is greeted as a welcome exception.

Comprising Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe the SADCC is seen as having intelligent leadership and logical and limited objectives — to provide a sound strategy for the development of a potentially rich portion of the African sub-continent with 56-million people.

Kenya, Zaire and Burundi now want to join the club but, according to SADCC sources, they are being held off.

In the case of Zaire, its claims on Zambian territory are said to be an embarrassment.

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# SADCC has earned international respect

**'Aid to underdeveloped countries has become a sick joke among many Western governments but the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference is greeted as a welcome exception.'**

The SADCC's "slow but sure" strategy has meant a sparse bureaucracy.

Three tiers of government have been established — annual summits of heads of state or government; A council of Cabinet Ministers and a standing committee of officials.

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Only one semi-autonomous body, the Mozambique-based Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) has been set-up.

The SADCC's headline-



catching objective is its determination to reduce member states' dependence on South Africa as a sort of "counter-constellation." But this is a subsidiary aim.

In the main the nine black-ruled states are determined to develop their own infrastructures and economies, so breaking their cycles of underdevelopment and achieving regional self-reliance.

There is no necessary contradiction between

that aim and South Africa's economic interests in the sub-continent.

Rather it is potentially to South Africa's advantage.

In the 19 months since the SADCC's formation in Lusaka in April last year the nine have achieved most progress in the field of transport and communications.

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All of which indicates a major problem experienced by the SADCC: How is it to get donor countries and agencies to honour promises speedily?

This was a major, though muted, bone of contention at the SADCC's first full report back meeting in Blantyre recently.

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Most advanced of the major projects are in Mozambique where the planned improvement to railways feeding that country's three ports — and to the harbours — are crucial to landlocked Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Swaziland.

About R1000-million is earmarked for transport systems to and at the ports of Nacala, Beira and Maputo.

But, in all cases the major projects are either in the feasibility or planning stages, with completion not expected before 1986. Dependence on South African Railways will continue.

Next year the SADCC is to concentrate on industrial harmonisation, so far the responsibility of Tanzania.

Priority areas are food and clothing production and co-operation on the development of appropriate technology.

Zimbabwe's investigations into a regional food security plan and Swaziland's studies on manpower development in the region should be completed by the end of next year, so opening the way for practical developments.

These are expected to include a central data bank on food production, and the creation of a regional food processing institute.

Angola has yet to produce anything comprehensive on regional energy.

This is blamed, say SADCC sources, on the way "the South Africans have been keeping them so busy."

# Development: the key to an Africa in crisis

LONDON — The battered tin tables in the transit lounge at Mozambique's Beira Airport have been carefully draped with clean white cloths and in the centre of each some inspired airport worker has placed a small vase of slightly wilting fresh flowers.

It is a gesture quite out of keeping with the desolate surroundings of the airport where the air-conditioning has ceased to function and the occasional passenger has ceased to care.

"This is what our President Machel means when he says we must break out of the psychology of under-development," a Government official explains.

"We must show that man can transform his environment and should not be fatalistic. He says every peasant should plant flowers as well as food."

For President Samora Machel, one of the more impassioned exponents of Third World solutions to the crisis of under-development, the problem is in part psychological.

## POLITICAL

Others see it as essentially political: requiring a once and for all transfer of wealth from the industrial nations to the poorest countries.

Still others believe that it can be resolved by economic and technological development — however laborious and extended a process that may be.

Yet all agree that Africa has reached a point where some drastic action is required.

Just 25 years after the start of Africa's decolonisation process the continent's 39 sub-Saharan black nations (40 if you include SWA/Namibia) are facing an unprecedented economic crisis.

The oil-importing nations of Africa began at the poorest end of the international scale — 20 of the world's 30 poorest states are African — and the gap between them and the rest of the developing world has widened.

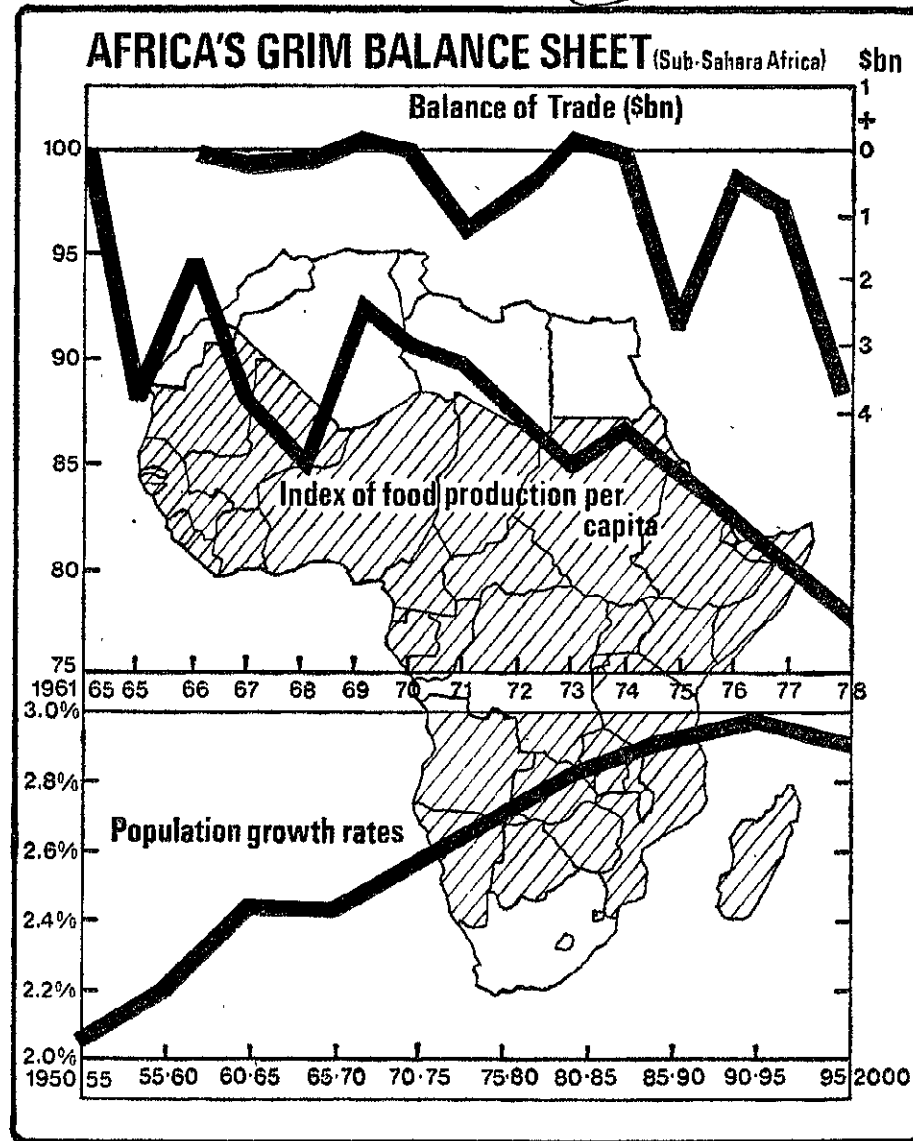
Their life expectancy is lowest and infant mortality highest, while their po-

## Africa in crisis

After 25 years of decolonisation Africa's economics are in a parlous state. The poor get poorer and the rich must take urgent action says Quentin Peel, Africa Editor of

The Financial Times.

STAR 10/12/81 (1)



population growth has overtaken Asia and Latin America.

The continent also suffers from chronic political instability, a reflection in part of arbitrary colonial boundaries which bear little relation to links of language, tribe or culture.

Only a handful of countries, such as Nigeria and Botswana can boast a multi-party democracy. Elsewhere power tends to change hands by coups.

The problems of political consolidation in Africa are crucial factors complicating economic develop-

ment. They make difficult economic decisions even harder. All too often a move to raise food prices can trigger off civil unrest and the possible overthrow of a government.

Both the World Bank and the US Department of Agriculture have pro-

duced exhaustive studies on how Africa can break out of its cycle of under-development.

The economic background is stark. Between 1960 and 1979 income a head in sub-Saharan Africa grew by less than one percent a year, while during the last decade 15 countries recorded a decline.

Perhaps most critical of all, Africa's ability to feed its exploding population has long fallen short of consumption and the gap is continually widening.

Food imports are a major and growing item in the worsening balance of payments equation while the import bill is soaring.

The World Bank puts part of the blame on the fact that there was an abysmal lack of trained manpower when the former colonial rulers left. It also points to the political fragility, the rigours of the African climate and the prevalence of debilitating diseases.

## URBANISATION

Africa's population growth has been aggravated by rapid urbanisation, itself a major cause of soaring food imports.

The new urban elite have acquired new tastes for food such as wheat and rice, which are not traditional crops.

By focusing more closely on the specific agricultural requirements of meeting Africa's food gap, the US study is also obliged to reach much less sanguine conclusions than the World Bank.

One warning is that any major effort to replace imports with domestic production would require a huge increase in the area of land under cultivation.

The US report also stresses the impracticability of a sudden switch in policy to favour rural over urban areas by allowing food prices to reach their market level.

This is really the heart of the African dilemma—prices must be raised if food production is to recover, but higher food prices frequently lead to political unrest in a politically volatile climate.



# Tanzania drives wedge into African trade plan

ARGUS 21/12/81 (1)  
Argus Africa News  
Service

LUSAKA. — Tanzania has driven a wedge into the heart of an African dream by refusing to join an 18-nation preferential trade area ranging from Ethiopia in the north to Lesotho in the south.

Officials of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) intended the treaty to be signed in Lusaka today to unite 120-million people in a grouping that would become Africa's rival to the European Economic Community.

Western diplomats had hoped the signing would reopen the border between Kenya and Tanzania, closed since the collapse of the old East African Community four years ago.

The Dar es Salaam Government's announcement that it would not attend today's conference caught the Lusaka hosts by surprise.

The decision appears to have followed the collapse of negotiations among the three East African Community partners, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, over the community's assets.

# Tanzania snubs Africa's own 'EEC'

①  
Star  
21/12/81

By Brendan Nicholson

The Star's Africa News Service

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Officials of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa intended the treaty to be signed in Lusaka today to unite 120-million people in a grouping that would become Africa's rival to the European Economic Community.

For months Western diplomats have been hopeful that the signing would have the immediate effect of reopening the border between Kenya and Tanzania that has been closed since the collapse of the old East African Community four years ago.

The Dar es Salaam government's sudden announcement that it would not attend today's conference caught the Lusaka hosts by surprise.

## RELUCTANT

The decision appears to have followed the collapse of the latest negotiations among the three East African Community partners, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, over who should get what out of the community's assets.

President Julius Nyerere is believed to be reluctant to open his border with Kenya until the dispute is settled.

Tanzania's sudden withdrawal has neatly bisected the preferential trade area leaving the northern participants with no choice but to trade with their southern brothers by sea or air, if they have goods to sell.

Two Indian Ocean island participants in the preliminaries, the Seychelles and Madagascar, have indicated they will not attend today's meeting but they have left the way open to sign in the future should they wish to.

## QUESTION

The Mozambique sign was up on the conference table but late last night that delegation had not arrived either.

A question mark hangs over the involvement of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

Sources in Lusaka say the three may have trouble reconciling joining the treaty group with their highly profitable membership of the South African customs union.

While no one seems to doubt that the planned preferential trade area is a good idea the ECA officials who have spent years compiling a mass of theoretical data may see their band of 18 shrink to as few as 11.

ECA officials say South Africa will not be allowed to join until apartheid goes.

The seat that might be occupied by the sub-continent's economic giant is filled by the African National Congress delegation with observer status. It is headed by Mr Oliver Tambo.

Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma is warning the SWA/Namibia seat.

Plans for the treaty have been swept along on a wave of hope that the nations involved, as diverse politically as they are geographically, would let economics override their differences.

# Riddle of who backed the coup

①  
Star  
21/12/81



David Dacko, pictured shortly before his assumption of power. He has now been ousted in a coup.

By Hans-Christoph Jaisle

BANGUI (Central African Republic) — Ever since army general Andre Kolingba deposed worn-out and ailing President David Dacko in September, the real story behind that bloodless coup in the Central African Republic remains to be told.

It is all but certain the coup could not have succeeded without the tacit support of a foreign power, the Central African Republic being greatly dependent on foreign aid after the devastating 14-year rule of Emperor Jean Bedel Bokassa.

But who stood behind Kolingba remains a mystery.

While rumours about an alleged coup in neighbouring Zaire normally spread through Bangui within an hour, evidence about the toppling of the local government has been hard to come by.

When he took office Kolingba asked France to pay the salaries of his country's civil servants for at least a year, stressing "we want to uphold our long-standing privileged relations with France."

France had noticeably avoided taking sides in the power struggle between Dacko and Kolingba. The estimated 1600 French soldiers stationed in the towns of Bangui and Bouar stayed in their barracks.

Obviously, the government of Francois Mitterrand wanted to escape charges of interference in African affairs that were levelled at former French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing when he launched "Operation Barracuda" in September 1979, which toppled Bokassa.

Publicly, Pierre Cot, French Minister for Co-operation and Development, recently declared that it was not the policy of France to interfere with other countries' domestic problems.

But the Paris government was reportedly relieved to see Dacko go.

It was Dacko himself who appointed Kolingba chief of the armed forces this July after a terrorist

attack on a cinema in Bangui, which claimed the lives of three people and wounded 38 others.

Kolingba, a graduate of French military schools, never hid his francophile inclinations. He also displayed toughness, self-discipline and contempt for politicians, which led him to conclude that only the military could purge the nation from its ills.

According to several diplomatic sources in Bangui there is some evidence suggesting that as early as August Kolingba obtained French government assurance of no intervention should he stage a coup.

The diplomats also noted that the new French ambassador in Bangui, Pierre Couturier, submitted his accreditation papers to Dacko barely 24 hours before the President's overthrow.

But observers also air yet another version of the real story behind the coup. It starts with the fact that it was not the French ambassador but Alan Woodruff, head of the US embassy, who became the first foreign diplomat to be received by Kolingba.

Secondly, the observers noted a sudden flurry of US diplomats and military officials visiting Bangui in August — one month before the coup.

Finally, the US is reported to employ 14 embassy officials in Bangui, far too many if it were not for the strategic interests the US places on the Central African Republic as a border state to Chad.

It seems virtually certain that David Dacko knew about the conspiracy against him. Europeans living in Bangui are even suggesting that Dacko, tired of the toils of government, planned his demise together with Kolingba.

They point out that Kolingba has exempted Dacko from his repeated verbal attacks against what he calls "corrupted civil servants who have a habit of stealing and committing fraud."

Meanwhile, Dacko is walking freely about his coffee plantation in the northern part of the country, evidently relaxing from the strains of presidency. — DPA.

# Confusion reigns in the Comores

By Henry Reuter of The Star's Africa News Service

## MORONI (Grande Comore) — Like the rumbling Karthala volcano, which last spewed its great goblets of black lava over the countryside of Grande Comore four years ago, these normally sleepy islands of Grande Comore, Anjouan, Moheli and Mayotte which lie some 350 km off the northern Mozambique coast are once again becoming restless.

First, 40,000 people of Mayotte still don't want their independence and would once again say "No" to it if the matter were put to a referendum in which they were the only voters on their own future.

Second, there is still some doubt whether the people of the other three islands would now vote for independence if they had another opportunity to say "yes" or "no" to it.

Third, the people of all four islands are fearful that under the guise of a new liberalism the French may use any excuse to withdraw from Mayotte and then use the withdrawal as an excuse for a drastic cut in aid to the islands.

Thus is running at over R1-million a year. Take it away and the islands would have to support themselves

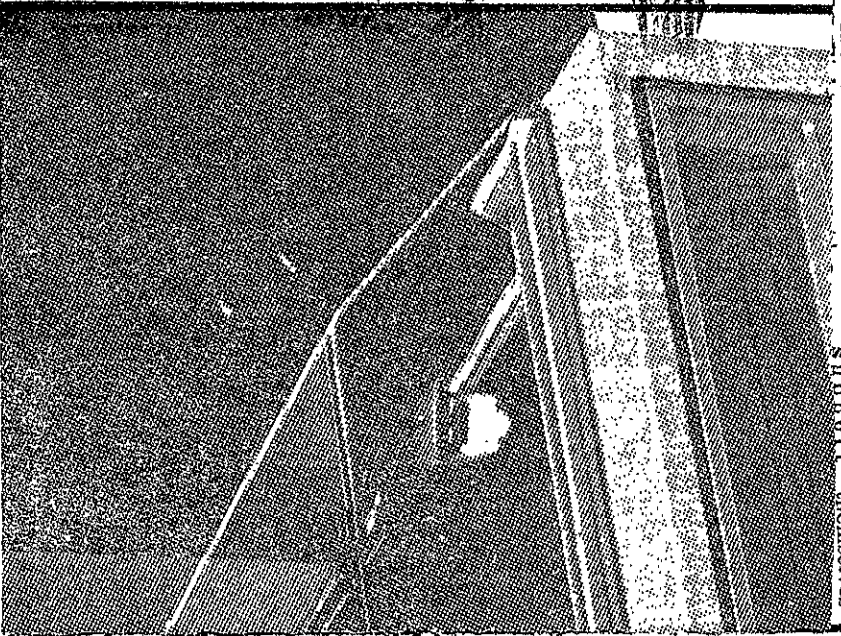
ment bodies. Demand and other mercenaries are also alleged to be influential in developing the islands' trade with South Africa, now worth over R25-million a year.

Unlike those who recently botched up their coup attempt in the Seychelles, De-nard's men did democracy a service by restoring an ousted elected government to power and proving that staging coups is not a monopoly of the communists.

Now, encouraged by the OAU interest, the left underground is once again rumbling. Abdallah's 350-man private defence force trained and led by white mercenaries, is reported to be jittery.

Ordinary Comorians have found the fruits of independence bitter. They wish that all power-hungry people would go away and leave them alone.

(c) Angus Co. 1981.



The 300,000 people who try to scrape a living from the volcanic soil of these 1,500 sq km of mountain tops peering out of the Indian Ocean have been politically quiescent since May 1978, when white mercenaries led by Congo veteran Bob Denard overthrew the government of Ali Solihin, and reinstalled the regime of Ahmed Abdallah.

Alleged links between South Africa and the Comoro government of President Ahmed Abdallah are being advanced by the Indian Ocean islands' clandestine opposition groups as a major reason why they should be supported, financially and otherwise, in a bid for power.

The Front National Uni des Komores (FNUK) and the Union des Komoriens (Unikom) which combined earlier this year into a united movement calling itself FNUK-Unikom has claimed in a statement despatched from here to the OAU and leaders of leftwing Arab and African countries:

- That South Africa has been given permission to build a telecommunications station on Grande Comore;
- That South Africa has agreed to build a deep water harbour at Mutsumudu on Anjouan (the second largest of the four Comoro islands);
- That South Africa has agreed to lend Abdallah's government R25-million;
- That there are plans to step up trade between South Africa and the islands; and
- That the republic is also helping the Comoran government to build a large broadcasting complex.

These allegations are understood to have been put to an OAU mission which spent three days here last month to discuss possibilities of persuading the new French socialist government of President Francois Mitterrand to restore the island of Mayotte, now a French naval base, to the Comoro Islands Republic.

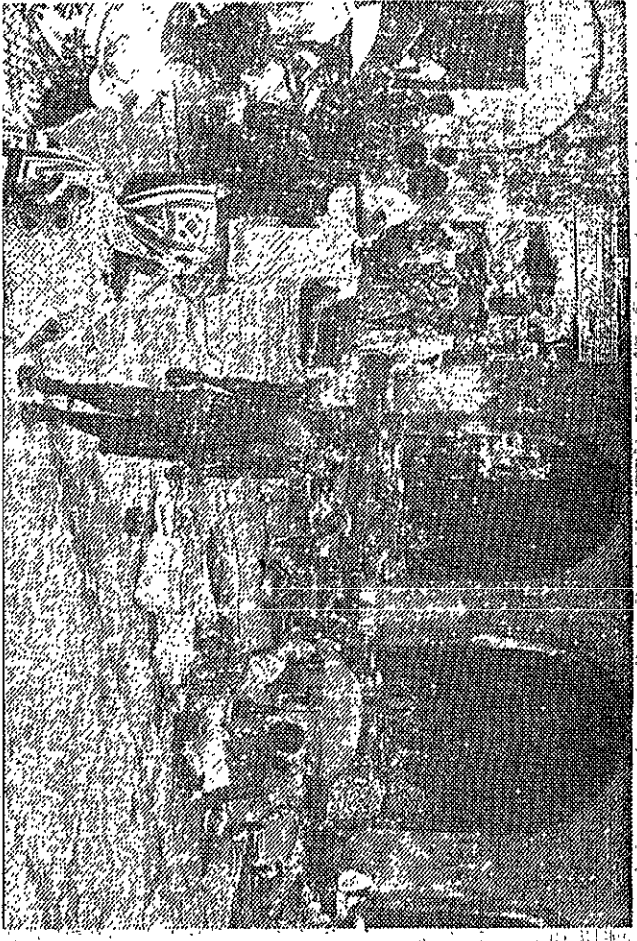
The rebels have also claimed that Gabon, which chaired the seven nation OAU committee meeting, has been acting as an intermediary in bringing the Comoros Islands closer to South Africa, and that an unnamed South African "Assistant Finance Minister" paid an undercover visit to the islands early this year, passing himself off as a Swede.

No official reaction to the rebels' allegations has been made by President Abdallah's Government.

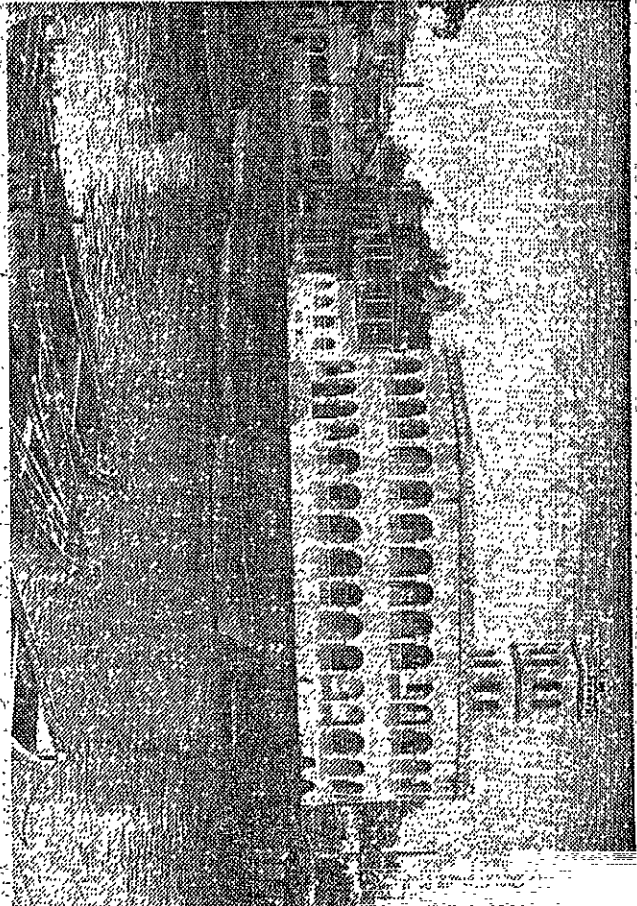
(c) Angus Co. 1981 82

### SA links alleged

A young lad has stopped to watch some bartering in the ancient market of Moroni — the Comores capital.



This magnificent Islamic building, probably a mosque, overlooks Moroni harbour, the main port of the Comores.



21/12/81

Star





(1) New trade  
Star  
22/12/81  
area plan  
gets poor  
response

The Star's Africa  
News Service

By Brendan Nicholson

LUSAKA — Only nine of the anticipated 18 countries have joined a new preferential trade area that was intended to stretch in a virtually unbroken line from Ethiopia to Lesotho.

The southernmost participants, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, have indicated that they are waiting for permission from South Africa to join the preferential trade area while remaining within the Southern African Customs Union.

Yesterday's signing ceremony in Lusaka was originally billed as a heads of state summit to be attended by 18 African leaders.

It followed four years of tough negotiations under the auspices of United Nations Economic Commission for Africa officials who still hope the preferential trade area will form the basis of an African "common market" embracing at least 120-million people.

#### SHOCK

The first shock came when Tanzania, one of the first supporters of the plan, declared it was not sending a delegation to Lusaka.

The three heads of state who did turn up were Uganda's President Milton Obote, President Mohamed Siad Barre, of Somalia, and Kenyan leader and OAU chairman, President Daniel arap Moi, and the host, President Kenneth Kaunda, of Zambia.

It was not until the actual signing ceremony began that it became clear that Tanzania was not the only nation abstaining.

The three so-called BLS territories, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland indicated they were studying their membership of the South African-dominated customs union to see if membership of both groups was feasible.

Lesotho's Foreign Minister, Mr Mooki Molapo, said his Government had, on December 9 this year, asked South Africa for permission to join the preferential trade area.

#### INTERESTS

He said Lesotho's membership of the customs union prevented it trading with Black African countries unless South Africa said it could.

Mr Molapo said that, depending on South Africa's reply, Lesotho would "join the rest of Africa because we know where our interests lie."

President Kaunda said he sympathised with the BLS countries and said they could join the preferential trade area as soon as South Africa gave them the "green light" to do so.

Mr Molapo said the South African Government was expected to make its decision on Lesotho's request.

Two other surprise omissions were Angola and Zimbabwe which both sent delegations to advise the summit that they might sign the treaty at some time in the future.

No representatives arrived from Mozambique which was expected to play a key role in the new grouping.

Other nations which took part in the preliminaries but did not come to Lusaka were Madagascar and the Seychelles.

# Nine African states sign trade pact

Cape Times  
22/12/81  
①

LUSAKA. — Nine African nations signed a preferential trade area treaty covering east and southern Africa here yesterday. Several other countries present did not sign the agreement, although some may do so later.

The treaty and its 12 protocols cover a broad range of measures for freer regional trade and co-operation in industry, agriculture, transport and communications.

The agreement was signed by the Comoros Islands, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Mauritius, Somalia, Uganda and Zambia.

Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi, who is also chairman of the Organization of African Unity, proposed that

Lusaka be the headquarters for the PTA secretariat to be set up next year. Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda accepted.

Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe had delegations present at the ceremony but did not sign.

Informed sources said they believed Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland might join Zimbabwe in signing the treaty in the first quarter of next year.

The former three countries are members of a customs union with South Africa, and their position has received special recognition in a treaty protocol. It was not clear what Angola would do.

Potential treaty adherents not attending the ceremony were Madagascar, Mozambique, Seychelles and Tanzania.

The signing ceremony was the culmination of four years of negotiations in collaboration with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa based at Addis Ababa.

## Treaty

The leader of the Zimbabwe delegation, Finance Minister Mr Enos Nkala, said his country was still considering the treaty among the many decisions it has had to take since independence in April last year.

He described Zimbabwe's commitment to the preferential trade area as unequivocal and said his government remained committed to joining.

The Lusaka meeting had been described officially as a summit of heads of State or government, but only Presidents Moi, Mohamed Siad Barre of Somalia and Milton Obote of Uganda accepted invitations from President Kaunda. The other countries were represented by ministerial delegations. — Sapa-Reuters



Two measures of need might be used to assess the degree of racial equality in the distribution of these public health services. The first approach rests on need as shown by the pattern of diseases and the quantity of services available in the private sector. The second approach takes its benchmark simply from the level of services available to the most privileged group (i.e. the White population). In terms of this second standard, the level of public hospital services provided for Blacks in 1975 compared favourably with that provided for Whites. In terms of the first criterion, which is the better guide to need, Black services were deficient. Moreover the measures used above have abstracted from the quality of services, the distribution of services among regions, and the distribution of services among Black racial groups. Published sources do not allow the last item to be divided any further (26).

Some indication of the quality of services received can be gained from an analysis of hospital operating costs. In general, costs per patient day vary positively with the proportion of services provided to Whites: for example, in 1969/70 costs per patient day in Natal Provincial Hospitals predominantly for Whites were R16 per day, whereas in hospitals for Blacks costs were R6 per patient day (27). All the variation in costs / Black and White patients

(26) An exception is the Director of Hospital Services Report for the Cape.  
 (27) This pattern is repeated in the Transvaal and O.F.S. In the Transvaal costs per patient day in predominantly White hospitals were R12,42; Black hospitals R6,39 and hospitals of mixed occupancy R8,27. In the O.F.S. the costs of the same categories were R19,68 R6,50 and R10,57.  
 Source: Report of the Director of Hospital Services, 1969, and Report of the Provincial Auditor, for the year ended 31 March 1970, for Natal, Transvaal and O.F.S.

cannot immediately be attributed to a lower quality of service. The composition of the hospital case-mix has been shown to influence the level of hospital costs (28), and higher rates of hospital utilization have been shown to result in lower unit costs (29) although this must be associated with a deterioration in the quality of service available to patients. Admittedly, historically been the salary and wages and this contribution. In order to illustrate operating costs of services are constant wages were the last about 65 per cent

①  
 Harcourt  
 25/12/81

# Lusaka 'not ready' for trade area role

**SALISBURY**—Lusaka, chosen as the headquarters of the Preferential Trade Area, was not ready yet for the role, the Zambian Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr Remmy Chisupa, said yesterday.

The PTA Treaty, signed by nine east and southern African States in the Zambian capital on December 21, in the meantime would be housed by the Economic Commission for Africa.

The minister told the semi-official news agency, Ziana, in an interview that the ECA

would act as its secretariat, while mechanics were being worked out for the headquarters in Lusaka.

'Plans for the PTA headquarters will then be ironed out at the next council of ministers meeting in June,' he said.

The proposal for Lusaka to house the PTA was made by the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, President Daniel Moi of Kenya, and supported by the Ugandan President, Dr Milton Obote, and the Somali leader, Gen Said Barre.

Mr Moi said Zambia had been in the forefront of efforts to improve regional co-operation among African States for the past 15 years and that it would be a tribute to the country for having suffered so much.

Mr Chisupa could not say how much money would be required for the construction of the PTA offices in Lusaka.

At the closure of the PTA summit, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia gave an assurance that Zambia would be able to provide the infrastructure for the headquarters. — (Sapa)

(29) J.K. Mann and D.E. Yett, "Hospital Costs", in Health Economics op.cit. p.277-280. This result is inevitable when large components of cost such as salaries and wages are semi-fixed, and where the marginal cost of other activities such as feeding or medicines is probably constant (possibly falling!)

(30) For discussion of public sector wage discrimination in South Africa see: J.B. Knight and M.D. McGrath, "An Analysis of Wage Discrimination in South Africa", Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics vol. 39, no. 4, November 1977.

# Popularity of Seychelles coup attempt is in question

VICTORIA. — To Seychelles exiles scattered around the world and to foreigners who see the sunny islands as a paradise lost the government of President Albert Rene is a "communist tyranny".

But the large section of the archipelago republic's population that has benefitted from Rene's extensive health, education and housing programmes might disagree.

Undoubtedly the "haves" in Seychelles society were better off materially under the strongly pro-Western government of ousted "playboy" President James Mancham.

But for the majority of the estimated 64 000 islanders, who include a significant number of "have nots", the abrupt imposition of a new national philosophy brought a set of social reforms that would do credit to many European nations.

Western observers say that while it is still not clear who was behind the abortive November coup attempt it is hard to see how the average Seychellois would have benefited from it.

Businessmen who have visited the island over the past 10 years say they are amazed at the number of schools, clinics and private homes springing up there.

"This is no revolutionary shambles like Tanzania," one said, "here the bulk of the people have certainly done very well out of the change."

It is, however, not surprising that some former members of the Seychelles economic elite found Rene's dose of undiluted socialism a bit much to swallow.

The ruling Seychelles People's Progressive Party warned soon after it took power that in a socialist society those who were well off must contribute to the welfare of their less privileged countrymen.

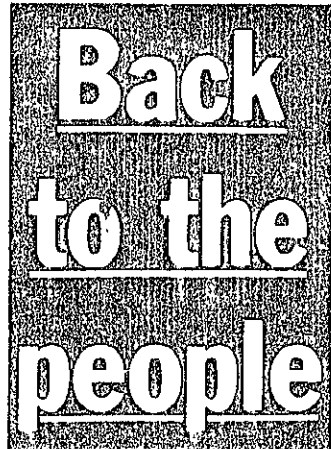
So, as an example, when an extensive pensions scheme was introduced contributions were taken from all workers and pegged to their salaries. On retirement, though, everyone re-

ceives the same amount.

The Government says that those who are earning high salaries and who wish to maintain their standards of living when they retire must make their own arrangements.

More sensitive areas are those of health and education. Private medicine, seen as unnecessary in an egalitarian society, has been abolished.

However, all Seychellois are now entitled to free treatment and medicines and the national medical service has been dramatically expanded. An immediate effect was a drop in infant mortality.



In 1976, 32 children in every 1 000 died before they were a year old. By last year that figure had dropped to 17, lower than any other country in the Organisation of African Unity.

When private schooling was abolished the government introduced nine years of compulsory and free education for all Seychellois.

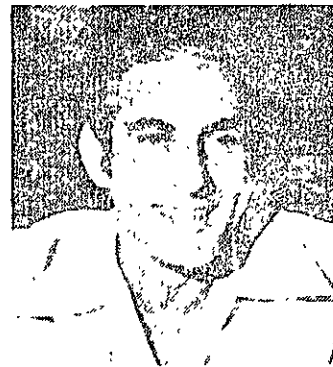
By the end of 1982, this is expected to be increased to 11 years. To maintain the education programme's momentum the government last year recruited 110 teachers overseas and built 71 new classrooms and 15 science labs. All Seychellois are entitled to housing loans under a scheme that is intended to enable every family to own a home. Again the loan terms are matched to a breadwinner's means with those in the lower income groups entitled to repay theirs at only two percent interest over 25 years.

Opponents of the Rene Government, most of whom have been expelled from the Seychelles, claim the government has stifled political freedom and turned what used to be an easy-going country into a police state.

Information Minister Mr James Michel says that his party took power forcibly because nothing was being done to pass on the benefits of independence to poorer Seychellois.

The Rene Government brought as many changes politically as it did socially.

In line with British tradition,



PRESIDENT RENE: Popular reforms.

civil servants used to be barred from political activity. Now officials say that under a people's government "this clearly could not continue." Civil servants are now expected to be politicised as part of the government's policymaking and implementation process.

Journalists are expected to complete a political science course to ensure they are aware of "what is best for the people".

Some parents have been alarmed at the introduction of political education classes at school.

Perhaps the strongest criticism is levelled at the National Youth Service in which male and female students spend two years of their school lives learning, in the words of President Rene: "to work, study and live together to develop... a real spirit of brotherhood and co-operation."

This he said would develop in them a sincere desire to live

in a more serious and disciplined society.

While the Government insists that the scheme is purely voluntary, its critics say children feel they must take part in it if they expect to have a worthwhile career when their schooling is finished.

Some parents also object to their children leaving the family fold during their teenage years.

The Government's ideological rigidity does not run to the extremes of other recently independent nations which have torn down statues and other mementoes of the colonial past. Several buildings still carry plaques advising that they were opened by the Honourable James Mancham. And the tourist industry has been supported to the stage where a school has been set up to provide well-trained hotel staff.

Pragmatically, South Africans were made to feel as welcome as tourists from anywhere else, even in the wake of the November coup plot which the Government insists Pretoria had a hand in.

As a resort hotel barman explained to a Johannesburg businessman: "We do not mind where you come from as long as you do not start shooting at us."

South Africa remains the third largest supplier of exports to the Seychelles and, though the Government says it wants to find alternative sources it will only do so if prices are competitive.

The main question still unanswered two months after the coup bid is just who bankrolled the operation.

The Seychelles Government sees millionaire Lebanese arms dealer Adnan Khashoggi as the most likely candidate saying that he had a number of other well-heeled foreigners wished to make use of the Seychelles as a private playboy's paradise and tax haven.

If the coup was in fact sponsored in this way then few working class Seychellois are likely to have proved sympathetic.



Political comment in this issue by J Latakin, mo and A Klaaste. Sub editing, headlines and posters by S Matlhaku. All of 61 Command Road, Industria West Johannesburg.

# Request for trial in camera possible

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — An application could be made for the trial of the 45 alleged Seychelles mercenaries to be held in camera next month.

Speculation is mounting in legal circles in Maritzburg and Durban that the South African Defence Force will retain a senior counsel for the case. He will have a watching brief.

Once the charges have been read to Colonel Mike Hoare and his 44 men, and their pleas entered, the SADF advocate may ask for the hearing to continue in camera. The Argus Correspondent has been told.

If this is so, the Attorney-General of Natal, Mr Cecil Rees, is expected to oppose.

## MARCH 10

The alleged mercenaries' trial opens before Mr Justice James, Acting Judge President of Natal, sitting with two assessors in the College Road Supreme Court on March 10. Mr Cecil Rees, said yesterday: "I have no comment about any contemplated actions of third parties. I'll cross each bridge as I get to it."

10  
 SA 20/2/82  
 from page 1

SA 20/2/82  
 issued  
 fake  
 passport

**Political Staff**  
 A SOUTH AFRICAN passport in the name of Anton Lubick was issued to intelligence agent Martin Dolinchek about six weeks before he was arrested in the Seychelles in connection with the abortive coup attempt.  
 This was revealed in Parliament yesterday by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, who refused to reply to a supplementary question on the grounds that it would contravene the Speaker's sub-judice ruling.  
 The Speaker ruled earlier in the session that there should be no debate on the

Hulley asked Mr Heunis if, and when, South African passports had been issued in the names of Martin Dolinchek and Anton Lubick.  
 Mr Heunis replied that the Dolinchek passport had been issued on April 19 1977 and the Lubick one on 0 6 1 9 77.  
 Mr Hulley, arising out of the matter, asked, could I ask him whether the department was aware at the time of issuing those passports that the one person was not a real person?  
 Mr Heunis: "The question is obviously an evasion of the sub-judice rule. I have already answered."  
 Dolinchek was arrested under the alias of Lubick in the Seychelles capital. He is said to have been a member of an advance party sent ahead of the main mercenary contingent to scout out the territory.  
 It is claimed that he was at the airport when the main group arrived and watched helplessly as the customs officer discovered arms in the luggage of one of the mercenaries.  
 Mr Hulley said in a statement later that it appeared Mr Heunis was attempting to evade an issue which

As James/Jar corresponders are now in the conditions given

of g items-  
 instruc-

Typists

Supervisor  
 of Typists  
 Pool  
 Lynn Mason

James/Jane Donovan  
 Manager of Administrative Services

Bert Smith  
 Joyce

Brian Anderson  
 Production Manager  
 Night Shift

Peter Day  
 Production Manager  
 Day Shift

Supervisors

Supervisors

Line Workers

David Smith  
 (Plant Superintendent)

Master Engineering - Cape Town Plant

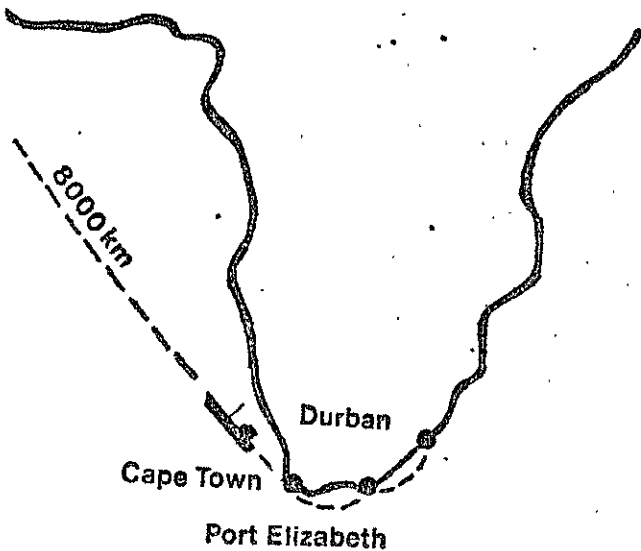
The following organisation chart explains how you fit into the total structure.  
 Your name is James/Jane Donovan. You work for Master Engineering, a middle-sized manufacturing and sales organisation with plants in all the larger centres in South Africa. You are Manager of Administrative Services for the Cape Town Plant, and one of three managers reporting to David Smith, the Plant Superintendent.

stai 23/2/82 (1) (2)

# LTA proves salt on Ilha do Sal job



o Sal



**By Frank Jeans**  
Tote that barge, heist that truck, crane, loaders and all the other equipment that goes into the construction job — it has been one of the most exciting transport operations in the history of the national contracting industry.

There's nothing too tough or inaccessible for the expertly-planned big job as construction giant LTA proved with involvement in the rebuilding of the airport on a speck on the map — the Cape Verde island on the west coast of Africa, Ilha do Sal.

There have been bigger contracts, of course, for LTA. This was a meagre R14-million job. But it was the challenge of an unusual transportation operation which intrigued the engineers and planners.

This airport project will go into the record books as the one that opened up the Atlantic Haul — a 12 500 km construction equipment run, linking Rotterdam, Ilha do Sal and the Cape.

Take a bow the designers of the rebuilding project, Van Wyk and Louw of Pretoria

who linked with four LTA Construction companies — LTA Earthworks (north), Rand Roads, LTA Building (SWA) and Construction Quarries.

There is no harbour at tiny Ilha Do Sal — only two small wharves in water 1.5 m deep. To get the plant and materials ashore, LTA hired two 450-ton barges in Rotterdam which were towed by deep-sea tug the Aniello 4 500 km to the isle at a cost of R100 000.

Plant was then transferred from the ship to the barges which transported it to the wharves.

Then came the southern run to South Africa for the carrying of the remainder of the 7 000 tons of equipment for the job.

At Durban a 70-ton crane, an asphalt plant, dipper trucks, rollers, front-end loaders and building materials were loaded on the Aniello for Ilha do Sal.

At Cape Town, 35 tons of explosives in special containers went on board and at Port Elizabeth a complete crushing plant of three units totalling 155 tons was loaded. Spain was another point of supply for 4 500 tons of bitumen.

The 17 000-ton ship Aniello and her sister barges became the arks of

supply for the 18-month period of construction — but even with this one LTA has beaten the deadline by four months. All that remains to be done is the completion of 28 homes for airport staff.

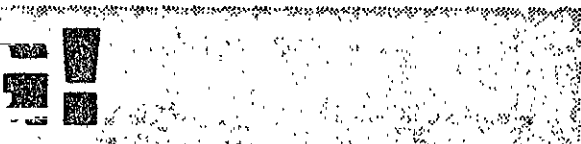
The project which called for the overlay of 3.27 km of runway, 4.3 km of taxiway and linkways and 10 000 sq m of apron area, also had to be carried out without interruption of aircraft operations.

"During the day aircraft up to Boeing 707 size landed on the taxiway and at night the runway had to be operational for the bigger airliners," says Mr Brian Colledge, LTA's project director.

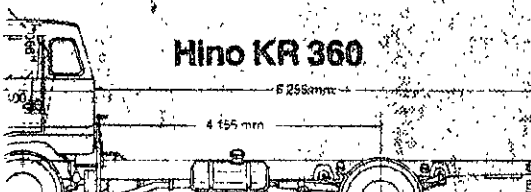
"We were in constant touch with the control tower to ensure that building activities never hindered flight operations."

To mark a superhuman effort by the 60 LTA men from South Africa, Britain and Portugal as well as the 200 local labourers, the elements played a villainous role.

At the start of the first offloading of the barges a volcano on the island of Fogo about 480 km away caused a heavy swell and later 75 mm of rain fell on the desert like "island of salt". It was the heaviest fall in 100 years.



kW @ 1/min	FORWARD SPEEDS	MAX BODY LENGTH (mm)	G.V.A.L.W. (kg)	G.CAL. (kg)
104 @ 3 000	5	6 400	12 700	17 000
104 @ 3 000	5	5 335	12 700	17 000



**CAN YOU MANAGE WITHOUT**

# COMMENT Overcoming dependence

1 Sowetan 23/2/82

## Directive is welcome

THE MINISTER of Manpower, Mr S P Botha, is perhaps the proverbial silver lining on the dark cloud of Government policy. He sometimes comes up with the kind of suggestion that needs to be heard more often.

Mr Botha has called for an inquiry into the minimum working conditions for domestic workers and farm labourers - an area which has been neglected even if it is among those that need reform urgently.

These two categories of workers are at present excluded from the application of several Acts which are administered by the Department of Manpower, among others the Labour Relations Act and the Wage Act as well as envisaged conditions of the Employment Act.

The planned investigation of the workers has been welcomed by a wide range of spokesmen on labour matters. Dr Alex Boraine, said these groups are amongst the most exploited in the South African labour field.

Dr David Curry, national chairman of the Labour Party, said his party welcomed the investigation and urged the Government to pass legis-

AS majority-ruled southern Africa entered 1982, it faced severe economic problems. Real income per head fell at least 10 percent between 1978 and 1981. Governments had to reduce development programmes and cut key services as revenue fell.

Part of the explanation of economic crisis was misguided government policy.

These errors are widely publicised, but they are not the whole story.

One difficulty is that the whole region (in common with most of Africa) was undermined in the 1970s by deteriorating terms of trade and shortage of foreign currency to buy imports because of the world economic slump. Between 1970 and 1979 Malawi's terms of trade declined by one third, Mozambique's by 17 percent.

For Zambia, a ton of copper in 1978 bought less than half the imports it bought in 1974, and by 1982 probably less than a third.

These shocks are serious because the region relies heavily on trade. Most countries are exporters of crops or minerals. This orientation to the outside world is just one part of a com-

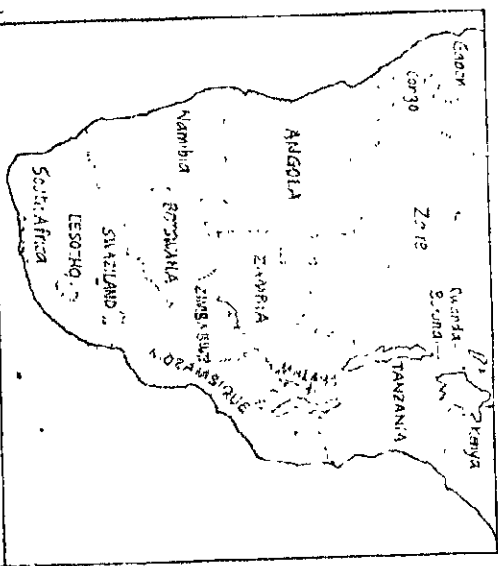
South Africa is the source of essential supplies such as food and fertiliser, as well as luxuries.

Small immediate neighbours rely on the Republic for almost all their imports, and Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are in a common customs union with it. The economic power of South Africa creates obstacles to development within the region: its advanced capitalist sector, with large markets and considerable government subsidy and export incentives (especially for agriculture) can produce goods more cheaply than any such plant in neighbouring countries.

The governments of the region have their own, national economic policies to deal both with long term transformation and the short term crises. They have also gone further. In 1980, after two years of preparation, the nine states held the first summit meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). "to liberate our economies from their dependence on the Republic of South Africa, to overcome the imposed economic fragmentation and

States around South Africa which united to try and break the Republic's stranglehold on their development are hampered by the world recession. These edited extracts are from a report assessing their problems

Member states of SADCC



Namibia. The value of economic independence is hammered home by the Rhodesian and South African military strategy of attacking roads, bridges, railways and pipelines in neighbouring countries.

Ongoing economic dependence of South Africa is a major difficulty. It's diplomacy has long been geared to maintaining countries to the north in that condition. Since the fall of the Portuguese empire in the mid 1970's, however, it has pursued a much more active strategy of economic and military intervention.

Initially, the prime target was Angola, the base for Swapo, but perhaps as important in

ria as a base for raids on Western Zambia and Botswana.

Military targets in the last three months of 1981 included Angola's oil refinery and Benguela railway. (In addition to the constant attacks on the south of the country); the railway and oil pipeline between Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and navigation aids in the entrance channel of Beira port.

Continued economic dependence means that South Africa need not rely on military force alone to exert pressure. During 1981 it delayed the movement of petroleum and fertiliser to at least five of the SADCC states.

As Europe learned to

AF... In... Or... TH... Or...



...progression that tends to be  
heard more often.

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These two categories of workers are at present excluded from the application of several Acts which are administered by the Department of Manpower, among others the Labour Relations Act and the Wage Act as well as envisaged conditions of the Employment Act.

The planned investigation of the workers has been welcomed by a wide range of spokesmen. The Opposition spokesmen on labour matters, Dr Alex Boraine, said these groups are amongst the most exploited in the South African labour field.

Dr David Curry, national chairman of the Labour Party, said his party welcomed the investigation and urged the Government to pass legislation protecting them.

We may not have the facts and figures, but we are sure that salaries and working conditions on farms are completely out of step with present day economic reality.

As for domestic servants they have been the "underdogs" for years and it is only lately that some people have had their consciences pricked and changes are being effected.

Farm labourers have been exploited for years and many farmers still look on workers at their farms as implements that have to be exploited to the full. Your average farmer,

tion of economic crisis was misguided government policy

These errors are widely publicised, but they are not the whole story.

One difficulty is that the whole region (in Africa) was undermined in the 1970s by deteriorating terms of trade and shortage of foreign currency to buy imports because of the world economic slump. Between 1970 and 1979 Malawi's terms of trade declined by one third, Mozambique's by 17 percent.

For Zambia, a ton of copper in 1978 bought less than half the imports it bought in 1974, and by 1982 probably less than a third.

These shocks are serious because the region relies heavily on trade. Most countries are exporters of crops or minerals. This orientation to the outside world is just one part of a common inheritance. During the nineteenth century the dominant imperial power, Britain, created a regional economy around the mining, commercial and agricultural axis of South Africa and Rhodesia.

Even today the region remains heavily dependent on South African, whose ports and railways carry exports from as far afield as Zambia and Zaïre.

...the economic power of South Africa creates obstacles to development within the region: its advanced capitalist sector, with large markets and considerable government subsidy

and export incentives (especially for agriculture) can produce goods more cheaply than any such plant in neighbouring countries.

The governments of the region have their own, national economic policies to deal both with long term transformation and the short term crises. They have also gone further. In 1980, after two years of preparation, the nine states held the first summit meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

"To liberate our economies from their dependence on the Republic of South Africa, to overcome the imposed economic fragmentation and to co-ordinate our efforts towards regional and national economic development."

SADCC proceeded to map out areas which would benefit from regional cooperation, including food, security, industry, energy, agricultural research and animal health. The highest priority was given to transport and communications. In November 1980 project outlines

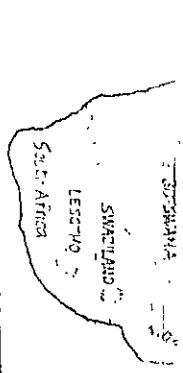
...cluded extracts from a report assessing their problems

Member states of SADCC

were presented to a conference of international financing agencies and industrial and oil-producing states. By the review conference in Malawi a year later, more than half these projects were underway.

But economic cooperation in Africa does not have a history of success, and the enormous difficulties of communication and staff shortages will inevitably limit SADCC's effectiveness. Nevertheless, two aspects give hope. The first is that, faced with countries of very different economic orientation, SADCC has not tried to force the pace of integration, but has limited itself to identifying projects and programmes which would be of benefit to all the participants.

Secondly, member states have a strong political commitment to SADCC. The initiative for the organisation grew out of the political collaboration of the front line states in support of the movements in colonial Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and



Namibia. The value of economic independence is hammered home by the Rhodesian and South African military strategy of attacking roads, bridges, railways and pipelines in neighbouring countries.

Overcoming economic dependence of South Africa is a major difficulty. It's diplomacy has long been geared to maintaining countries to the north in that condition. Since the fall of the Portuguese empire in the mid 1970's, however, it has pursued a much more active strategy of economic and military intervention.

Initially, the prime target was Angola, the base for Swapo, but perhaps as important in South African eyes, a potentially powerful state, with a large population, considerable agricultural opportunities and secure government income from its oil fields.

This potential is undetermined, however, by the constant war against South African-supported Unita rebels and South African troops. Namibia has also been used by South Af-

rica as a base for raids on Western Zambia and Botswana.

Military targets in the last three months of 1981 included Angola's oil refinery and Benguela railway (in addition to the constant attacks on the south of the country); the railway and oil pipeline between Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and navigation aids in the entrance channel of Beira port.

Continued economic dependence means that South Africa need not rely on military force alone to exert pressure. During 1981 it delayed the movement of petroleum and fertiliser to at least five of the SADCC states.

As Europe learned to its cost in the late 1930's some pathological political phenomena cannot be dealt with by the normal processes of diplomatic give and take. It is in the interest of the world community to bring the appeasement of South Africa to a speedy end.

This is an excerpt from *Comment on Southern Africa by the Catholic Institute for International Relations.*





(1) Premiums Treated as Business Expense

01, Jan 1: Insurance Expense

Bank

being payment of premium

Income Statement

Insurance Expense

being closing entry

Years 02 and 03 - same as 01

04, Jan 1: Insurance Expense

Bank

Jan 2:

Jan 2:

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Jan 31:

Premiums Tre (2)

Dec 31:

# Star Walk-out ① as Polisario joins OAU

ADDIS ABABA — A 50-nation OAU meeting row inside the Organization of African Unity (OAU) over the decision to admit Polisario guerrillas to Ministerial talks mounted today when three more countries decided to boycott the meeting.

Representatives from Djibouti, Niger and Tunisia walked out of the session, joining Morocco, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Guinea, Cameroun, Zaïre, Sudan and the Central African Republic in boycotting the annual meeting of the OAU's Council of Ministers over the issue.

The dispute flared up yesterday when representatives of the self-styled Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) were admitted to the

The SADR was proclaimed seven years ago by the Algerian-backed Polisario guerrillas who are fighting Morocco for control of the Western Sahara.

The chairman of the talks, Foreign Minister Alemie Mogwe of Botswana, today welcomed the SADR to the talks for the first time as the OAU's 51st member.

A Polisario spokesman earlier hailed the SADR's admission as a demonstration of Africa's maturity and wisdom and ability to solve its own problems.

But Moroccan officials said they would seek to have the admission overturned at the next OAU summit in Libya in June.

— Reuter.

300  
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24 000  
300  
24 000  
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24 000  
300  
300

Continued/.....

# LTA BEATS

# Sunday Tribune VOLCANO

28/2/82

# — AND THE

# DEADLINE

Property Reporter

AN erupting volcano, the heaviest fall of rain in 100 years and the transportation of thousands of tons of equipment over 12 500 kilometres were among the problems ITS Construction had to overcome in a R14-million contract to rebuild the airport on the tiny Cape Verde island of Ilha da Sol on the west coast of Africa.

The contract is now nearly completed — except for the final touches on 28 homes for airport staff — about four months ahead of schedule.

The project called for the overlay of 3,27 kilometres of runway, 4,3 kilometres of taxiway and linkways and 10 000 square metres of apron area. It also had to be carried out without any interruption of aircraft operations.

"During the day planes up to Boeing 707 size landed on the taxiway and at night the runway had to be operational for the large airliners," says ITS project director Brian Colledge.

But the main problem was to get the equipment to the

remote island which has no harbour and is served only by two small wharves with a water depth of 1,5 metres.

Project designers Van Wek and Louw of Pretoria linked up with four LTA Construction companies — LTA Earthworks (North), Rand Roads, LTA Building (SWA) and Construction Quarries — to get it off the ground.

To get plant and materials ashore, LTA hired two 450-ton barges in Rotterdam which were in turn towed by deep-sea tug the Amello 4 500 kilometres to the island at a cost of R100 000.

The workforce consisted of 60 LTA men from South Africa, Britain and Portugal and 200 local labourers.

At the start of the first off-loading from the barges, a volcano on the island of Fogo about 480 kilometres away caused a heavy swell and later about 75 millimetres of rain fell on the desert-like Ilha da Sol.

It was the heaviest fall recorded in 100 years.

Johannesburg businessman who will be marketing the Mews.

scheme emphasis and ch unit v from o. three lge / n, two

bathrooms, fitted kitchen on open plan and double garaging Units are 115 square metres with a garden of between 100 and 120 square metres. Vista is marketing the units for oc

cupation on August 1. The site, at the corner of Newport and Danville Avenues, is the last flat site in Glenashley and is near the 10-storey Glenashley Heights Building.

# ANS

# ALL

# RELIEVED



Carl Mouton has been appointed to the board of the South African Permanent Building Society's Smith Street, Durban, branch.



Pam Perham has been appointed sales administrator and body corporate manager of Property Industrial Consultants and Administrators (Pica).

ousing type- able but ally

needed here. There are no racial barriers in the Com Housing concept and all races will be provided for.

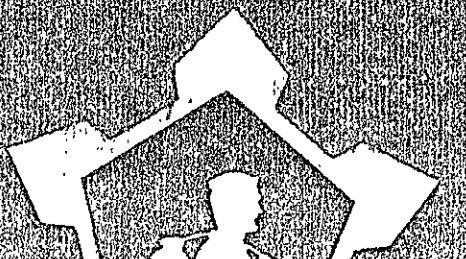
The lack of residential accommodation in Pietermaritzburg is almost as critical as in Durban, estate agents there have reported.

Although land is being and has been made available in Pietermaritzburg for housing, building costs and scarcity of money for bonds prevent people in lower income group building their own homes.

Town Houses and duplexes are becoming more popular because of their economical upkeep but they are not cheap to build.

A luxury scheme of duplexes at Bellevue which cost R68 500 a unit in November has been affected by rising costs and the units will now sell for R75 000.

## GIVE HIM A LIFT!



(2) Premiums Treated as an Asset - Cont'd:

Year 02 - same as year 01

03, Jan 1: Life Policy	Bank	300
Dec 31: Income Statement	Life Policy	60
	Policy written down to surrender value (See Note 1 below)	60
04, Jan 1: Life Policy	Bank	300
Jan 2: Debtor (Insurance Company)	Life Policy	24 000
	Income from Life Policy	540
	being accrual of proceeds receivable	23 460
Jan 2: Income from Life Policy	Income Statement	23 460
	being closing entry	23 460
Jan 31: Bank	Debtor	24 000
	being receipt of proceeds	24 000

Note 1:

At the end of year 03, the life balance sheet as a non-current

years. 3 000 jobs for five

which would create million for a new airport, Arabia has agreed to

It appears that Saudi build a flour mill and a bridge over the island's second biggest river.

The death of a partner automatic accounting entities. For this to be drawn up for the period ascertain the correct balance policy would be shown as income to the partners' capital account

Note 2:

PORT LOUIS — The African Development Bank in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, is to lend Mauritius R12 million to

*Star 1/2/82*  
R12 m lent to Mauritius (1)  
The Star's Africa News Service

**LIBERIA**

**MONROVIA**

Master Sergeant Sam Doe, the ambitious blockhead who took over power in Liberia in an April 1980 bloodbath, is on his way to becoming respectable.

Nearly two years after telling a group of coup-covering journalists, "I ain't got no time to answer your questions now, but you're all invited down the road to watch us execute a few enemies of the state," Doe, top man in a nation founded by freed African slaves, finds his hand being gripped ever more tightly by Uncle Sam.

American advisers have moved in on his revolution and it is they who are now steering Doe through the intricate maze of modern African and international politics.

Master Sergeant Doe has changed considerably since that fateful day when he gave the order for 13 members of the just-killed President William Tolbert's government to be dragged out, screaming, tied to a line of posts along the seafront and shot to pieces with machine-guns.

His once-slim figure has expanded considerably. His jauntily angled red beret has been replaced by a star-studded khaki Rommel-type cap, which sits flat on his head.

He no longer has a hand grenade dangling from the lapel of his tunic, or carries a walkie-talkie set to duck behind dramatically when he wants to impress company.

He doesn't get around much any more. After about five attempts on his life during the past 22 months, in one of which he was wounded in a leg and all of which have been hushed up, Doe is becoming a bit of a recluse.

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2/3/82

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It is difficult to keep track of what has happened to all the rest of the 15 lower ranks (six sergeants, eight corporals and a private) who, with Doe, formed Liberia's original post-revolution ruling People's Redemption Council.

It is presumed, from his continuous use of the royal "we," that they are around somewhere, although they are seldom, if ever, seen.

What is known is that Doe speaks and acts for all of them and that the US is right there at his side.

All the US diplomats and officials who lived happily with President Tolbert and the important members of the Masonic Order and the Baptist Church with whom the former President surrounded himself, have been replaced by a new breed of envoy, who talks Doe's language.

Their influence is noticeable. In the past year Doe has quietly ousted from power his former Foreign Minister, Baccus Mathews, who was reputedly the left-wing socialist brain behind Doe's government. Libyan-oriented socialists have stepped in to fill the gap left by Mathews.

Further, Doe's Redemption Council has declared there will be no nationalisation of businesses, that private property will be protected and that the government intends to honour all its legitimate contractual commitments.

Also, all political prisoners have been released or nearly all. Doe has confessed, apologetically, that four of the 19 could not be accounted for by the Defence Minister when called on

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Note 2:

At the end of  
balance sheet  
Note 1:

Jan 31:

Jan 2:

Jan 2:

04, Jan 1:

Dec 31:

03, Jan 1

Year 02 -

(2) Premiums

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Solution to

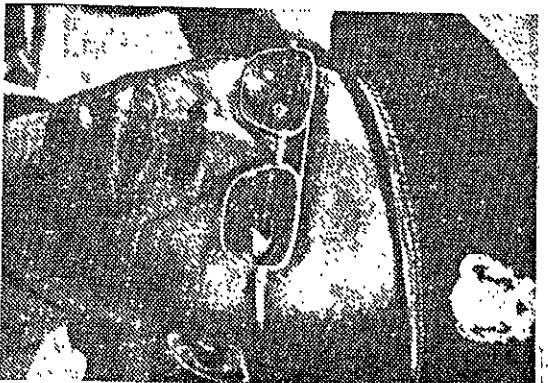
P.T.O



Two years of power have increased Doe's rank and size.

# Sam Doe gets big hand from Uncle Sam

The master sergeant who seized power in Liberia two years ago is building a new image with generous help from the United States. Henry Reuter of The Star's Africa News Service reports.



A lean and hungry Doe when he first took power.

to produce them. They were victims of an accident of history and must be presumed dead," Doe explained. Doe has, banned all politics until April 12 1985, when he has promised to hand Liberia back to civilian rule, explicitly five years

after the revolution. Doe has also banned strikes and corruption in some of his 57 post-revolution decrees. Recent miscellaneous decrees have lowered the price of beer and increased the price of spirits, a move to emphasize that the

revolution is of the people's variety. All committees of the ruling PRC have been abolished on the grounds that they were harassing the people and getting the revolution a bad name; and all civilian Ministers and assistant Ministers in the govern-

ment have been ordered to join the army. They now go about dressed as army majors. Part of a soldier's creed, they have been told, is that dissent is insubordination, political controversy is a breach of rights, resignation is deser-

tion and civil liberties must give way to military duties and expediences. Another factor on that Doe has not renewed his earlier threat to have all members of the national soccer side shot if they keep losing all their mat-

ches. But civilians pay the cost of living, has doubled since April 12, 1980. Monrovia has no bread because the current price of flour is higher than the controlled price of bread. And Liberia is broke. This situation is

A fundamental strategy for achieving development objectives," retorted Doe in a statement on economic policy, "involves broad-based participation of the people as a whole." This has been taken to mean that taxes will get higher and higher.

put down partly to high world oil prices, partly to falls in iron-ore and agricultural production and partly to the cost of paying all members of the armed forces at their post-revolution high rate of a minimum cost of 250 US dollars a month. Like several other African countries, Liberia is being bailed out by the International Monetary Fund. "Liberia will continue to be heavily dependent on foreign emergency and concessional aid to support the economy."

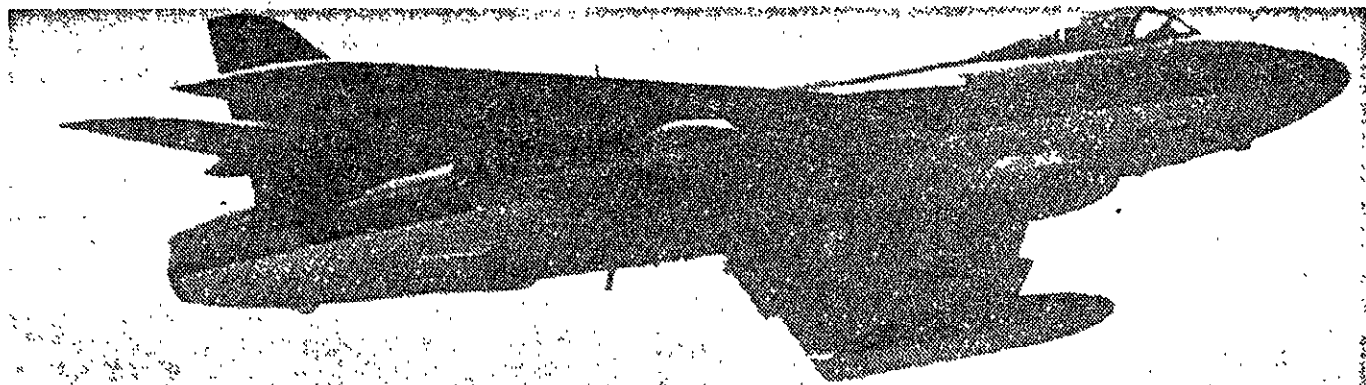
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	Jan 2:	Income
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	Jan 31:	Bank
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(2)	Premiums Treated	
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# Africa's mixed bag of 'jet jockeys'

Star 4/3/82

South African Air Force says it is prepared to train black pilots. While most African countries prefer to have local men flying their aircraft the intensive training required to handle a new generation of jets has meant many still rely on foreigners named by friendly governments. Brendan Nicholson of The Star's Africa News Service reports.



Hawker Hunters of the Zimbabwe Air Force. These 20-year-old aircraft at present from the spearhead of that country's air defences.

The skies over Africa are patrolled by a cosmopolitan breed of local and foreign men whose politics are as diverse as the aircraft they fly.

While the French are likely to be in the lead for some time, the Russians in the Congo will remain the only as long as it takes the Government of President Denis Sassou-Nguesso to complete its political swing from red to pale pink that is being made with cautious over-the-horizon glances towards the Kremlin.

Zambian pilots have been trained in Russia to fly the squadron of Mig-21s bought by President Kenneth Kaunda to

beat off Rhodesian air attacks.

Closer to home the airforce of Zimbabwe, which at in-

dependence had only white aircrew, now has five black pilots.

One was trained

locally to fly the venerable Vampires, Canberras and Hawker Hunters that still equip what was

the Rhodesian Air Force.

The other four were trained in Rumania.

The Angolan Air Force receives considerable help from Cuba. The Mig-21 shot down by a

South African Air Force Mirage over Angola on November 6 was shot down by Pretoria as it had been flown by a Cuban pilot.

On the other hand Mozambique Mig-21s are believed to be flown exclusively by pilots who were sent to Russia for training several years ago.

The Botswana Air Force has a number of 20 black pilots who are trained locally by RAF instructors to fly Defenders on poaching operations near the Caprivi Strip and short range troop carrier aircraft.

Perhaps the word on who is what in Africa provided — for time being — Mozambique's President Sam Machel soon Pretoria announced that Lieutenant Bomba was leaving to fly South Africa jets.

They have only one black pilot," he quipped "and he was Mozambican trained."

## Blacks training whites to cut prejudice

ADDIS ABABA — One side-effect of colonialism in Africa has been a belief among many black Africans that training by whites, especially in technological fields, is always superior.

Ethiopian Airlines, the only African carrier with an all-black staff, used an unusual method to overcome this African prejudice when it tried to get other airlines on

the continent to send personnel for courses at its training centre.

"To break the ice," said the airline's general manager, Captain Mohamed Ahmed, "we offered free training to British Airways." (if the airline would send apprentice mechanics to the school in Addis Ababa).

Although it may seem odd for one of the world's poorest

countries to offer free technical training to the country that started the industrial revolution, Mohamed thought African airlines would send its personnel if it saw that the Ethiopian school was training whites.

British Airways accommodated him in a different way — by sending personnel from black African countries where it had ma-

agement contracts, thus giving its stamp of approval and melting African resistance, the general manager said.

The school and the airline, which is making a profit, are an African success story.

Aside from training almost 1000 Ethiopians, the school has turned out 32 pilots and almost 300 aircraft mechanics from 17

other African countries. It also has a management training programme.

The Government-owned airline maintains jets for Kenya and has management contracts with Zambia Airways and the separate airlines of pro-western North Yemen and marxist South Yemen.

American private enterprise has also shared in the success, since Trans World

Airlines ran Ethiopian from its inception in 1945 until 1975 when the African airline told TWA that its services were no longer needed.

The last foreign pilot, Robert Moon from Texas, left in 1979. But most other African airlines remain heavily staffed by foreign pilots. — The Washington Post.

The Russians are getting the most of the time they have. Observers say they have seen even the up-to-date 25 Foxbar silhouetted against the sunset over the sky, lily-filled pools of the Stanley Pool between Botswana and Zimbabwe.

The nation has become more directly involved in post-colonial Africa than the French, whose close-support fighter aircraft battered Libyans in Chad and Algerians in the Polisario in Mauritania and the West Sahara.

Both "cameras" the Anglo-American built Jaguars have been guided to air targets by flying Bruguette reconnaissance aircraft refuelled in where necessary from modified 707 jets.

French pilots are used in training personnel, and a lesser degree in operation flights, in Senegal, the Ivory Coast, the Central African Republic and Djibouti.

The military tradition of the Senegals is particularly close to that of the French-trained pilots. French-built helicopters troops into the to quell the rebellion there last

The Russians have tried to carve small enclaves of their own in what France sees as its own traditional sphere of influence but with limited success.

The Soviet Union has, however, facilities to base sophisticated reconnaissance aircraft in Angola and Ethiopia.

The latter has one of the best air forces in sub-Saharan black Africa with Mig-21 and Mig-23 fighters flown by its own pilots. The swing-wing Mig-23 (Flogger) is the most widely deployed fighter / interceptor in the Russian air defence network.

To match a possible threat from first Somalia, which was pro-Russian until it fell out with the Kremlin, and later Ethiopia which went the opposite way, pro-Western Kenya equipped itself with American F-5 freedom fighters.

Like its collection of Canadian transport and patrol aircraft these are flown by Kenyan pilots, most of whom were trained abroad.

Libyan pilots flew their country's Migs in Chad. One area where Migs were certainly not a success was Nigeria. The west African oil giant was able to provide its own pilots but not sufficiently trained local ground crews.

A political swing to the right left the Migs falling to pieces for lack of maintenance.

ROOM 4/3/82  
Heunis speaks on  
'Lubick' passport

Political Staff

GOVERNMENT intelligence agent Mr Martin Dolincheh, who held in the Seychelles after being arrested following the abortive coup attempt, said he was going on holiday when he applied for a passport under the alias of Anton Lubick.

This was revealed in Parliament yesterday by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis.

But he refused to make a statement about the matter.

He told Mr Roger Hulley (PFP, Constantia) that "from the investigation it would appear as if a passport was obtained in a false name."

"Before the passport was issued, the information normally required was submitted on the prescribed form," he said.

In reply to another question, Mr Heunis said destinations stated on the application form were Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Mauritius and Seychelle.



# Burgeoning GEC aims for R350-m

R40-MILLION is to be spent by GEC South Africa on a three year programme to strengthen the group's position as South Africa's largest manufacturer of electrical equipment.

Managing director Tony Charles told Business Times that group turnover rose from R225-million in 1980 to more than R300-million in 1981 — an increase of 33%.

"We are budgeting for a turnover of R350-million in 1982 and, helped by our current expansion programme, we are looking for further steady growth after that," says Mr Charles.

He says that the R40-million capital investment programme will cover both expansion and replacement, and will embrace virtually all the group's 19 companies and 10 factory sites.

"We are doing this to cater for increased demand on the one hand and in an effort to increase our market penetration on the other," he says.

"The programme is also designed to help the group achieve an ever increasing local content in its manufacturing operations. The average local content throughout the group's operations is running close to 80%."

Although the South African economy has started to dip, Mr Charles sees no fall-off in GEC's activities in 1982.

"The power and electrical equipment manufacturing industry has traditionally been linked to Escom's growth rate, and everybody knows that Escom is in the throes of doubling its generating capacity.

"So, obviously, we expect to grow in the next few years, although 1983 may be a little difficult

"Obviously we have a

By Colin Bower

strong advantage in that we have access to the extensive know-how of GEC in the UK, which has a 50% interest in our South African group." (Barlow Rand holds the other 50%.)

Mr Charles says that GEC is stepping up its export efforts. "We are at present exporting at the rate of R2-million a year — a figure which we believe will increase steadily in the future

"In particular we are making good inroads into South America, where there is a growing market for fans for the mining industry."

On the nationwide shortage of skilled manpower, Mr Charles says that action taken by the GEC group when the problems first appeared has enabled the group to cope with the crisis.

"We employ on average 180 apprentices, 30 of whom are black. We spent more than R1-million on training last year — a figure that will increase steadily in the years to come."

## Stoves to the States

SOUTH Africa's smokeless stove heaters are being exported to the US at a rate of 2 400 units a year.

The Pretoria motor component manufacturer, Laursen Brothers (with an annual turnover of R14.4-million), which supplies spare parts to Datsun, Sigma, BMW and Alfa Romeo, is now increasing its export production of smokeless stove heaters.

The stove, which uses cheap low-grade coal rather than more pricey anthracite and oil, produces heat at a cost of 25 cents for every 15 hours (or 1.6 cents an hour).

"It is therefore particularly suitable for domestic, commercial and industrial use," says Ken van der Merwe, Laursen's national sales manager.

"The US, which produces

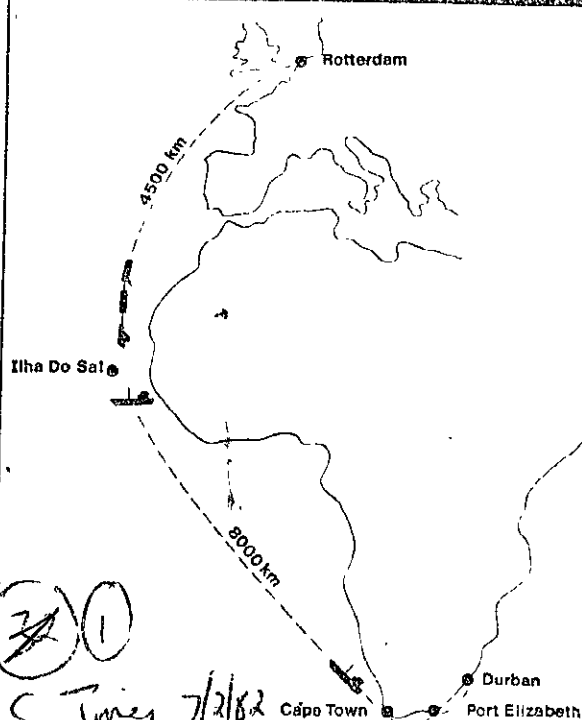
By Vora Beljakova

coal more cheaply than South Africa, has been a natural market for us," he says.

"But since our production capacity runs to 4 160 units a year, we are now aiming to penetrate the South African market."

Units for the local market, which will retail at about R250, will have a 70% combustion efficiency and can be banked for up to 15 hours, while optional water boilers will soon be available.

The stove's heating capacity of 7-10 k/w is the equivalent of 10 electric heaters per room.



## LTA triumphs over 'impossible' airport problem

AFTER overcoming virtually insurmountable logistical problems, LTA Construction has rebuilt the airport at Ilha do Sol, the tiny Cape Verde island.

The actual R14-million contract was not out of the ordinary, but the logistics of the project set a peacetime precedent.

To do the job, LTA had to ship 7 000 tons of equipment and materials 8 000km to Ilha do Sol off the west coast of Africa.

But this speck on the map has no harbour — only two small wharves and a jetty with water 1,5m deep.

So LTA hired two 450-ton barges in Rotterdam and had them towed 4 500km by deep-sea tug to the island at a cost of R100 000.

The equipment was offloaded on to the barges from the ship and then offloaded again from the flat-bottomed barges to a wharf.

The contract called for the rehabilitation and overlay of 3,27km of runway 45m wide, 4,3km of taxiway and linkways 30m wide and 10 000 sq m of apron area.

The runway had been deteriorating to the extent that daily maintenance was necessary.

At Durban, LTA loaded a 70-ton crane, an asphalt premix plant capable of processing 100 tons an hour, plus tipper trucks, asphalt rollers, front-end loaders, building materials, a premix paver, tar, emulsion and many other items.

At Port Elizabeth more cargo was taken aboard, including a complete crushing plant of three units totalling 155 tons.

At Cape Town the ship took on 35 tons of explosives in special woodlined containers.

By John Spira

From Spain, LTA imported 4 500 tons of bitumen.

At the peak of the operation, about 60 LTA men — from South Africa, Britain and Portugal — were at work, plus 150 to 200 local labourers.

The contractors crushed 50 000 cu metres of premix stone and laid 95 000 tons of premix asphalt concrete.

Throughout the contract the runway had to be operational, says Brian Colledge, LTA's project director.

During the day, aircraft up to Boeing 707 size landed on the taxiway and at night the runway had to be operational for the large airliners.

The contractors maintained continuous radio contact with the control tower to ensure that building activities did not hinder flight operations.

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# ARMY REAGERS TRIAL SHEET

An international uproar is likely over the Seychelles mercenary case evidence

(284) (1) (327)

S. Express 7/3/82

INTERNATIONAL evidence involving the South African Defence Force and security services will be led in the trial of the 45 mercenaries alleged to have hijacked an Air India Boeing last November.

The trial, set down for a month, begins before Mr Justice James in Maritzburg on Wednesday. The evidence is expected to

By Chief Reporter  
**DESMOND BLOW**



create an international furor. The SADF has given an advocate a watching brief and, it is understood, wants part of the trial held in camera. The defence, I am told, wants all evidence to be heard in open court. Three of South Africa's top criminal lawyers

have been briefed for the defence. They are Mr Michael Hannon of Johannesburg, who will defend Colonel Mike Hoare and 25 others, including other principals in the case, and Mr Eddie

Stafford SC of Pretoria, assisted by Mr P Oosthuizen of Johannesburg, who will defend 10 of the accused.

It is also understood an army officer has been charged by the military with assisting the mercenaries in the abortive Seychelles coup by issuing false call-up papers for the men to leave their jobs on the pretence of being called up.

The SADF refused to comment this week. The evidence to be pro-

To Page 2

Next to bat: the Aussie stars



plans well."

Of Donny Gordon, chief executive of Liberty Life who finally gave SAB control of Edcon by selling the shares he had bought in a vain attempt to stave off the takeover, Mr Press said:

"I think Donny Gordon was in a difficult position. He is not only my friend but has other interests that he must safeguard and what he did is understandable".

On his retirement from the battlefields of commerce, Mr Press said: "It is important for a man to prove himself in life, but

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# Defence Force faces shock in Durban hijack trial

See Pages 8, 9

7/3/82  
S Express  
①

**From Page 1**

duced at the trial does not refer to the call-up papers.

One of the most dramatic parts of the trial is likely to concern the weapons allegedly used by the mercenaries. Many were of communist origin, but the defence will claim the weapons were given to them in South Africa.

Nearly 70 witnesses will be called by the State, including the pilot of the Air India Boeing and 12 of his crew, two officials of Zambia Railways, a South African policeman at the Oshoek border post on the Swaziland border and three Swazi policemen.

Others expected to give evidence are five South African Railways policemen from Durban, Major B Welman of the Security Branch in Durban and Warrant Officer S Fraser of the South African Navy, Durban.

Brigadier J S Visser, SAP Divisional Commissioner of Port Natal, is also a witness as is General Visagie of the SAP in Pretoria, and Colonel E Ockers of 1 Reconnaissance Regiment, Durban.

Professor J R van Dellen of the Department of Neurosurgery, Wentworth Hospital, Durban and Mr D Hoogewind of Jan Smuts airport are other witnesses.

There are also several witnesses from Louis Botha airport, Durban.

Five requests for further particulars have been made by various accused, and the State has made certain particulars available to them.

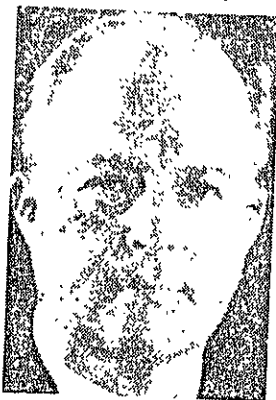
However, the State has failed to answer a request to specify whether there were other people or organisations involved in the attempted coup or alleged hijacking or to name them or to explain their role.

In its reply to the request for further particulars, which the Sunday Express reveals, the State alleges that all the offences were committed by the 45 accused in furtherance of a common

purpose — to unlawfully divert the Air India Boeing from its flight to Bombay so they could escape liability for their coup attempt.

According to the reply to the request for further particulars, the State will rely on the following allegations to prove the common purpose:

The accused had agreed to unlawfully capture Mahe airport by force of arms.



Mr Justice James ... presiding over the trial

After capturing the airport and while in charge of the control tower, the accused gave the Air India Boeing clearance to land while extremely dangerous conditions existed. The mercenaries were in communication by radio.

When the aircraft stopped Mr Biddlecombe, Mr Webb, Mr Duffy and other accused armed with AK 47 rifles took up positions next to the aircraft.

Mr Biddlecombe, Mr Duffy and other accused then boarded the aircraft.

Mr Duffy and other accused escorted the pilot and first officer to a dark room in the airport building, passing a number of mercenaries on the way.

Inside the dark room Colonel Hoare, in the presence of Mr Moneta, Mr Duffy and other accused, threatened the pilot and first officer with dire consequences if they failed to co-operate with the mercenaries.

Various accused with AK 47 rifles entered the aircraft from time to time while it was at Mahe airport.

Mr Van Huyssteen and Mr Doorewaard and other accused armed with AK 47s supervised the inspection of the aircraft by members of the crew.

Mr Eurelle, Mr Wilson, Mr Dalgleish, Mr Duffy and Mr Botes and other accused armed with AK 47s organised and supervised the refuelling and preparations for take-off of the Boeing from Mahe airport.

Shortly before takeoff, the accused boarded the aircraft as an organised group bearing arms. The following accused had AK 47s in their possession: Messrs Dukes, Prinsloo, Jones-Davies, Standish-White, De Vos, Biddlecombe, Stannard, Wilson, Hean, Beck, Dekker, Gouws, Moneta, Gribbin, Greenhalgh, Goatley, Doorewaard, Botes, Rohwein, Du Toit, Deacon and others.

The aircraft was diverted from its scheduled flight to Bombay and flew to Durban.

Mr Goatley, armed with an AK 47, entered the cockpit at various times during the flight to monitor the flight and to make sure the aircraft flew to Durban.

During the flight, Mr Doorewaard, Mr Webb, Mr Duffy, Mr Paul and other accused entered the cockpit from time to time.

Mr Forsell, Mr Dalgleish, Mr Duffy and others usurped and exercised functions of the crew during the flight and after the aircraft had touched down at Louis Botha airport.

At Louis Botha airport Colonel Hoare, Mr Dalgleish and Mr Duffy conducted negotiations with the authorities on behalf of all the accused.

Mr Duffy and some other accused told the captain of the aircraft, members of the crew and airport officials where the aircraft was to be parked at Louis Botha airport.

One of the accused in-

structed the passengers and crew not to converse with the authorities at Louis Botha airport.

At Mahe the accused had instructed the Air India captain and members of the crew to take off. The aircraft was still damaged and no flight plan was filed. No clearance for the starting up of the aircraft engines and no clearance to taxi had been given. It was dark and no runway lights were on.

The State also alleges that:

The aircraft was landed outside normal operating hours at Louis Botha airport.

The accused landed with a foreign aircraft whose crew were unfamiliar with conditions at Louis Botha airport.

The accused insisted on the aircraft landing at Durban instead of Johannesburg.

Mr Dalgleish and Mr Duffy issued instructions to the authorities at Louis Botha Airport pertaining to the movement of vehicles and personnel in the restricted area of the airport.



Mr Michael Hannon ... to defend Col Hoare

Mr Dalgleish, Mr Duffy and other accused exercised control over the aircraft and passengers and crew after the aircraft landed at Durban and did not allow the crew to communicate freely with the airport authorities.

The accused landed at Durban with arms and after landing attempted to bargain with the authorities as an organised unit



# 'Front-line' six pledge more aid against SA

ARGUS 8/3/82 (1)

Argus Africa News Service

MAPUTO. — South Africa was conducting an 'undeclared war' against its neighbours, the heads of the six 'front-line' states declared in Maputo yesterday.

In response the six are to step up their own military co-operation, and to increase support for the military activities of the African National Congress (ANC) banned in South Africa and Swapo.

This is the first time the 'front-line' states have given such strong support to the ANC. The support was underlined by the fact that the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, was participating for the first time in a 'front-line' heads of state meeting.

The heads of state met for five and a half hours

on Saturday afternoon and six hours on Sunday.

Both meetings ran over the scheduled time and this is probably the longest yet, 'front-line' heads of state meeting.

The six said that 'the invasions and military aggressions, the utilisation of armed bands and agents, the acts of sabotage and economic blackmail and the massive and subversive propaganda campaigns conducted by South Africa are proof that there is currently an undeclared war.'

In particular, they condemned 'the new phenomenon employed by South Africa which consists in preparing, financing and training armed bandits to destabilise the independent Southern African countries.'

## FIRMER

The communique issued by the six indicates a new, much firmer and more active line against South Africa. It represents a clear and an increasing view that change in South Africa cannot come about peacefully. Thus, to defend themselves the 'front-line' states must support Swapo and the ANC.

All six 'front-line' states heads attended. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Quett Masire of Botswana, Samora Machel of Mozambique, Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. Swapo president Sam Nujema also participated.

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# R600-m for <sup>Argus</sup> transport projects

Argus Africa News Service

MAPUTO. — About R600-million has been received by the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference for projects to improve transport and communication between member states and lessen their dependence on South Africa.

This was said by an SADC spokesman at the start of a meeting in Maputo of the group's transport commission at the weekend.

The spokesman said the 99 approved transport and communication projects would cost about R2,200-million. So far R600-million had been received — R180-million from local sources and the rest from other countries and international organisations. A further R400-million had been promised.

Only three of the projects had so far been completed. They were a

railway station on the Swaziland - Mozambique border and tele-communications links between Botswana and Zambia and between Zimbabwe and Zambia.

The spokesman said a 'large number' of other projects were being studied by prospective financiers.

According to the Mozambique news agency, Aim, the spokesman said the projects already put into operation would help the nine member states of the SADC to reduce their dependence on South Africa.

The nine are Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Malawi, Swaziland, Lesotho, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

"Two years ago (when the SADC was formed) we could not have imagined that we would have achieved so much so rapidly," Aim quoted the Mozambique Transport Minister, Mr Alcantara Santos, as saying.

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# Call to step up armed struggle against SA

①  
~~SA~~  
E. Post  
8/5/82

MAPUTO — The six African frontline states accused South Africa yesterday of waging undeclared war in the region and agreed to respond by strengthening their military co-operation and furthering armed struggle by black nationalist movements.

The leaders of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, apparently toughening their attitude to Pretoria, blamed it for "invasions, military aggression, utilisation of armed bandits and agents and conducting acts of sabotage and economic blackmail".

In a communique issued after nearly 12 hours of talks in Maputo, they said these alleged activities by Pretoria proved that "there is currently an undeclared war situation engendered and supported by South Africa".

The six states would therefore "reinforce their bilateral and regional co-operation in the diplomatic, economic, military and information fields", the communique said.

This would be to stop South African "military

aggression and economic sabotage against the free and independent states of the region and force it to withdraw its occupying forces from the People's Republic of Angola".

They agreed to increase their material and diplomatic support for black nationalist movements in South Africa and SWA/Namibia.

This backing was to enable the African National Congress and Swapo to "intensify the armed struggle for the attainment of national independence for their peoples", the communique said.

The ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, participated.

The wording of the communique suggested a hardening of the attitude towards the Republic.

The communique demanded full implementation of UN Resolution 435, which calls for free and fair elections in SWA/Namibia.

Conference sources said efforts by the five-nation Western contact group, which is trying to negotiate independence for SWA/Namibia, were only briefly discussed. — Sapa



(1) (227)  
2004  
9/3/82

# State has solid team for the Seychelles trial

Mail Correspondent

DEFENCE advocates in the Seychelles hijacking trial which starts in Pietermaritzburg tomorrow will be facing one of the most experienced prosecution teams yet assembled in Natal.

Leading evidence for the State will be the Attorney-General, Mr Cecil Rees, SC, who will be assisted by Deputy Attorney-General, Mr Hendrik Klem, SC, and Mr Gideon Scheltema, a senior State advocate.

Mr Rees seldom appears in the Supreme Court as prosecuting counsel in criminal cases and was last seen in a Pietermaritzburg case when a Sunday newspaper was charged with contempt of court and criminal defamation during 1979.

Mr Klem investigated aspects of the Information Scandal and travelled to Britain and Europe to collect evidence at the height of the Information Department debacle.

Mr Scheltema is an experi-

ence criminal prosecutor who recently led the State team in a three-month long hearing against the paratrooper who was accused of murdering 14 tribesmen during Msinga faction fights.

Both Mr Klem and Mr Scheltema recently travelled to the Seychelles on a fact-finding mission.

The men had discussion with the Attorney-General for the Seychelles and also inspected Mahe airport where the hijacking events occurred during November last year, Mr Rees said yesterday.

"Whilst abroad they were able to gather information and interview witnesses that will be of great assistance in the presentation of the prosecution here," Mr Rees said.

Meanwhile 43 witnesses have been called to appear for the State.

Of the witnesses, 14, — the captain and crew of the Air India plane involved — have their addresses listed as c/o Air India Airlines, Bombay.

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Mauritius's Left-leaning Opposition party is so confident of victory in the June 11 general election that its shadow finance minister is already drafting a budget to present to the new parliament in July.

Most watchers of this Indian Ocean tourist mecca's ethnically complicated political scene feel that the self-assurance of the Mouvement Militant Mauricien (MMM) is well justified.

Even conservative forecasts are giving the MMM more than 50 of the 70 seats in parliament.

But despite these heavy odds some veteran pundits still caution against over-hasty predictions, citing the traditional fickleness of Mauritius's more than half a million voters.

Dispirited supporters of the present government are left with the flimsy hope that the well-known "magic of Ramgoolam" will bring them through once again.

It was the political shrewdness of the Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam which kept his Labour party in power through a shaky coalition even though the MMM won the most seats in the last election.

Mr Paul Kerenger, the MMM's chief strategist and secretary-general, will be Finance Minister if his party comes to power.

He is a committed socialist but his stated plans for Mauritius are not nearly as radical as his closeness to Seychelles President Albert Rene or Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi suggests.

He hopes to introduce socialism cautiously and has consistently given the assurance that he will not break

**Even conservative forecasts give the Opposition a huge majority, says David Thomas of The Star's Africa News Service.**

# Left turn likely in Mauritius

the island's present economic lifeline with South Africa.

Although an MMM government would stop Air Mauritius from flying to South Africa, SAA will be allowed to continue landing on the island for the foreseeable future.

In any event, South African tourists would always be welcome, Mr Berenger has promised.

The dynamic young Franco-Mauritian's major task would be to check the crippling unemployment on the island and to clean up a government which has become increasingly beset with corruption scandals and nepotism in high places.

These are the main reasons that the once-popular Ramgoolam government, which brought independence to the island 14 years ago, faces the very real prospects of a humiliating defeat at the polls.

Perhaps too late, the 81-year-old Sir Seewoosagur has finally gauged the depth of feeling against his government.

According to sources close to the Prime Minister his party plans to throw out at least 50 percent of the "old

team" when the LP's election candidates are chosen towards the end of this month.

The MMM and its Socialist Party (PSM) running mates plan to contest 60 of the 62 elected parliamentary seats, excluding only the two seats of the traditionally conservative and far off Rodrigues Island. (A further eight MPs are nominated on the best loser system).

The other main contender is the Parti Mauricien Social Democrate (OMSD) of the colourful playboy barrister, Sir Gaetan Duval. He plans to run in all constituencies.

Although the PMSD won only eight seats in the last election they were enough to form a governing coalition with Sir Seewoosagur's party.

Sir Gaetan's eight MPs have since split into two groups but, apparently undaunted, the Creole leader plans to go back to his traditional base, "My poor people" as he calls them, for support to once again make him a kingmaker if not a king.

# No chance of 'closed' raid trial

By EUGENE HUGO

MARITZBURG. — The South African Defence Force is in for a shock if it attempts to take the Natal Supreme Court into an in-camera session to mask any involvement of its personnel in the abortive Seychelles coup.

The Rand Daily Mail has learned on good authority that the locus standi of any SADF legal representatives will be challenged should such a move be made.

This comes on the eve of the trial of 45 mercenaries who sought to overthrow the Seychelles Government of President Albert Rene — then allegedly commandeered an Air India Boeing to escape.

The Defence Force would then have to explain exactly what its involvement in this affair was, and justify it, according to legal sources in Maritzburg.

This could well embarrass General Magnus Malan's department — already in a situation in which it has to explain why a number of mercenaries received what it claims were "bogus" call-up papers.

Sources close to the Natal Attorney-General, Mr Cecil Rees, made it clear yesterday that they were well-equipped to prosecute the case against Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare and the band that raided the Seychelles on November 25 last year.

What everyone wants to know is whether Air India Captain Umesh Saxena, the man whose Boeing was allegedly hijacked, would give evidence.

The United Nations commission investigating the coup said Mr Rees had been worried about Capt Saxena's appearance at the trial.

But the commission pledged it would do its utmost through UN auspices to

persuade the Air India crew to give evidence.

And yesterday a Justice Department spokesman said: "Just watch the incoming flights."

But the trip of two representatives of the Attorney-General's office had "total cooperation" from Seychelles authorities when they visited the islands recently. This would mean they had access to the sworn statements made by the crew to the Seychelles authorities.

Meanwhile, Maritzburg was gearing up yesterday for perhaps its biggest event and one of South Africa's most sensational trials.

Nearly 70 witnesses are due to be called by the State.

Expected to emerge at the trial are some of the critical, unanswered questions concerning the Seychelles affair:

● Who provided the 80 Romanian AK47 assault rifles which were tested at Durban's La Mercy Airport and used for the Seychelles operation? Self-confessed South African spy Martin Dolinchek has claimed the weapons were provided by official Pretoria sources.

● Was there any official South African Government involvement? Dolinchek has claimed in captivity in the Seychelles that he was on an official mission and that he also acquired a false passport for Col Hoare with permission "at the highest level".

● Who paid for the attempted Seychelles coup? Seychelles officials claim Lebanese arms dealer Adnan Kashoggi bankrolled the operation but there have been suggestions that some of the money came from Pretoria.

● To what extent was the SADF involved? Some mercenaries have claimed they received call-up papers to go on the operation but the army has claimed these were falsified.

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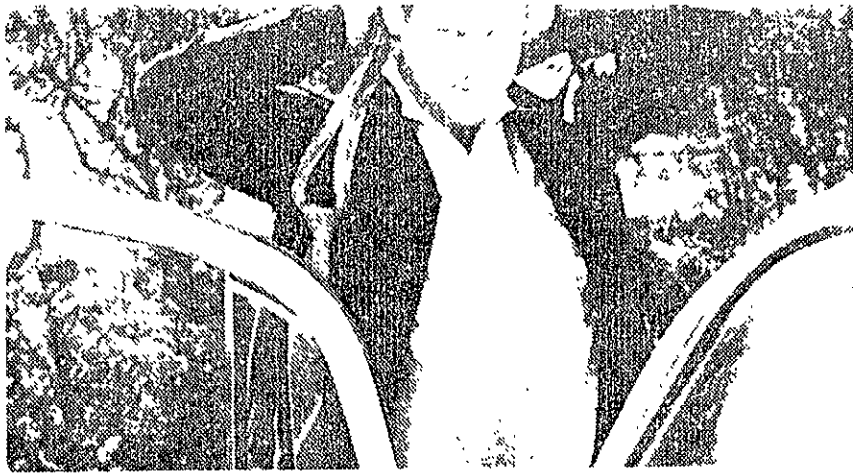
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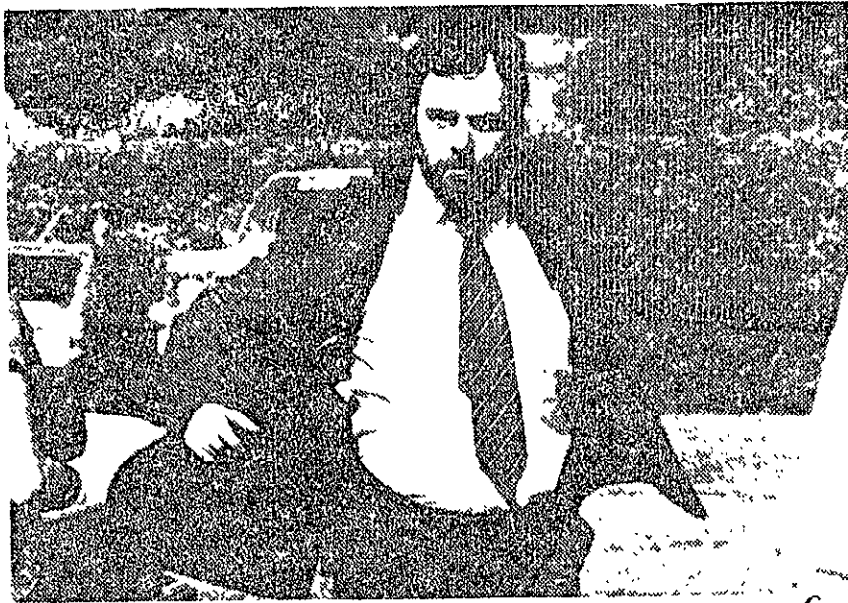
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10/3/82



READY for the start of the hijack trial in Pietermaritzburg yesterday — well almost. Defendant Peter Duffy puts his tie on in the carpark of the Supreme Court and Durban hotelier Ken Dalgleish gets into his jacket on his way to the building.



# 'Coup attempt' Kenyans named

11/3/82 *Mercury*

## fire in isberg

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VICTORIA—President France Albert René of the Seychelles has claimed that several high-ranking Kenyan officials were involved in last November's coup attempt in the Seychelles.

President René claimed shortly after the attempted coup on November 20 that Kenya was involved, but yesterday he gave details.

After the original allegations, President Daniel Moi of Kenya denied any involvement in the attempt.

Yesterday President René was quoted as saying that Kenya's Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Charles Njonjo — one of the most powerful men in the country — and the Commissioner of Police, Mr Ben Gethi, were deeply implicated in the coup attempt.

The Seychelles leader

claimed Mr Njonjo actively supported the former Seychelles president, Mr James Mancham, in his attempt to overthrow the Government. Mr Mancham has claimed that he did not organise the coup attempt but was asked to back it.

President René said many Seychellois exiles who were part of the mercenary operation were waiting in Nairobi to be flown by Kenya-registered planes to the Seychelles' main island of Mahe.

President René claimed that since the November attack, Mr Njonjo had become even more powerful and closer to President Moi.

Actually, however, Mr Njonjo lost the post of Minister of Home Affairs in last month's Cabinet shuffle and reportedly has not been in charge of the police since the middle of 1981 — (Sapa-AP)

terday crammed into the huge amphitheatre on the campus to hear dissident leader Dr Andries Treurnicht speak on the split in the National Party.

The vast majority of the crowd cheered every statement of Dr Treurnicht in which he restated his unequivocal rejection of power-sharing — healthy or otherwise.

The meeting was scheduled to be held in the Roos Hall, where several large conferences had been held in the past but by 1 pm it was clear that the students could not fit into the hall.

The students then moved to the vast amphitheatre where a sizeable proportion of the crowd started singing the *Lied van Jong Suid Afrika* (The Song of Young South Africa).

Dr Treurnicht was ushered in and given a standing ovation.

The procession was led by a number of students who carried a model of Dr Treurnicht's head which was featured on one of the floats in the student rag last Saturday.

### Fell over

The head which had a small axe impaled in the forehead, was placed in front of the stage and as Dr Treurnicht climbed the steps to the podium, the head fell over — to the delight of some.

Dr Treurnicht reiterated his rejection of power-sharing and named several instances where he had expressed reservation about the Government's interpretation of the 1977 constitutional proposals.

The essential differences of his and the Government's interpretation of those proposals, lay in the status of the cabinet council on which, Dr Treurnicht said, 10 whites and 10 'non-whites' would serve.

He supported a dispensation where each of the three cabinet chambers proposed in 1977, would have the maximum say over matters concerning each different population group.

'I say here and now that it is unacceptable that South Africa should be governed by a body on which whites and non-whites are equally represented,' Dr Treurnicht said to prolonged applause.

The people refused to relinquish the idea of retaining political control over their own destiny because, Dr Treurnicht said, that would mean the death-knell to the freedom of the 'volk'.

Meanwhile the new

NP's Waterberg division committee in Thabazimbo...  
The situation could be the most explosive in the party since the cabinet split two weeks ago.

## Injuries 'rebel'

CAPE TOWN—England's 10th-ers have been hit by a spate of injuries which make them rank outside the first of their three Test internationals against South Africa starting at the Wanderers in Johannesburg tomorrow.

The tourists were looking for a duo of test stars John Fotheringham and Derek Underwood to tame the Springboks but the 29-year-old Fotheringham broke his right thumb yesterday, the first day out of the tour.

The Middlesex player stopped a drive from West Indian batsman Peter Kirsten that was headed for home where it hurt Fotheringham.

The ball struck Fotheringham's thumb and he ran off the field with a bloody drip from the wound. He was taken to hospital.

With Embury's departure, the tourists have lost one of their

The mild one  
mild smoker



# Dolinchek not State witness - wife

① ABA

AKGWS  
19/4/82

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Ina Dolin-  
chek, wife of self-con-  
fessed South African in-  
telligence agent, Martin  
Dolinchek, said at her  
home today that she did  
not think her husband  
would turn State witness  
in the forthcoming trial  
in the Seychelles in June.

Speaking for the first  
time since she returned  
from the Seychelles on  
Saturday, Ina said that  
she was not allowed to  
talk privately to her hus-  
band and was always  
accompanied by the Com-  
missioner of Police.

She said it seemed  
'highly unlikely' that her  
husband would turn State  
witness although in the  
same breath she admitted  
she wasn't allowed the  
time to talk to him 'about  
those matters.'

Commenting on her  
alleged aim to move to  
the Seychelles, she said it  
was 'nonsense.'

'I am living from day  
to day and it is absolutely  
untrue that either of us  
have decided on anything.'

She denied that she  
was selling her Durban  
home, 'unless someone  
offers me a million,' she  
quipped.

Asked about her hus-  
band's health, Ina said  
that he was 'alright' but  
that they were both very  
concerned about the com-  
ing trial.

'I really liked the  
Sevchelles and I'm very  
glad that I went, but  
really everything depends  
on the trial.'

# SADF denies link with coup bid

ARGUS  
11/3/82  
① (222)  
② (222)

**Argus Correspondent**  
MARITZBURG. — The Defence Force today denied knowledge of any link with the actions of 11 of the 43 Seychelles mercenaries appearing in the hijack trial before Mr Justice James.

Natal's Attorney-General, Mr Cecil Rees, read out in court a statement made by the Officer Commanding the Second Reconnaissance Unit, Commandant Danie van der Spuy.

Commandant van der Spuy referred to 11 men: Messrs A B de Vos, J de Beer, P Henrick, K Macleod, D Walker, D Kenny, K Priefert, S de Wet, A Deacon, W Paul and A Mann.

In his statement the commandant said: 'If during November 81 or at any other time officially, through the South African

Defence Force, or any other department they were called for service in the Seychelles, in the normal course of events I would have had knowledge thereof. I would have record thereof. It did not come to my notice that the above accused ... were officially called to service in the Seychelles, and there is no record of it.'

The statement was made on March 4.

Mr Justice James said to Mr Rees after he had read out the statement: 'I take it you will have to expand how it fits into the State case?'

Mr Rees: Yes.

## Admissions

Facing four counts under the Civil Aviation Offences Act the 43 alleged Seychelles mercenaries made several admissions at the start of today's hearing.

Mr Rees read the admissions to the court.

They were that on November 25 an Air India scheduled flight departed from Salisbury airport to Bombay via the Seychelles. On board were 65 passengers and 14 crew.

During the early morning of November 26 the aircraft with the accused landed at Louis Botha airport.

It was admitted that the accused, with the exception of Mr Charles Dukes, Mr Ken Dalghesh and Mr Desmond Botes, left South Africa as a group under the leadership of accused number 1, Colonel Mike Hoare.

The group went through the Swaziland border post at Oshoek and travelled Air Swazi to Mabe where they landed late on the afternoon of November 25.

Mr Rees said it was not denied that Colonel Hoare had made the travel arrangements for the group through Budget Travel.

Mr Justice James said: 'A considerable number of

witnesses who you had proposed to have called are no longer necessary?'

Mr Rees: That is so.

Mr Mike Hannon SC and Mr Eddie Stafford, SC, agreed in court to the admissions on behalf of the men they are appearing for.

## Witness

The first State witness in the trial, a deputy fire officer at Louis Botha airport, was called to the witness box at the College Road Court today.

Mr Hilton Hardie, 36, gave an account to Mr Justice James, of the arrival of the hijacked aircraft at Louis Botha airport.

'I was at home about 2 am on the morning of the November 26 when I received a telephone call from the airport. I was told that an Air India aircraft was diverting to Durban with mechanical problems and with suspected hijackers aboard,' he said.

## Emergency

The airport was officially closed at the time and Mr Hardie was instructed to put Stage B — full emergency procedure — into operation.

'Stage B procedure is used when we are expecting a major disaster' he said.

He notified emergency co-ordinating teams at Wentworth Hospital and fire stations at Durban and Amanzimtoti to report to the airport.

About 4 am all emergency vehicles — fire tenders and an ambulance — were positioned on the runway, ready for the arrival of the aircraft.

## Hesitation

Mr Hardie said that when the aircraft came to stop at the end of the runway it seemed to hesitate, but he gave it hand signals to turn round, which it did.

He twice received messages from the air traffic control tower to move an ambulance and a police vehicle further away from the aircraft. This had not been normal procedure.

After the door was opened and the mechanical stairs arrived, Lieutenant

(Contd on Page 3, col 4)

(Continued from Page 1)

ant-Colonel J S Mouton of the Railway Police was met on the stairs by two men.

The men were two of the accused, British citizens Mr Kenneth Dalglish and Mr Peter Duffy.

Mr Dalglish and Mr Duffy then gave Mr Hardie and Professor J R van Dellen, of Wentworth Hospital, Durban, permission to board the aircraft to attend to an injured man who had been shot in the arm.

He had to squeeze by a bulky article covered with a blanket in the gangway.

Mr Hardie said that Dr van Dellen asked for morphine to administer to the injured person and he had fetched some from the terminal building.

Someone then gave the passengers permission to go down the stairs and instructed them not to communicate with anyone.

Another injured man was reluctant to come off the plane but after he was given permission he was treated and had returned to the plane.

Mr Hardie, who pointed out Mr Dalglish and Mr Duffy in court, said that

AKG 45 11/3/82  
**Coup bid**

Mr Dalglish had told him that he had been very disturbed that he had lost his passport.

Mr Hardie said that Mr Dalglish had said that all they wanted to do was to get an aircraft and get the 'hell out of here'.

Mr Dalglish had said that when they had commandeered the aircraft an airport official had asked him to sign a document for fuel, but he refused.

After they had taken off from Mahe airport, Mr Dalglish said he apologised to the passengers, saying it was better to use diplomacy than to be rough.

Mr Klem: What was the position of fire tenders?

Mr Hardie: Only one fire tender was left in front of the aircraft.

Mr Klem: After the fire tenders moved away from their original position were they in a position where you would normally have preferred to have them in the case of extreme emergency?

Mr Hardie said it was the decision of the chief

fire officer to move the fire tenders away from the aircraft.

Mr Hardie said in a fire, fire vehicles got as close to the aircraft as possible.

He agreed that by moving the tenders away the safety of the aircraft was affected as the aircraft carried such large amounts of fuel. 'You have several minutes to extinguish a fire.'

Mr Hardie said the passengers were taken off via the bus.

Mr Justice James: Have you any idea who gave any sort of order to tell them to get off?

Mr Hardie: Colonel Mouton.

Mr Hardie said: 'The rest of the group remained on the aircraft. They were later taken off.'

The judge: And the crew?

Mr Hardie: They went with the passengers.

In reply to questions from Mr Klem, Mr Hardie agreed he had dealings with the crew but did not receive any instructions from them.

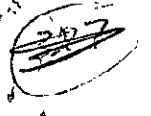
(Proceeding)



# Hijack: 2

# turn State witness

CAPL Times 11/3/82 (1)



**Own Correspondent**  
**MARITZBURG.** — Two of the alleged Seychelles hijackers turned State witness against their alleged comrades-in-arms at the start of the Air India hijack trial here yesterday.

And in another move, the State also announced the calling of the Air India crew to give evidence.

The calling of the 14 crew members of the Air India Boeing 707 aircraft that was allegedly hijacked from Mahe airport in the Seychelles to Durban on November 25 last year, was announced by the Attorney-General of Natal, Mr Cecil Rees, SC, shortly after he opened the State case against the alleged mercenaries yesterday.

His first bombshell — the dropping of charges against Mr Theodoros van Huyssteen, 23, and Mr Steyn de Wet, 30, and his request for the trial judge Mr Justice Neville James to add their names to the list of State witnesses — came before the State outlined its case against the 43 men.

### Disputing

Mr Rees, leading the three-man prosecution team, announced that "negotiations were under way to get the evidence of the aircrew" after the two defence counsel, Mr Mike Hannon and Mr Eddie Stafford, SC, announced their intention of disputing all aspects of the State case against Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare and the alleged mercenaries from six countries.

Mr Rees said yesterday that the State would contend that the 43 accused of hijacking the plane from Mahe to Louis Botha airport had acted in contravention of several international conventions and in common purpose to escape from the Seychelles.

All four charges formulated by the State related to their taking control of the Boeing carrying 65 men, women and children and 14 crew at Mahe while they were in charge of the airport and the control tower, he said.

The men had allowed the aircraft to land in the "most hazardous circumstances imaginable" at



Television cameraman Roger Harris of ITN, London, holds his hand to his eye after one of the alleged hijackers pushed a camera into his face.

## Bad acoustics halt hearing

### Own Correspondent

**MARITZBURG.** — A premature halt was brought to proceedings at the College Road Supreme Court yesterday after the alleged hijackers complained they were unable to hear the judge and advocates clearly.

The Acting Judge President, Mr Justice Neville James, said he had been in and out of the courtroom for about 25 years and had never heard

complaints about the acoustics in the Victorian-styled court before.

The changes must have been brought about by the large-scale renovations made to the interior of the building and the presence of the large crowd which must have been "absorbing the sound".

The court should adjourn so the problems could be rectified in time for the sitting today, he said.

## INSIDE

● Reports, more pictures, page 4

the airport, boarded it white armed with AK47 assault rifles and commandeered it after threatening the chief pilot and first officer.

### Dark room

The senior crewmen had been forced to leave the aircraft, surrounded by heavily-armed men, and had been escorted to a dark room where they were told by Colonel Hoare, or another man, that they had landed "during a revolution".

"They had been told they would not be harmed if they co-operated, but if they did not, one of them would be shot," Mr Rees said.

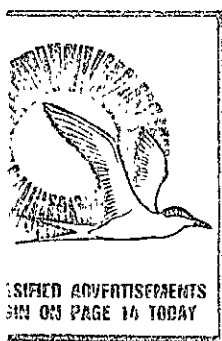
Mr Van Huyssteen, Mr

→→→→  
To page 4



**Grand Bazaars**  
**WHITE**

tzburg yesterday.



Lagoon to be made national park

### Local Correspondent

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.** The government has decided to turn the Lagoon area into a national park.

Minister of Environment Affairs, Dr Nakler Merve, said yesterday that the decision would not be implemented immediately as problems in determining the park's boundaries still need to be solved.

### Cabinet

Minister told Mr Kent Durr (Maitland) that the cabinet had accepted a



UNIVERSITY OF  
EXAMINATIONS

(Continued from Page 1)

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the door and said that nearby vehicles had to be taken away. Colonel Mouton indicated with his army to have the vehicles moved away.

Colonel Mouton said there were a police vehicle and two or three private vehicles and an ambulance, which all moved away.

Colonel Mouton said: 'Mr Duffy began speaking to me. Because of the noise of the engines which were still on, we could not understand each other. Mr Duffy came down the stairs on to the runway. Mr Dalgleish came down halfway.'

Originally he walked to the top of the steps platform. Dr van Dellen was halfway up, and then Mr Duffy came out.

'Mr Duffy asked me who this man was. I said a doctor.

He said the doctor must go.'

Colonel Mouton went on: 'Mr Duffy then informed me this was an important incident. They had tried a coup in the Seychelles but they did not succeed.'

Colonel Mouton's next sentence was translated as 'they did not want to put the Government in a bad light as the Government was not involved.'

### Serious case

On an interjection from Mr Stafford, SC, this interpretation was changed to: 'The Government was involved.'

Colonel Mouton was asked to repeat himself: he said 'Mr Duffy said to me this is a very serious case. They had tried to overthrow the Government of the Seychelles but it was unsuccessful.'

He did not want to place the Government in a bad light as the Government was concerned in this matter.'

Asked to repeat Mr Duffy's words in English, Colonel Mouton said: 'There are seven or eight

senior members of the Government involved.'

The SAR security officer continued: 'Just before that Duffy had said there were also 13 or 14 members of the Reconnaissance Command with them (translated in English as also involved).' Colonel Mouton said Mr Duffy told them they had boarded an Air India plane, the one that was on the runway.

### Damaged

Colonel Mouton said Mr Duffy did not explain how they got possession of the aircraft, but said the aircraft was damaged when landing at Mahe airport.

'He informed me that the aircraft's scheduled route was from Salisbury, Zimbabwe, to Bombay via the Seychelles.

'Then he informed me that he had a proposition to make. It was not a demand — just a request. He asked for an aircraft to be made available to them. Duffy said the men would leave all their weapons on board.

'Then we can fly to wherever we want — round and round Durban, or to Cape Town or to Johannesburg or wherever we want.' Mr Duffy had told Colonel Mouton.

### Alternative

An alternative suggestion was to let all the accused off the plane, line up and march into the airport building.

'He said if I had a better proposition I should make it.

'I informed him that I could not accede to his request, but would take it to those in command.

Duffy said to me there were weapons on board, but he did not tell me where.'

Colonel Mouton then made a report to a

Colonel Fourie of SAR Police, the Directorate of Civil Aviation, and General J J H Claassens, head of SA Railways Police.

Colonel Mouton returned to the aircraft and informed Mr Duffy and Mr Dalgleish that their request could not be acceded to. He added that General Visagie and the special task force were on their way to Louis Botha Airport from Johannesburg.

'They accepted that Mr Duffy's words were: "If you decide that, then that is how it will be."

Mr Klem asked Colonel Mouton who was in control of the aircraft when it landed. Up to that stage it was undoubtedly certain that it was in control of Duffy and his comrades.'

Mr Klem: Why do you say so?

Colonel Mouton: Under normal circumstances the crew would make all arrangements. In this case it was not so.

### Request

'It was clear to me that any requests that came from the crew came to me via Dalgleish and Duffy.'

When asked whether the crew had made any requests, Colonel Mouton said the captain of the Air India Boeing, Mr U S Saxena, had approached him at a later stage.

'Captain Saxena wanted to show me where the aircraft had been damaged.'

'He asked Duffy: May I show him? Before he pointed it out to me.'

Some women and children asked Mr Duffy whether they could leave the aircraft, and Mr Duffy relayed this re-

(Cont on Page 11, col 6)

All answer books must be numbered

Number of books handed in	
Number of this book	

Surname..... WEBB  
(In block letters)

First Name(s)..... ROGER THU

Date..... 23/10/79

Degree/Diploma/Certificate for which you are registered (e.g. B.A., B.Sc.)

Subject..... ECONOMICS  
(to be copied from the heading of the paper)

Paper No.....  
(to be copied from the heading of the paper)

### NOTE CAREFULLY

1. Enter at the top of each page a block on this cover the notation you are answering.
2. Blue or black ink must be used for answers. The use of a ball pen is not allowed. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
3. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book (s) are used.

3. No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

Ten years ago this month, the 17-year-long civil war in the Southern Sudan ended with the signing of the Addis Ababa accord, ushering in an era of peace and co-operation with the Arab north.

But the threat of civil war breaking out once more in this swampy third of the Sudan is again very real — so real that President Gaafar Numeiri has taken the unprecedented step of reversing his earlier decision to seek a referendum on whether the southerners want to have three separate regions, each with their own legislature, or remain within one semi-autonomous unit, with headquarters in Juba.

Last October he shocked the people of the south, mostly black non-Muslims who belong either to Nilotic or to Bantu tribes, by dissolving the southern regional assembly and sacking the top man, Abel Alier.

In his place a military governor was installed to run a transitional administration until fresh elections are held, followed by a proposed referendum to seek the view of southerners on splitting their region into three separate zones as has been done in the Northern Sudan where there are now five regions.

Nothing in the past decade has done so much to alienate the southerners against the central government in Khartoum than this unexpected move.

The southerners have deep-rooted fears and suspicions of the northerners, coupled with inter-tribal rivalry with-

**SUDAN**

① Star 12/3/82

# Fresh threat of civil war

in the black south's largest tribe, the Dinka, and most of the others, including the Bantu tribes of Equatoria which borders on Zaire and Uganda.

One of the southern leaders is Joseph Lagu, who wields considerable influence in Khartoum. It was Lagu who led the "Anyanya" guerillas in their 17-year war against the Sudanese army and afterwards served for a time as chief of the Higher Executive Council, the ruling body based in Juba.

His arch-rival has long been the Dinka political leader, Abel Alier, another southerner who is close to President Numeiri and who helped him get the south moving again after years of stagnation.

Now President Numeiri seems to have had second thoughts about Lagu's plan for dividing the south into three regions. There will be no referendum, but fresh elections will be held next month for the southern regional assembly. The Khartoum government is now trying to ensure a more equitable distribution of top posts so



**PRESIDENT NUMEIRI**

that the non-Dinka southerners will not feel excluded from the administration.

There is speculation that to placate Lagu and his followers, the former guerilla leader might be given some senior post in the central government in Khartoum, for experience has shown that the bitterness between Lagu and Alier is a major stumbling-block to peaceful progress in the south.

Numeiri is realistic enough to seek a practical solution and took the bold step of reversing his original deci-

sion for a referendum because he feared that it could have provoked a second civil war.

"We shall not allow a replay of bloody history because of the bitter memories of the civil war in the south," he declared to the people's assembly in Omdurman recently, adding: "I hope that the transitional government will create a healthy atmosphere for a dialogue between the supporters and the opponents of division and that they will reach an acceptable agreement within the framework of one region."

In addition, his intelligence sources had warned him that some disgruntled southerners had been in touch with Numeiri's foremost enemy, Muammar Gaddafi in Libya, as well as the Iraqis and Sudanese opposition leaders such as Sadiq el Mahdi. — London Observer Service.

MARITZBURG. — Seven or eight senior Government members were involved in the aborted Seychelles coup, the first man off the hijack plane. Mr Peter Duffy, told a security officer in the South African Railways Police.

Before a packed, tense courtroom. Lieutenant-Colonel Jacobus Stephanus Mouton spoke of the first minutes after the Air India Boeing landed at Louis Botha airport.

Colonel Mouton said: Mr Duffy said to me 'This is a very serious matter. We have tried to overthrow the Seychelles Government but it was unsuccessful'.

### Involved

Colonel Mouton continued relating Mr Duffy's words: 'Mr Duffy said "We do not want to embarrass the Government, because it is involved. Eight members of them knew of the incident".'

Colonel Mouton told Mr Justice James Mr Duffy had told him 13 or 14 members of the Reconnaissance Commando were with them.

He said they had boarded the Air India aircraft, but Mr Duffy had not explained to him how.

The dramatic opening minutes on the third day of the alleged hijack trial of 43 men were marred by queries over the way Colonel Mouton's evidence, given in Afrikaans, was translated into English.

Colonel Mouton is officer commanding the security section of the SAR Police in Natal. He told the court that on Friday November 26 he received

a telephone call at home about 3 am.

Answering questions put to him by Mr Hendrik Klem, SC, Colonel Mouton said as a result of a report made to him he went to Louis Botha Airport.

An aircraft he was waiting for landed at 4.58 am. He and Captain Viljoen went to the aircraft in an unmarked private vehicle, parking about 25 or 30 metres from the plane next to a fire

vehicle, that Mr Hilton Hardie was in.

He waited for the mechanical steps to be placed alongside the plane, and there was a request for a doctor.

When the mechanical steps were in position, he and Dr van Dellen went up.

Mr Klem: Was the door of the plane closed when you went up the stairs?

Colonel Mouton: Yes. Just before I came on top the door opened slightly, and somebody put his

head out. The door was opened further and Mr Duffy appeared.

Asked whether he could identify Mr Duffy, Colonel Mouton, with a big smile on his face, pointed him out in the dock.

Colonel Mouton said in normal circumstances the captain or crew came off the plane first.

Colonel Mouton told Mr Justice James, Acting Judge President of Natal, Mr Duffy looked out of (Contd on Page 3, col 4)

# GOVT MEN KNEW OF COUP BID

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(Continued from Page 3)

# Hijack trial

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quest to the railways police officer who agreed.

Mr Klem: What was the relationship between the crew and the accused?

Colonel Mouton: In my opinion it was friendly, but cautious. I got the impression that the crew were being careful not to do anything which might upset the accused.

Mr Klem: At that stage who was in authority?

Colonel Mouton: The authority at that stage was in the hands of Duffy and Dalgleish.

## Transport

Colonel Mouton said that the military transport from Johannesburg arrived at 7.19 am.

He said he had contacted General Visagie of the South African Police, who had said that no requests from the hijackers were to be acceded to.

It was decided that the passengers be allowed off the aircraft and that the aircraft be taken to a hangar and the accused be taken off there.

Colonel Mouton said that when he told the passengers, they were relieved, but they did not seem greatly strained.

A woman of about 23 had started crying and several passengers had said: 'Thank God it's all over.'

Colonel Mouton said that Mr Duffy had stood with him and had reassured passengers with the words: 'Don't worry.'

Mr Duffy, Mr Dalgleish and others had been very concerned about the taking of photographs.

## A corpse

Colonel Mouton had said that Mr Duffy had told him that he had no demands excepting that a corpse (that of Mr Johan Fritz) which was in the hatch of the aircraft, was to remain with them and they would not leave without the body.

The aircraft was taken to a hanger and Mr Duffy was told that the accused were to disembark, without any guarantee being given to them.

## Searched

I instructed that they come out with their hands up and that they be searched at the top of the stairs and that they walk down the stairs with their hands up.

Mr Duffy had relayed the instructions to the accused.

No weapons were found on them.

Colonel Mouton said that he had been talking

to Mr Duffy, Mr Dalgleish and others when he saw another accused, Mr Michael Webb, 32, a British citizen living in Durban, with a list.

I asked about the list and he said it was a list of their names and I asked him to show it to me.

Some of the names were marked with crosses, and he said that these were members of the Reconnaissance Commando.

I think there were four or five names with crosses and I asked if they were all. He said no.

I asked him to mark the others as well, and he went back into the aircraft and came back with other crosses on the list. I sent the list to General Visagie.

## Hoare

Colonel Mouton said at that stage Mr Duffy introduced him to Colonel Mike Hoare. Mr Duffy had at one stage told him that Colonel Hoare was their leader, and that he had gone under a fictitious name.

He had not searched the aircraft for weapons but near a hatch was a bulky parcel which could have consisted of weapons.

Colonel Mouton said he had been cautious in his dealings with the accused. He said that he had been concerned for the welfare of the passengers, crew and the aircraft.

In the three years he had been in the security section, no other Air India aircraft had used Louis Botha.

## The lead

Mr Klem asked whether Mr Duffy had taken the lead in his dealings with Colonel Mouton and others. Colonel Mouton replied that he had returned to the aircraft several times, apparently because he was speaking for others as well as himself.

Mr Mike Hannon and Mr Eddie Stafford SC, who are appearing for the 43 accused, applied to Mr Justice James for an adjournment. They said that they wanted to

reserve their cross-examination until Monday.

Mr Justice James: 'On the assumption that this evidence comes as a surprise to you, it would only be fair to allow you some time to prepare your cross-examination.'

The hijack trial was adjourned until Monday at 9.30 am

## Instructions

After the tea adjournment this morning, Mr Mike Hannon, SC, told Mr Justice James: 'I am saddled, if I may use that word, with 33 accused. I do need more instructions, and particularly in view of this witness's very important evidence.'

May I suggest that this matter, to accommodate me particularly, be adjourned until Monday?''

Mr Justice James, who is sitting with two assessors, said: 'One of my personal ambitions is to hear a full day in court, but I do see the difficulty. I think probably I should accede.'

On Monday Colonel Mouton is expected to be cross-examined by the defence advocates. — Argus Correspondent.

Business and Shipping

SA has best ports — but a bit pricey

①. E. Post 12/5/82

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EVER since uhuru came to African countries, South Africa has enjoyed the reputation for having the best and most efficient seaports south of the Equator.

And recent impositions of sharply increased costs in inefficiently-run Angolan ports, where ships wait three months for a discharge berth, have only served to emphasise the virtue of South Africa's facilities.

Last month the oil companies shipping oil out of Angola to the United States were told of enormous tariff increases for use of the oil pipeline, and a vessel carrying 100 000 tons had to find an additional R16 000 to meet the increased bill.

The rule is retroactive for about four years, and the Americans responsible for operating the crude oil business from the Cabinda area are up in arms at the new rule.

But Angola is desperately in need of money.

Its ports are in a dreadfully run-down state, and even the Russian technicians brought in to reactivate cranes, forklifts, lorries and other mobile plant have been unable to improve the situation.

There are no spare parts, and the drivers wreck the gear again soon after

When similar problems with forklifts occurred at Maputo, the plant was shipped down to Durban in



ro-ro ships for servicing, and then sent back up the coast with the next ship

This ensured a reasonable turnaround for the regular liners.

In Angola the situation is worse

Seafarers of many countries have complained to their employers about problems associated with switching crews when staffs of ships, stranded in Luanda for three months, reach the end of their contracts.

A party of Japanese seamen were searched so thoroughly at Luanda airport that they lost all their electric razors, cameras, cassettes and other goods to the customs officers.

Then they were stopped by Cuban sentries demanding liquor, but they were satisfied with watches and other possessions of the Japanese.

Since there was only one small car to serve all the port's ships through the single State-run agent, staffs had to walk ten kilometres with their baggage to reach their ship.

They were stopped again by Cubans, also in search of liquor.

The Japanese complained that in one night in the hotel there was no run-

ning water, and they all adjourned to the foyer before midnight because of bedbugs

Crews of the rig tenders off Cabinda keep away from Angolan ports and are relieved from a port in the River Zaire every 28 days

The changes are made frequently because there are no shore amenities for the staffs

Their essential foodstuffs, composed often of South African supplies, are brought by helicopter from Zaire River ports to the oilmen.

Unfortunately, in terminals further north delays also occur, and piracy remains a problem for ships required to anchor off, awaiting service.

In Nigerian ports it is the practice for ships to heave up anchor at night and proceed to sea till dawn, to escape bandits.

The Nigerians, as the most populated country on the continent, are determined to beef up their national commercial fleet and are planning to carry 40% of their imports in ships flying the national flag.

As much as they dislike South Africa, the Nigerians declare that South Africa has already achieved this quota.

But West Africans have not been conspicuously successful in running ships, and if it becomes law for more freighters to wear the Nigerian flag and employ

crews from that country, established European companies allege it will lead to serious inefficiency

It proves essential for the uhuru countries to employ British crews in their vessels, and even at a time of serious unemployment in Britain there is no rush of applicants.

Ports of both West and East Africa are not noted for efficiency, and the corruption is formidable.

In the circumstances, it is not surprising that seafarers of all nations prefer to serve South African ports.

The tug, pilotage and wharf services are good, although the periodic tariff hikes could make them a little pricey.

South African harbours have always been the best source of revenue for the national transport system, and understandably some shipowners dislike the idea of paying high dues in order to subsidise some other transport department running at a loss.

When a State-appointed commission a few years ago recommended divorcing the ports from the control of the Railway management, it was summarily dismissed as unacceptable.

Even now when the port appears often to be empty, the revenue continues at a high level — with the pipeline from Durban to the Reef the biggest money-spinner of the entire transport administration.

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# SA knew of coup attempt, court told

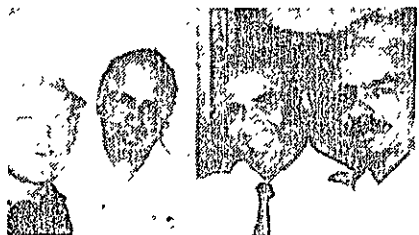
CAPE TIMES 13/3/82

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Senior members of the South African Government were aware of the attempted Seychelles coup that ended with an Air India Boeing being allegedly hijacked to Durban's Louis Botha Airport, it was stated in evidence in the Supreme Court here yesterday.



Weapons brought back to South Africa by the 43 alleged hijackers.



Alleged mercenary Mr Richard Stannard, 28, with the captain of the Air India Boeing, Mr U C Saxena, second right, and two other members of the crew. The picture, handed in as evidence in court yesterday, was allegedly taken while the aircraft was in flight.



An unidentified Air India air hostess.

This claim was made by Mr Peter Duffy, a freelance photographer who is one of the 43 men accused of commandeering the Air India Boeing 707 from the islands, according to a senior Railways Police officer who was giving evidence before Mr Justice James yesterday.

Colonel J Mouton, head of the Railways Police security section, described how he had mounted the steps to the aircraft and talked to Mr Duffy minutes after the aircraft had touched down.

Mr Duffy had opened the aircraft door and requested that vehicles near the aircraft be taken away.

"I made a sign, and all but one fire engine withdrew," the colonel said.

### 'Conversation hindered'

The engines of the aircraft were still whining and hindered conversation so they moved down on to the tarmac. Mr Duffy told him they had tried to overthrow the Seychelles Government but had not been successful, said Colonel Mouton.

Mr Duffy then told him that seven or eight senior members of the government knew about the incident, and that he did not wish to embarrass them. Mr Duffy also claimed that there were 13 or 14 members of the Reconnaissance Commando involved.

Mr Duffy then asked that an aircraft be made available to them, stating that it was a request and not a demand.

Colonel Mouton said he told Mr Duffy he would put his request to the officials in charge.

Meanwhile, Mr Dalglish had come down the steps and stood five or six paces away.

Colonel Mouton said he then returned to the terminal and put Mr Duffy's proposal to another senior officer and the Civil Aviation Department.

### Task force

He then returned to the aircraft, where he told Mr Duffy and Mr Dalglish that General Visagie and a task force were on the way from Johannesburg.

"Up to that point Duffy and Dalglish were definitely in charge of the aircraft," Colonel Mouton said.

"In normal circumstances the crew would be the ones to make arrangements, not anybody else. It was clear to me that any requests of the crew would come via Dalglish and Duffy to us.

The relationship between the crew and the accused was friendly but cautious, Colonel Mouton said.

"The crew gave the impression that they were careful to do nothing that could upset the accused."

The task force had landed at 7 19am and General Visagie had said that none of the men's requests were to be acceded to.

### Photographs

General Visagie had decided that the passengers would be taken to the terminal by bus and the aircraft to the hanger where the accused would be taken off.

"I went back to the aircraft and told Duffy what was going to happen. He agreed."

He told the court there wasn't a strained atmosphere among the passengers, but that one could see the relief that came over them when they stepped off the aircraft.

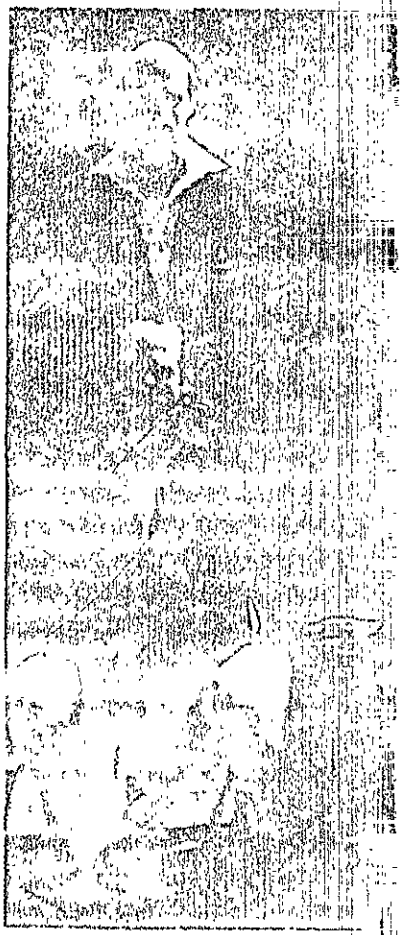
Duffy and Dalglish were worried about photographs being taken, so he had the aircraft turned so that the exits from the aircraft would not face the South Coast Road, Colonel Mouton said.

The accused were then taken off the aircraft, searched and taken away. The hearing continues.

## Fans

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — In scenes of jubilation not seen at the Wanderers for a long time, Transvaal's Jimmy Cook — hero of yesterday's opening day's play between the SAB English side and South Africa — was mobbed by fans and cheered to the skies in the room yesterday after becoming the first South African batsman to hit a century on his international debut.



The Springbok cricket team: Roux, Stephen Jefferies, Ray Richards, Graeme P.



## Mountain fire: Man in court

Staff Reporter

JOHANNESBURG. — Edward Strydom, the man arrested in connection with last weekend's fire on Devil's Peak, appeared briefly in the

Squad ball foot

By CAPT. A FIVE-year-old boy named Nyamefered a in Groote Schuur yesterday, and played George's C. Tuesday. Mrs. Priddy 27, was a patient at hospital according to who did the named in apparent loss, the



# 'Hijack' evidence will be secret

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Sensitive evidence in the Seychelles hijack trial that could be prejudicial to the Republic's security will be heard secretly.

The order closing three sessions of the hearing to the press and public, was made by the Acting Judge-President, Mr Justice Neville James, about four hours

after the trial of the 43 alleged hijackers of the Air India Boeing was due to resume at the College Road Supreme Court here yesterday.

The judge also warned the assembled accused, pressmen and counsel that in terms of Section 154 of the Criminal Procedure Act the publication "in any way whatsoever" of any of the evidence heard in the court

to motivate the application for an *in camera* hearing was prohibited.

The order closing the court would not affect a "substantial part" of the hearing as only three aspects of the case were involved, he said.

Making the order, the judge said that although the general ruling in criminal cases was that the court should be open so that "jus-

tice could be seen to be done", the rule had to be waived in some cases.

The first intimation of a move to close the court to the public came soon after the hearing was due to resume about 11.30 yesterday morning.

The Attorney-General of Natal, Mr Cecil Rees, SC, leading the prosecution team, said that an application was to be made for some

of the evidence to be held in private.

The evidence in question was not germane to the State's case, which is restricted to the alleged contrivances by the men of the Civil Aviation Act, but was peripheral to it.

But it was in the interest of justice that the application motivating the move should be made immediately, he said.

The judge then ordered the press, public and all others not involved with the case to leave the courtroom so the merits of the application could be heard.

The hearing continues today, when cross-examination of Lieutenant-Colonel Mouton, head of the security division of the Railways Police in Natal, is due to begin.

# Nat bid to thwart plans of Dr T

Political Correspondent

## Moving Navy farewells to lost sailors

Chief Reporter

IN the presence of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, other members of the cabinet, service chiefs and foreign envoys, and a gathering of more than 2 000 people including families of the dead men, the youth African Navy had a sailors' farewell yesterday to those who were lost with the SAS President Kruger.

A vast submarine-shed in the East Dockyard at Simon's Town was packed to capacity for the memorial service for the 16 men — most of them petty-officers — who died when the Navy's flagship sank after



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# Hijack trial told of gunfire

ARGUS  
16/3/82

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*[Handwritten signature]*

Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — While passengers on a darkened Air India Boeing heard gunshots and explosions at Mahé airport, a group of armed men rushed on to the aircraft, the hijack trial was told here today.

## 'Stiffer' law invoked on squatters

ARGUS 16/3/82

A LAW providing for stiffer penalties against people who return after being deported to independent homelands was used for the first time yesterday in the Langa Commissioner's Court.

## City urges State to end fasting impasse

THE Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Kosi van Zyl, and the City Council today urged the Government to seek an urgent solution to the plight of the squatters who are fasting in St George's Cathedral.

A statement released after an Executive Committee meeting asked the Government to seek a solution to the impasse and to take urgent steps to alleviate the lot of all squatters.

The squatters are in their eighth day at the cathedral.

They have resolved to fast 'until we die' if their plea for legal status in the Western Cape is not granted.

The 1972 law provides that deported people who return to the Republic illegally can be jailed for up to three months without the option of a fine and deported.

It was used against two Nyanga squatters arrested in a raid on the dune site near Crossroads on Friday.

They were charged under Section 22 of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act 55 of 1972.

A further 30 cases of people arrested in the raid will be heard this week.

It has been customary to charge people who enter the Republic illegally under Section 10 (4) of the Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act, which provides for a maximum sentence of a fine of R90 (or 100 days).

Section 22 deals with punishment of prohibited persons previously dealt with as prohibited persons.

The two charged yesterday had been deported without appearing in court under Section 40(4)

(Contd on Page 3, col 4)

A petrol company executive, Mr Arthur Reid, who took the jet from Salisbury to the Seychelles, said armed men rushed on to the aircraft, took up seats and then held a roll call by torchlight.

Mr Reid, who was not on the list of witnesses in the indictment, said the aircraft circled the airport for about 10 minutes. The captain announced that he could not make contact with the control tower.

The aircraft made a steep descent before travelling a long way along the runway. It bounced down on the runway and crashed up and down before coming to a shuddering stop.

Mr Reid, who was accompanied by his wife, said the passengers remained seated for about five minutes. The cabin crew went to the front door while the light was turned off — the interior had dim, emergency lights on.

### With guns

Mr Reid said: 'Then the door opened and two men dressed in beachwear and holding machine-guns came in, spent a moment on the flight deck and then went down the aisle, holding guns.'

'They said we had landed in the middle of something and we must sit still. They still had to decide what to do with us.'

'We waited for a considerable time and then heard machine-gun fire and other explosions.'

The captain left the aircraft with some of these people but returned later, to sit with us in the first class section. We continued to sit for about 40 minutes hearing gunshots and explosions every 20 minutes.

Then several of the armed men had a dis-

(Contd on Page 3, col 1)

DISTURBED

# 'Armed men rushed

## onto plane'

(Continued from Page 1)

cussion on the flight deck I could see they were plotting a course to a new destination.

'One of the comments was whether the aircraft had overflying lights over Madagascar.'

Mr Reid identified Durban photographer Mr Peter Duffy as being one of the armed men. He said Mr Duffy was involved in plotting an alternative course.

Some time after that we were told the aircraft would be taking on fuel and I heard the captain tell his crew to do so,' he said.

'After about 2½ hours of waiting we were asked to dim the lights further, putting the interior of the aircraft almost in darkness.

### Objected

'Shortly after that a large number of men rushed into the aircraft taking up seats and the roll call was held.

'One man objected to names being used, but he was told there wasn't time for numbers to be used.

'Some of these men had firearms and all of them were dressed in beachwear, jeans or shorts.

'There was some confusion. They could not find one or two of the people. When they were satisfied they had the right numbers, the aircraft took off.

'It was an astonishingly sharp and steep take-off which continued for a long time. Before the take-off, the cabin crew told us to fasten our seat belts.

'I asked one of the newcomers sitting in front of me what was happening. He said: "Make sure your seat belt is jolly well fastened." I asked if we were going to be shot at. He said "maybe". He was a charming young man.

'After completing a very steep rise from the ground the aircraft levelled out and the lights were turned on. Everyone relaxed, including the people who had boarded the aircraft.

'We asked them where on earth we were going to. We were merely told we would be told, in due course.

### Chatted

'We continued to chat to them during the course of the flight. I talked to several of the people who had boarded and overheard conversations between others.'

Mr Reid, sitting down to give his evidence, said it definitely seemed to be that one man was in command, one man second in charge, and a person he would call a

sergeant-major 'who was a very charming man.'

Colonel Hoare, sitting on the bottom bench, took his glasses off at Mr Reid's request so that he could be identified.

Mr Reid then picked out a very grim-faced Mr Tullio Moneta as second in charge, and William Dunlop Paul as the charming sergeant-major.

'Understandably, we were most concerned as to what had happened in the Seychelles and where we were heading,' Mr Reid said.

'As to what had happened in the Seychelles it appeared that the people who entered the aircraft were under strict orders not to talk or tell us where we were heading.'

Mr Reid said orders were passed from time to time to the men not to talk and they were reminded of it. The orders came from the sergeant-major. They were told they would eventually be told.

'The young man in front of us who was more talkative said where we were going there was a lot of water. That was all at that stage.'

Mr Justice James: At this stage you were right over water?

Mr Reid continued: 'I asked two of these people because the atmosphere was somewhat relaxed. There were no signs of weapons. They seemed to be put away under seats.'

He had asked 'why on earth involve us, and what were you up to?'

### Praying

Mr Reid told the hushed, tense court that the young man said: 'We were praying you would come. You were our last hope.'

Mr Reid said: 'A man seated behind me said we had an aircraft but would not or could not. I cannot remember which, come in. He said: "These things happen..."'

Mr Reid pointed out this man (behind him) as Jan Olof Sydow.

Mr Reid said he overheard Colonel Hoare say to another person something — 'very closely' — that 'the boys put up a jolly good show. It was madness to try to take the main gate with two guns maybe three.'

Relaying Colonel Hoare's alleged words, Mr Reid said Colonel Hoare had said: 'It is all good experience, but you will have to watch so and so (Mr Reid did not know who he was talking about). He did not do too well.'

Mr Reid then told the court Mr Duffy went to the flight deck, and the door was closed. He came out and reported to Colonel Hoare 'something I did not overhear'.

As a result of that Colonel Hoare turned to Moneta and said: 'It was a good job we were not rough with the captain. He is keeping his part of the deal. He is quite a good chap really, in fact quite brave. But he was made to have driven out in the runway to check before we took off.'

Mr Reid told the court he had earlier seen a car on the runway with its headlights on.

### Asleep

Mr Reid said an hour after they had taken off, passengers began to complain constantly (to the accused) about 'where on earth are we going?'

'It appeared to be agreed the pilot could tell us. It was then announced we were heading for Durban, where the extra passengers would be dropped off and that we would then proceed to Salisbury. At that time I went to sleep.'

Mr Reid continued from when the aircraft reached Durban. The accused, or many of them, came forward with their guns or sent their guns forward, at the request of the sergeant-major,' he said.

The guns were piled on a blanket. Mr Reid then pointed out the guns on display before court.

Mr Reid said that after another order, magazines came out of pockets and bags. The order appeared to be executed by the sergeant-major (Paul).

### Taxied

'The aircraft taxied not to the terminal building but stayed on the runway . . . after some time the door was opened. One or two of the accused went to talk to the local authorities.'

'The principal negotiator was Duffy. At that time there were others involved.'

But throughout the time of discussions they would return to report to and discuss with Colonel Hoare what was going on.

These discussions were conducted in whispers, but he was sitting very close to Colonel Hoare.

'I did overhear him say to Moneta: "We made a good choice in coming to Durban. It had the right element of surprise. It gives us time to get the general from Pretoria."

(Proceeding)

# Bloody setback for Russians in Africa

Star 17/3/82

729 ①

Hard blow to Soviet prestige

▶ from page 1

By Henry Reuter,  
The Star's Africa News Service

Khartoum

The Russian-backed Ethiopian army has suffered a series of heavy defeats in its "final offensive" against the mountain strongholds of the Eritrean secessionist forces — a severe setback for the Soviet Union's plans and prestige in Africa.

Reports from usually reliable sources say that Ethiopia's 120 000-strong defence force, financed by Libya, directed by four Russian generals and backed by massive air cover, has been pushed back on three of five fronts.

Between 10 000 and 20 000 men have been killed, wounded or captured, and the army is now regrouping for a change of tactics.

## Interest rates rise in battle to woo savers

By Mervyn Harris

The battle for funds between building societies and banks heated up today with a rise in fixed deposit interest rates for individuals to a record 16 percent.

The United Building Society announced today that it is offering interest rates of 16 percent on fixed deposits for 12 months.

It says this one

become more competitive," he said.

Banks and building societies have been vying with each other for the savings of individuals as the tightening credit squeeze has made the shortage of funds more acute.

Building societies have reported an outflow of money as investors seek the best outlets for their savings. This has made it difficult for building societies

Since the offensive began on February 16, the Ethiopian lines have been pushed back between 40 and 60 km in the south and west, and an attempt to encircle the mountain range held by guerrillas of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front through Sudan territory in the north has been abandoned after diplomatic protests.

The Ethiopian forces are now realigning on a 100 km eastern front for a drive on Nacfa, the mountain town held by the rebels.

The rebel forces are deployed to a depth of about 90 km in front of Nacfa.

Two years of planning has gone into the Ethiopian offensive.

In addition to its four generals based at Asmara, Russia has put 400 "advisers" in the field.

## Libyan oil

Libya has supplied 1 000 troops, who are employed on logistics well behind the front line.

Socialist South Yemen has provided pilots for MiG-23s, Hercules C130 and Antonov transport aircraft being used for transport and bombing.

Yemenis are also ferrying supplies by sea from Massawa to the offensive's "jump off" port, Mersa Teklay.

And EPLF spokesmen say Libya is providing the oil for the offensive, as well as R8 million.

EPLF leaders refuse to reveal how many seasoned guerrillas are resisting the offensive, but they are believed to number 3 000 to 5 000.

They say that though the 17 000 Cuban troops known to be in Ethiopia are not taking part in the offensive — codenamed Red Star — they have been sent to hold positions in Ogaden against Somali guerrillas, thus freeing Ethiopian troops for Eritrea.

Features of Operation Red Star have been the first-ever night-time bombing raids in Eritrea, and the extensive use by the Ethiopians of helicopter gunships to strafe rebel positions and drop napalm and anti-personnel cluster bombs.

The EPLF claims that poison gas has been used twice, killing guerrillas and civil

## Frivolous flirtation with fo



ians, but the type has not been identified yet.

Underground factories in the mountains are now turning out gas masks for the guerrillas. They have also been given injections against gas poisoning.

EPLF leaders say their losses so far have been light, mainly because they have the advantage of fighting from well-prepared positions.

They are also armed with the latest Soviet weapons, captured in large quantities in recent months.

It is estimated that the 21-year-old war is now costing the Ethiopian Government R1 million a day.

Guerrilla leaders say they can continue the struggle until Ethiopia's rulers accept that there can be no military solution.

They have already put forward a peace plan which demands a referendum to enable the Eritrean people to decide their own future.

# The 'final offensive' in Eritreia

At least 120 000 troops have been committed to defeating the guerillas in the provinces of Eritrea and Tigre. But is Ethiopia being over-confident? Bernd Debusmann reports from Nairobi.

Ethiopia's marxist military rulers have committed half their Soviet-equipped armed forces, the biggest in black Africa, to what they see as the final government offensive in a 21-year war of secession in Eritrea.

The government in Addis Ababa has given no indication of the size of the force involved in the latest attempt to crush guerrillas fighting for the independence of the strategic Red Sea province of Eritrea.

But Western military experts estimate that at least 120 000 troops (out of a total of about 240 000) have been deployed in Eritrea and neighbouring Tigre province, where a separate guerilla movement is fighting the government.

Ethiopia's soldiers are backed by tanks, artillery, fighter-bombers and helicopters of the type used by the Russians in Afghanistan. "The government's firepower is impressive," said one diplomat familiar with developments in the volatile horn of Africa. "But firepower alone doesn't win wars." The government

drive is by far the biggest military effort to pacify Ethiopia's unruly north since the first spots were fired in Eritrea in September 1961.

On February 1, a policy document adopted by a meeting chaired by Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam vowed to "mobilise forces for the total and final destruction of remaining secessionist strongholds (and) . . . search and destroy supporters and sympathisers of the secessionist movements."

Third World diplomats in Addis Ababa said that Lieutenant Colonel Mengistu had gambled his prestige on the success of the offensive by firmly committing himself to the destruction of the rebels. Past efforts to bring the warring sides to the negotiating table have involved parties as diverse as Sudanese



President Mengistu . . . everything at stake.

President Jafaar Nimeiri and Cuban leader Fidel Castro. Neither was able to bridge the vast gulf between the rebels and the Government. The guerillas say the former Italian

colony of Eritrea — with some 1 000 km of coastline on the Red Sea — was illegally annexed by the late Emperor Haile Selassie.

The Ethiopians have rejected demands for Eritrean independence because they fear that the secession of the province would signal the collapse of an em-pire made up of a bewildering array of rival ethnic groups and tribes.

Reports from the Eritrean battle fronts have been sketchy but Western military experts say the rebels appear to be under greater pressure than at any time since young leftist officers overthrew Haile Selassie in 1974 and perpetuated his Eritrean policy. Announcing the offensive, the Ethiopian

Government said it had launched a parallel campaign to rebuild the war-shattered province. "It seems to be a matter of first killing the fighters and then trying to smother Eritrean nationalism under a pile of banknotes," said an Arab envoy in Nairobi.

Western diplomats in the Ethiopian capital say that the government has stopped a number of development projects in Ethiopia, one of the world's 10 poorest countries, and diverted funds to Eritrea to show that it means business in pushing what is known as the "Red Star development campaign."

According to a spate of communiqués issued by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), the most effective of the

guerilla groups, thousands of Ethiopian troops have been killed in the rugged Eritrean highlands and the sun-baked savannahs of the western plains along the border with Sudan. The accounts are considered vastly exaggerated by military experts but propaganda has not been restricted to the rebel side: the official Ethiopian news agency reported that the secessionists had been "effectively smashed" weeks before the offensive even began.

Similar statements have been issued repeatedly in the past, but the guerillas fought on in Africa's longest war. Guerilla strength has been sapped, however, by weeks of fighting last year between the EPLF and the Eritrean Liberation Front-Revolutionary Council (ELF-RC). Some 4 000 ELF-RC fighters were chased out of their strongholds in the lowlands and driven across the border into the Sudan.

Late in February, Ethiopia said the government offensive was progressing accordingly to plan and added: "Victory against the anti-people and anti-unity elements and the task of restoring normality in the troubled Eritrea region will not be far away."

No time frame was given but African diplomats said the Ethiopian military appeared to be confident of success before the end of April, when the onset of the rainy season makes the movement of armour and heavy equipment near-impossible. Military experts in Nairobi feel the Ethiopian plans are over-

confident. Eritrea is ideal guerilla country and in the area around Nakfa, the only town still in rebel hands, the EPLF has built a warren of fortified underground installations which would pose formidable problems even to the best-equipped assault force.

There has been no convincing explanation for the timing of the latest offensive, but one school of diplomatic thought in Addis Ababa maintains that the military leadership wants to solve the Eritrean problem because it would lessen Ethiopia's dependence on the Soviet Union.

Although Ethiopia is linked to the Soviet Union by a formal treaty of friendship and co-operation, Ethiopians tend to be nationalists — first and marxists second. —Rtr.



# 'Hijack' trial told of general from Pretoria

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — A surprise State witness in the "hijack" trial told the Supreme Court here yesterday that he had heard mention of a "general from Pretoria" meeting an Air India aircraft at Louis Botha Airport.

The witness, Mr Arthur Reid, a passenger in the aircraft, was sitting in it in Durban when he heard Colonel Mike Hoare, one of 43 accused in the trial, say the choice of destination was a good one.

Colonel Hoare said: "We made a good choice in Durban. It has the element of surprise, and gives time to get the general from Pretoria," Mr Reid told the court.

He went on to say that some time after the aircraft had landed on the morning of November 26 last year, Mr Hoare was asked by a fellow-accused, Mr Peter Duffy, whether he wanted to speak to the general.

Mr Reid said the attitude of the 43 accused of hijacking the flight from the Seychelles to Durban, was relaxed when the aircraft landed at Louis Botha.

"They appeared to know what they were facing."

While sitting close to

Colonel Hoare in the first-class section of the aircraft, he heard the men discussing what their story should be.

Mr Hoare and his second-in-command, Mr Tullio Monetta, decided that they should say there had been a popular uprising in the Seychelles and the aircraft had arrived by accident.

"They said they would say that for humanitarian reasons they aborted their part in the coup to save the plane," Mr Reid said.

The "official" version of the coup was then passed back through the aircraft to all the men.

Mr Reid said he had boarded the flight to the Seychelles in Salisbury. The flight had been routine till the aircraft — scheduled ultimately for Bombay — was over Mahé in the Seychelles.

It had circled for about 10 minutes, made a steep descent and appeared to be preparing for a normal landing.

"It was a horrific landing. We bounced twice and came to a shuddering, breaking halt."

"We sat for a few minutes. The cabin crew

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To page 2



From page 1227  
went to the front door and the engines were turned off.

"Shortly afterwards, the door opened and men in beachwear with automatic machine-guns came in and went to the flight deck.

"One of them walked down the aisle and said we had landed in the middle of something and would have to sit quietly.

"I heard a machine-gun firing and mortar fire, and a short time later the captain left the plane with some of the men. He came and went several times during the three hours on the ground."

The captain then returned and sat with the first-class passengers while intermittent explosions and gunfire continued outside, Mr Reid said.

Some time later, the

passengers were informed that the aircraft was taking on fuel and he heard the captain giving orders for it, Mr Reid said.

"About two hours later we were requested by the cabin crew to close all the blinds.

"A large number of men then rushed into the plane taking up seats where ever they could.

"A roll call was held under the light of a torch. One of the men objected to names being used but was told there was no time for numbers.

"They couldn't find some of the people — but after they had the right numbers the plane took off.

"I asked one of them what had happened. Were we going to be shot at?"

"He said 'maybe'. He was a charming young man."

When the aircraft levelled out, the lights were turned on and everyone was more relaxed.

# Hijacking denied by Hoare

ARGUS  
17/3/82  
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Argus Correspondent

**MARITZBURG.** — Colonel Mike Hoare denied when first arrested that he and his men had hijacked a plane, the Supreme Court was told here today.

Brigadier John Visser, Divisional Police Commissioner for Port Natal, said when he charged the men for hijacking the Air India Boeing, Colonel Hoare denied it.

Asked by the prosecution whether Colonel Hoare had been speaking for himself only or for all the men, Brigadier Visser said he was speaking for all the then 45 men.

He had been told that they were under arrest while they were in the side room by the hangar at Louis Botha Airport.

## Weapons

Colonel S. D. Booysen of Durban South Police District said that he took over the weapons, ammunition and other equipment from the Railways Police.

Three hand grenades which were among the equipment were handed to Lieutenant Fraser from the Navy in Durban.

Colonel Booysen said that he had listed 90 AK 47 rifle magazines, each containing 20 or 30 cartridges among the equipment.

He had taken the equipment to the Brighton Beach police station.

Colonel Booysen also handed in a white travel bag as an exhibit. It contained a passport and an international driving permit, both in the name of J. Fritz.

The bag also held a pair of socks, a bottle of beer, matches, shaving equipment, toothpaste, a pair of trousers and travellers' cheques.

It also contained a magazine of 12 rounds and a part of an AK-47 rifle.

Colonel Booysen said he also received from Brigadier Visser airplane tickets in the name of D. Prinsloo and Goatley.

The judge agreed that for security reasons the exhibits could be taken from the court and stored in a safe place.

When the hijack trial opened today, counsel for defence said that some of the accused will deny certain statements alleged to have been made to State witnesses. Mr Kenneth Dalgleish will deny using the word 'commandeered,' it was said.

In his evidence-in-chief Mr Johannes Colyn, fire chief at Durban's Louis Botha Airport, told Mr Justice James that Dalgleish had told him they had run through the bushes at Mahe airport

and commandeered the plane.

Mr Colyn was cross-examined by Mr Mike Hannon, counsel for Dalgleish, at the start of the sixth day's hearing today.

At the end of his cross-examination, Mr Hannon told Mr Colyn: 'Dalgleish will deny that he ever used the word commandeered.'

## Navigation

He will say that it could be that he said 'We had someone on board who knew about navigation.'

He could have said, but he cannot remember and he will not deny saying, that the person who monitored the flight to Durban.

These were points (Contd on Page 3, col 5)



MRS Shirley Chapman

Legless  
landmine  
victim  
has son

Argus Africa News Service

**SALISBURY.** — Mrs Shirley Chapman, a young former Zimbabwe woman who lost both her legs in a landmine explosion during the Rhodesian war, has given birth to a baby

P.T.O.  
Building society  
interest rates up

THE rate of interest paid by the building societies for deposits has reached a record level.

From today the United Building Society is paying 16 percent for 12 months' money to people above or below 60.

Three weeks ago the United was paying 13.5 percent for 12-month deposits.

Two other building societies are also believed to be paying the same

rate, but only to people aged 60 or older.

The increase reflects the intense competition between banks and building societies for funds.

Building society officials hope the situation in the money market will ease soon.

Otherwise, they say, the mortgage rate — which goes up to between 13.25 percent and 15.25 percent from April 1 — will have to be raised.

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(Continued from Page 1)

brought out in Mr Colyn's evidence yesterday.

Mr Hannon continued: 'He will deny he said to you they did not wish to land at Jan Smuts, and they wanted to come home.'

'He will say that you told him anybody who leaves women and children on the plane are animals, or words to that effect, and he told you don't tell me, tell Mouton.'

Lieutenant Colonel Jacobus Stephanus Mouton, is head of the SAR Security Department in Natal.

Mr Hannon continued: 'Duffy will deny that at any stage he spoke to you about women and children.'

Mr Hannon also said Duffy would deny speaking to Colyn about bombs and ammunition for that you asked him to give you a chance.'

Mr Hannon said: 'Dagleish will say he spoke to Colyn about the coup and that he told you he ran through the bushes.'

## Hijack bid

Mr Justice James: 'Do I understand that he told you part of it, but he denies adding to it the words "they commanded the plane?"

Mr Hannon: 'As your Lordship pleases.'

Mr Piet Oosthuizen, who is assisting Mr Eddie Stafford defend 10 accused, stood up for the first time during the trial to cross-examine the witness.

Colonel Mike Hoare, an Irish citizen, was today wearing an Irish harp pinned to his lapel and a green tie in deference to Saint Patrick's Day.

Mr Oosthuizen, S.C., asked the head of the fire department at Louis Botha Airport to relate the sequence of events following the landing of the aircraft.

'I was next to the aeroplane with Mr Hardie when it came to a stop. Colonel Mouton was in the airport building.'

'At first the aircraft wanted to park on the runway, but I requested that it stop at the turning point.'

Mr Oosthuizen: 'So did it stop where you wanted it to?'

Mr Colyn: 'No. The place where it should have stopped we call "bravo parking". We wanted it to stop there, but it didn't.'

Mobile steps were then taken to the aircraft and a door was opened from the inside of the plane, he said.

Mr Colyn said he did not immediately mount the steps, because he was informed over the radio in his car that only a

factor and security police were wanted.

The ambulance was to be moved away from its position beside the aircraft. This instruction was made by Mr Peter Duffy, making a gesture with his hand.

He said Mr Kenneth Dagleish and Mr Peter Duffy came down the steps to the aircraft wing that had been damaged and continued negotiations with Colonel Mouton.

'I can't say whether Colonel Mouton took control, but the atmosphere changed.'

'Was Mr Duffy discourteous to you?' asked the prosecution.

'I got that impression. I would say he was cheeky,' replied Mr Colyn.

(Proceeding)



# Mercenaries took live arms aboard plane

Own Correspondent  
MARITZBURG. — The State yesterday submitted that some of the 38 AK47 assault rifles brought on board the allegedly hijacked Air India Boeing by Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare's mercenaries were in a "ready-to-fire position".

The submission was read into the court record by Deputy Attorney-General, Mr H G Klem, on the sixth day of the hijack trial in the College Road Supreme Court.

Mr Klem also submitted that:

• Twelve of the mercenary weapons had live rounds in the chamber.

• Three Chinese stick grenades were live and loaded — one with a 2-second fuse and two with 4-second fuse.

• South African Airways did repair work on the Air India Boeing worth R10 141.64.

An aircraft technician, Mr J D Wentzel, who was in charge of the repairs to the damaged Boeing, told the court that he would not have signed a safety clearance certificate "under any circumstances" for the aircraft before the repairs had been done.

Mr Wentzel said the left inner flap of the aircraft had to be replaced.

The State witness said the pilot of the aircraft, Captain Umesh Saxena, had indicated to him that he should get permission from mercenary Ken Dalgleish to go ahead with the repairs.

Dalgleish had then given him the go ahead at Louis Botha Airport in Durban on November 26 last year.

Another State witness who had been a passenger on the Air India flight, Mr Rashid Mo-

ammed, told of the events when the aircraft landed at a darkened Pointe Larue Airport in the Seychelles.

He said the aircraft made an abnormally bad landing. It was dark outside and there were no lights in the airport building.

Some passengers had started getting their hand luggage in preparation for disembarkation when a person was seen standing at the curtain between the first class and economy class sections.

"He was not a member of the crew and seemed to be casually dressed," he said.

The lights in the cabin had gone off and the passengers were amused. They were joking about the generator having gone off when they heard bursts of fire outside. This ended the joking.

It became oppressively hot in the aircraft and he had got the impression it was being retuelled.

The passengers then heard footsteps and thought they were those of people joining the flight.

People were moving up and saying "Why not come and sit next to me ... I have an empty seat here,"

♦♦♦♦

To page 2



CAPE TIMES 15/3/82  
B ♦♦♦♦  
From page 1

he said.

In the pitch darkness of the cabin Mr Mohammed heard a kind of roll call and repeated clicking noises which to him sounded like seatbelts being fastened.

The take off "seemed pretty quick".

When the aircraft took off there was a sudden burst of clapping and cheering.

Suddenly when the lights went on he saw that the passenger sitting next to him had a machinegun on his lap.

"I said 'What the hell's going on?' And he said 'You tell me'."

On landing at Louis Botha Airport the mercenaries were told: "Collect your toys".

No landing announcements were made and it seemed obvious to him that the mercenaries were in control of the aircraft.

Mr Mohammed said that during the flight there had been a gentleman in the cockpit with a gun slung over his shoulder.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for Port Natal, Brigadier Don Visser, testified that he had arrested the 45 accused at Louis Botha Airport at about 12 15pm after the allegedly hijacked aircraft arrived.

# Cuban presence (1) tops 30 000 mark

ROH 24/3/82  
London Bureau

ABOUT 32 000 Cuban troops are now deployed in Africa, according to Western intelligence reports.

They are concentrated in Angola and Ethiopia.

This huge military strength is four times that of the many Cuban civilians employed on development and aid work in Africa.

With the Cuban economy under severe strain, such a vast overseas investment of resources is maintained with considerable assistance from both the Soviet Union and those African countries who play host to the Cubans.

Cuba initiated military links with Africa by assisting the Algerian Liberation Front in 1960. Since then, it has given active support to many African independence movements and countries, either by the direct provision of troops or training teams, or by running appropriate military courses in Cuba itself.

In Angola, for instance, where Cuban assistance was the key to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) victory over its rivals — the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the



**PRESIDENT CASTRO**  
African commitment

National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (Unita) — it is reported that some 19 000 Cuban troops still remain. Their cost is believed to be about R550 per soldier per month.

But the joint Angolan and Cuban Governments' statement of February 4 indicated that their withdrawal would be considered after settlement of the South West African problem.

In Ethiopia, an estimated 15 000 Cuban soldiers and pilots were flown into assist in the Ogaden campaign, of whom about 13 000 are reported to be still there. Other Cuban training teams and advisers remain elsewhere in Africa.

# Cuba's 'huge' force in Africa

*Mercury*

(1) (int)

24/3/82

al

1980

### London Bureau

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### Remain

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# SADCC post filled

① Star

The Star's Africa  
News Service

24/3/82

GABORONE — The nine-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference has appointed a Zimbabwean diplomat as its secretary-general, according to top SADCC sources.

He is Zimbabwe's ambassador to Belgium and representative to the European Common Market in Brussels, Mr Arthur Blumeris.

No official announcement has yet been made.

Mr Blumeris, an economics graduate who worked for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) from 1963 to 1974, takes up his appointment on July 1.

# Zimbabwe diplomat to head <sup>Argus</sup> SADCC <sup>25/3/82</sup> (1)

Argus Africa News  
Service

GABORONE. — The nine-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference has appointed a Zimbabwean diplomat as its secretary general, according to top SADCC sources here.

He is Zimbabwe's Ambassador to Belgium and representative at the European Common Market in Brussels, Mr Arthur Blumeris.

No official announcement has yet been made.

Mr Blumeris, an economics graduate who worked at the United Nations for its Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) from 1963 to 1973, takes up his appointment on July 1.

As such, he will head the SADCC's Botswana-based secretariat whose major task will be to service SADCC summits, and ministerial and other meetings. The secretariat has no overall administrative function in the highly decentralised SADCC.

One of the major goals of the SADCC countries, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — is to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa under an apartheid government.

A meeting of the SADCC's ministerial Council is scheduled for Angola in May, according to the sources. In July there will be a summit of heads of state and governments.



5

# Court told of Boeing's hijack call

ARGUS  
25/3/82 (1)  
~~3/11~~

## Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The Air India crew hit the hijack button, the first man from South Africa to make radio contact with the plane told the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday.

A Jan Smuts traffic controller, Mr Dirk Hoogewind, told of his growing suspicions about a hijack based on radio messages transmitted from the Boeing.

At 1 am SAST on November 26 he received a 'high priority' teletyped signal from Mauritius saying the flight was diverting from Mahe to Durban in 'extreme emergency.'

### ILLOGICAL

'The signal seemed illogical to me. I couldn't understand why the aircraft had not rather gone to other airfields on the East Coast,' Mr Hoogewind said.

Durban was further from Mahe Airport than Bombay, he added.

The conversations between the control tower and the aircraft were taped and a transcript was handed to the court.

Mr Eddie Stafford, appearing for 10 accused, admitted the transcript was correct, but not the truth of the contents and the origin of the voices.

At 2.05 am Mr Hoogewind contacted the Boeing over high-frequency radio.

### EMERGENCY

Johannesburg: I believe you have an emergency. Can you explain what the emergency is? Over.

Air India: Okay. Will get back to you in two minutes. Stand by. Will

get that message from the guys concerned.

Four minutes later the plane radioed back to say it had diverted to Durban because of damaged flaps.

'Unable explain further,' the transcript read.

Mr Hoogewind said: 'I was very suspicious because the captain should have been able to tell me this immediately. I thought there had possibly been a hijack.'

Mr Hoogewind asked for crew and passenger details, tagging on the question: 'Have you got a transponder,' in a hopefully inconspicuous way.

The plane replied they had one on board and it was on.

He explained to the court that the pilot could send a secret code through the transponder to warn air control the aircraft had been hijacked.

At that stage, at 2.12 the plane was outside the radar's 320 km range.

(Proceeding)

ACCRA — In Ghana, which once boasted one of the best educational systems in Africa, some pupils now have to carry their own chairs and desks from home to school and back every day.

If they didn't they would have to work on the floor.

Recently in Accra, near the noisy Makola market, 11-year-old Naa Akweley and five other girls, sharing one book, were craning their necks to follow the lines being read by their teacher, Mr Sakey, during an English lesson.

"Textbooks are not available," explained the teacher, "so we divide the pupils into groups to follow the lesson."

Naa Akweley, a Form 2 pupil, said: "The teacher always smacks me at the back because I can't read well. But I don't have the book to read over when I go home."

These are not isolated instances, but are symptomatic of the deterioration throughout Ghana's educational system, from primary school to university.

Until five years ago Ghana set educational standards that other West African nations struggled to attain. Free textbooks, stationery and furniture were supplied to primary and secondary schools. Bookshops at the universities were stocked with textbooks and stationery at reasonable prices. Their laboratories and faculties had all the equipment and materials they needed.

So the performance of Ghanaian candidates at the examinations conducted by the West African Examination Council (WAEC), for English speaking West Africa was always the best. Teachers were content with their jobs and did not go on strike. Their morale was high. They were respected in the society. Parents were happy about the academic progress of their children.

Today, however, the educational system is sinking along with other foundations of Ghana's society into the country's deepening economic morass. Its future looks grim.

The education service no longer supplies textbooks to schools every year, and stationery supplies are well below requirements. Books

# 25/3/82 D Saw Schools without books...

**From being one of Africa's best-taught nations, Ghana has slumped into an educational decline that has grave implications for the future. The Star's Africa News Service reports.**

can be bought on the open market but at very high prices.

Some schools have so few desks and chairs that pupils bring their own every day. University book shops are virtually empty, and students are increasingly having to make notes from library books.

Construction of schools has ceased, either because there are no building materials or no funds or because the funds have been embezzled. In some villages classes are held in the shade of big trees. There is no school when it rains.

Feeding is a problem at boarding schools, and there is a high incidence of student disturbances. Equipment and science materials are in short supply. Science teachers borrow from other schools to conduct essential experiments. Where possible, they improvise.

The lack of funds has meant that teachers not only get no salary increases but are sometimes not even paid on time. The result has been strikes by teachers.

An end result of the deterioration in education in Ghana has been a mass exodus of teachers and a subsequent sharp drop in academic standards. The Ghana National Association of Teachers (Gnat) has lost more than half its membership to neighbouring countries, especially Nigeria and Liberia, in the past three years. Retired teachers are being recalled, and more university graduates on their compulsory or year national service are being pushed into the classrooms to contain the situation.

In the past two years, Nigeria has beaten Ghana into second place in WAEC results. Ironically, this was made possible by Ghanaian teachers who have gone to seek a better life in Nigeria.

The intake into institutions of higher learning in Ghana has been drastically reduced. The University of Ghana turned down applications from 800 qualified students this year because of lack of facilities like accommodation and lecture halls. Some lecture halls.

The education ministry is aware of the problems.

"We are taking measures to improve the situation but our hands are tied by lack of resources," said Mr Sam Boohene, public relations officer of the Ghana education service.

Meanwhile the teachers struggle on. "The present situation makes teaching uncomfortable," said one. "It is only a sacrificial job we are doing."

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# African unity moves

COM  
20/3/82

LUSAKA. — Eastern and Southern African Preferential Trade Area (PTA) Ministers of legal affairs and Attorney-Generals are meeting in Lusaka to consider the draft statute of the tribunal of PTA.

Zambia's Minister of Legal Affairs and Attorney-General, Mr Gibson Chigaga, said the five-day meeting will speed up the implementation of the PTA treaty which has now been signed by 11 of the 18 countries in the region.

Mr Chigaga said: "The treaty will bring us closer to our cherished goal of the establishment of a common market and an eventual viable economic community for eastern and Southern African states."

He said by combining in a united front, the sub-region would be able to move speedily to bring about a new economic order "to enable us to raise the standards of life of our people".

The meeting is being attended by representatives from Comoro Islands, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Swaziland and Zambia. — Sapa-AP.

Coup <sup>①</sup>  
*1/14/82* *Stew*

nets SA

an island

'colony'

A South African property consortium, working with an Italian financier and other interests, has pulled off a sensational financial coup in the Indian Ocean.

Effectively it gives South Africa a new island "colony" — a move with far-reaching international repercussions.

Ile de Scaramouche, an uninhabited island 70 km from the Comoros, has been bought outright from the Comoros Government for R10 million.

Last night the backers announced well advanced plans to turn the 100 sq km island into a holiday paradise within easy reach of South Africans, either as property buyers or as tourists.

The resort will be developed as part of Hugh Hefner's international Playboy empire.

The plans include:

- A cabana complex with sea-facing homes selling for as little as R50,000 to approved buyers.

- A five-star hotel with casino, sports centre and adult entertainment complex.

- Budget price travel to Scaramouche by air or special cruise liner.

- Full story, pictures and maps —

Page 26. The men behind the big deal —

Page 27.

Lava fields of extinct volcano

Deception Bay (proposed nudist colony)

Old Portuguese fortifications

Water source discovered here

A panoramic view of the lesser-known northern coastline of Saramouche showing principal landmarks and other points of interest.

# SA whizz-kid who made the 'snatch'

For South Africa, the "S.A.R.A." mouche Saramouche (as it has become known in official circles) is a significant diplomatic multilateral coup.

The international community has been caught completely flat-footed by the secret deal, which was given a crucial push by one of the country's rising young diplomats, Mr. Eugene Roodt.

Mr. Roodt is only 29 years old and has been in the Foreign Affairs Department for a mere three years. He was recruited personally by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. P.W. Botha, to bring some verve and imagination to the operation of the In-



Mr Eugene Roodt — rising SA's foreign affairs whizz-kid

formation Service in the wake of the Scaramouche scandal. The two met while Mr Roodt was working as a temporary liaison officer at Clifton Beach, giving lessons in wind-surfing as a sideline. As part of a fitness campaign Mr Botha tried wind-surfing for exercise, and met Mr Roodt as a result.

Their friendship blossomed and the young former Stellenbosch University political science lecturer, who had decided to drop out of the academic world for a year, found himself catapulted into the world of international diplomacy.

It was Mr Roodt's personal knowledge of the details.

At a Press conference in Cape Town last night, Mr Roodt came out into the open and spoke of his pride and excitement at his part in the project.

He handed questions fired at him by a battery of local and international journalists.

What guarantee was there that a future Comoros government would not renge on the deal? "Legal documents have been signed by all concerned. The South African Government, as a party closely interested in the island development, will guarantee its sovereignty," he said.

Did he personally plan to buy and on the island? "I have already staked my claim and will be glad to revisit my old school-leaving haunts," he said with a smile.

Mr Roodt was asked for his reaction to the fury of the OAU and the United Nations. "No man is an island," he said, "and no country is an island, either. But, in this instance, they can go and shout at the waves."

What about South African naval facilities on the island, as part of an Indian Ocean patrol plan?

Mr. Roodt chuckled. "The only facilities I can comment on are those given to those able to fly. I'll show you the island."

## SA experts ready for legal attack on purchase

South African and international legal experts will have plenty of answers to contest the legality of the purchase of Saramouche island from the Comoros Government.

Once there was a willing seller and a willing purchaser, there was "nothing to stop South Africa from buying the whole of Madagascar," said a legal representative of the Comoros, who was speaking at a press conference in Johannesburg.

A Foreign Affairs official in Pretoria, who preferred to remain anonymous, stressed that the S.A. Government had no official role in the purchase, although it was "well aware of the deal."

"One does not even have to go as far back as 1826 when the Dutch West India Company bought the entire island for as little as 24 dollars worth of beads from the Manhattan Indians."

"In the famous Louisiana Purchase of 1803 the United States doubled its size through buying that state from France."

"And of course in more recent times, the U.S. added Alaska to its domain through a shabby deal with Russia. "Nobob has ever seriously tried to

## Saramouche — a look back

Some important dates in the history of Saramouche: 500 BC — 1,500 AD: Landings by Arab traders. 1794: Claimed in the name of Louis XIV by Admiral Despoir, given name Saramouche. 18th century: British garrison landed during Napoleonic wars, leaves after two days because of lack of water. 1913: De facto French territory.



## The elusive Dr Scemo

Financial Staff of the Ile de Saramouche project ranks as one of the most ambitious schemes in the speculative financial career of Dr Scemo.

At 58, he is reportedly one of the 20 richest men in the world.

Dr Scemo made his fortune on the international oil market through his oil shocks in all oceans when the Saudi Arabian government nationalized the oil industry.

He then established the Scemo International Petroleum Corporation, which took over the oil industry in Saudi Arabia.

The Arab world later in the 1970s.

de facto ruler of many Tropical States, Dr Scemo's financial staff is now working on the project of buying the island of Saramouche.

That was 25 years ago and now the black gold which has built up a mighty fortune of over R200 million through oil with continuing to diversify into various areas of high potential.

Clearing of immense financial portions, it is a common tale in super-bova that may originate from the Arab world.

The implications for South African investors are immense.

## White gold set to net millions

The up-and-coming South African fertilizer-based conglomerate, Samnis, has just added another planet to its galaxy of interests — bird droppings.

This morning's announcement that the little-known Ile de Saramouche, off the Comoros, is going to be developed into a R200 million tourist complex, included details of a deal between the new owners and Samnis Belegers Bepers.

Samnis will combine its marketing expertise with the honoree middleman Dr. Aprilio Scemo, who has acquired rights to harvest the droppings of saururus birds population — Saramouche — on the Salomon's Zapher — last remaining unspoiled for so long that its birds now number about 500,000.

As the Comoros and the Seychelles Islands became tourist resorts, their pelicans, cormorants, terns, gulls, and gannets gradually disappeared.

Saramouche, where they come in hundreds of Crocus-like birds in palm trees with the advent of the large numbers will displace many birds.

## Playboy plans bilingual bunnies for island resort

of his magazine — it has been banned in South Africa since 1965 — Playboy would doubt plans to export in terms of quality in service and the friendliness of the staff.

Playboy girls were already having affairs with the African Playboy, less than headquarters so the there would be a high proportion of bilingual hotel staff on duty by the opening date — December 15.

The architecture of the Playboy Saramouche Club would be totally different from anything ever designed, he said.

A health centre with a Jacuzzi, underground pool and outlay for the flat form, running costs will be minimal. The birds do all the work.

"Labour costs are negligible, especially when you consider the Comoros and the prevailing legal wage minimum of about five a day."

"No skills are required either. All you need is a strong pair of shoulders and of course a strong nose. The present small group of labourers don't seem to notice the smell any more."

"The project will, in fact, make a substantial contribution to the economy of the Comoros."

He added: "There is a growing market for gunns, particularly in the Persian Gulf states, where with perforations they are now trying to 'turn desert into arable land'."

Mr. Vogel admitted the scheme was inspired by Bird Reef Island off Walvis Bay.

This island was put up in the 1930s and consists of a wooded platform rising on a steel 2,000 sq m in size and yields an average of 800 tons of game a year. The present owners reap about R150,000 a year from their feathered tenants.

## SA resort plan bombshell hits Moroni traders

The Star's Africa News Service

MORONI (Grand Comore) — The Comoros Government has made no official announcement so far about the sale of the Ile de Saramouche, but news of the plans to turn the nearby island into a multi-million rand tourist resort struck a bomb this morning.

"Allah will not be pleased," said Emir Akhmedh when told of the gambling and sex shows African hawkers such as Sun City and the Swazi Spa.

As soon as the news came through on the BBC Africa Service, the Comoros Chamber of Commerce called an executive meeting.

"We are taking this very seriously," said C.C.C. chairman Mr. Gur d'Arpent as he arrived for the meeting.

Reports compiled by The Star's Insight Team, Africa News Services, Finance Department, staff reporters and special correspondents. Acknowledgments for certain material are due to the Bureau des Menages of the Indian Ocean Travel Secretariat.

Carive Island, code of President Ahmad Asshahid has restricted Mr. Deloger's and to roll back the clock to the time, and to serving only soft drinks. Last year the great permission to employ female employees, but they must wear full-length dresses with Chinese collars and long sleeves.

"At Saramouche these South African tourists will have to leave crocheters, string phrase acts, hard liquor, poker, chess and other flashy African hawkers such as Sun City and the Swazi Spa.

"With a firm house here that will bring in the extra 700 km to Grand-Comore."

At over Moroni this morning shopkeepers and street hawkers were discussing the Scaramouche.

getting very much more than that for the 100 sq km of Saramouche. Even after allowing for the ravages of the century of infestation there was a willing seller and a willing purchaser, there was "nothing to stop South Africa from buying the whole of Madagascar," said a legal representative of the Comoros, who was speaking at a press conference in Johannesburg.

A Foreign Affairs official in Pretoria, who preferred to remain anonymous, stressed that the S.A. Government had no official role in the purchase, although it was "well aware of the deal."

"One does not even have to go as far back as 1826 when the Dutch West India Company bought the entire island for as little as 24 dollars worth of beads from the Manhattan Indians."

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"And of course in more recent times, the U.S. added Alaska to its domain through a shabby deal with Russia. "Nobob has ever seriously tried to

**DOMI**

Domestic ad for Births, Engagements, Marriages, Funerals. Notice accepted by tel must be placed at all Star Computer of advertisers are sign the advert case of 833-0-11.

**Birth**

**BRET**  
To Fine Charles a beautiful and sister to James Thanks and staff Park L.

**FRERI**  
To Ingo and Yv (Henderson), a baby boy, March 24. Thanks to doctor of Sandton Clinic.

**GAMSI**  
To Gillian (nee and Colin), a daughter to Lisa Baruch Hashem. Thanks to gynaec staff at the Mary.

**LICHTE**  
To Hilary (nee Gury) a beautiful brother to Er March 20. The paedologist and mount, Baruch B.

**LUCHTENS**  
To Lauranne (nee beautiful) daughter March 22 in Cape.

**MACKEO**  
To Corne and daughter on M Both Well. Thank for and nurse at

**NERWIC**  
To Carole (nee and Hilton) a boy brother for Ja Jared. Many than for and staff Mar

**USHRY**  
A son born to Irit on March 30, well.

**STEIN**  
Baruch Hashem (nee Sharon) (nee Wa precious) daughter March 24. At the sincere thanks to gynec.

**Engagen**

**BENTLEY-GRI**  
John and Frank Bel pleasure in announcing the engagement of their daughter Alison to Simon Kelly and Hugh Congratulatory families.

**STEINBERG**  
Sam and Daphne have pleasure in announcing the engagement of their younger daughter Brian, elder son and Shirley. Tel 71

**STRYDOM-RAHE**  
Mr and Mrs N Strydom have pleasure in announcing the engagement of their eldest daughter Janine Anthony, eldest son of Mrs J J Rahme.

**TOBIAS-YASMAN**  
Beany and Charlotte have pleasure in announcing the engagement of their son Louis to Zenda daughter of Leah and the Late Isaac Yasman.

**Deaths**

**ABERDIEN**  
Nicky, our deepest sympathy to the family. Dan Glenda and Alison-Lee.

**ABERDIEN**  
Nicky, deepest sympathy to the family. Val, Barrie, Hellyar and family.

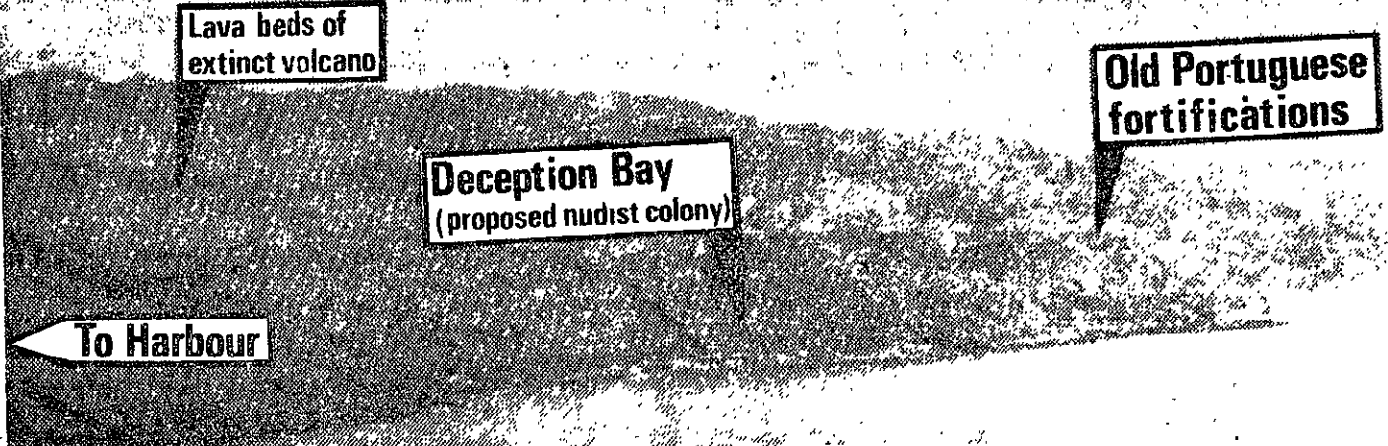
**BAKER**  
Ethel Laura, peacefully passed away on March 29, 1982 after a long difficult illness. Deeply loved and missed by her daughter Rae, son-in-law Adolf and grandchildren Kim, Sharon and Warren.

**BAKER**  
Ethel Laura. God is with you because we believe you are alive and living in heaven. You know we all love you. Wait his son and grandsons.

**BAKER**  
Ethel Laura. With deepest sympathy to Rae and Roy in their very sad loss. From Frank and Graziella Rovell.

**BRUCKL**  
Karl of Queenshaven passed away peacefully on 27 March 1982. Sadly missed by Kay, Sara and family.

**COLLINS**  
Henry Kenneth (Jock) passed away peacefully on 26 March 1982. Deeply missed by Ken and



# SA whizz-kid who made the 'snatch'

STAR 1/4/82

For South Africa, the "Scaramouche Snatch" (as it has become known in official circles) is a significant diplomatic coup.

The international community has been caught completely flat-footed by the secret deal, which was given a crucial push by one of the country's rising young diplomats, Mr Eugene Roodt.

Mr Roodt is only 29 years old and has been in the Foreign Affairs Department for a mere three years. He was recruited personally by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, to bring some verve and imagination to the operation of the In-

formation Service in the wake of the Info Scandal. The two met while Mr Roodt was working as a temporary lifesaver at Clifton Beach, giving lessons in wind-surfing as a sideline. As part of a fitness campaign, Mr Botha tried windsurfing for exercise, and met Mr Roodt as a result.

Their friendship blossomed and the young former Stellenbosch University political science lecturer, who had decided to drop out of the academic world for a year, found himself catapulted into the world of international diplomacy.

It was Mr Roodt's personal knowledge of the Comores,

where he had often gone scuba diving, plus his friendship with Dr Scemo, that has made the deal possible. It has taken almost a year



Mr Eugene Roodt — rising SA's foreign affairs whizz-kid.

of secret negotiations to complete all the details.

At a Press conference in Cape Town last night, Mr

Roodt came out into the open and spoke of his pride and excitement at his part in the project.

Sauvely, he handled questions fired at him by a battery of local and international journalists.

What guarantee was there that a future Comores government would not renege on the deal? "Legal documents have been signed by all concerned. The South African Government, as a party closely interested in the island development, will guarantee its sovereignty and independence," he said.

Did he personally plan to buy land on the island? "I have

already staked my claim and will be glad to revisit my old scuba-diving haunts," he said with a smile.

Mr Roodt was asked for his reaction to the fury of the OAU and the United Nations. "No man is an island," he said, "and no country is an island, either. But, in this instance, they can go and shout at the waves."

What about South African naval facilities on the island, as part of an Indian Ocean patrol plan?

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## SA experts ready for legal attack on purchase

South African and international legal experts will have plenty of answers should anyone try to contest the legal validity of the purchase of Scaramouche island from the Comores Government. It has been reported that the OAU plans to take the transaction to the World Court in The Hague.

"There are historical precedents in abundance," said an eminent Johannesburg SC, who has been acting as one of the legal advisers on the deal.

"One does not even have to go as far back as 1626 when the Dutch West India Company bought the entire island of Manhattan for as little as 24 dollars worth of beads from the Manhattan Indians.

"In the famous Louisiana Purchase of 1803, the United States doubled its size through buying that state from France.

"And of course in more recent times, 1867 to be precise, the US added Alaska to its domain through a straight 7 200 000 dollars deal with Russia.

"Nobody has ever seriously tried to dispute the validity of these transactions. The Alaska purchase worked out at about 5c a hectare. The Comores Government is

getting very much more than that for the 100 sq km of Scaramouche — even after allowing for the ravages of a century of inflation."

Once there was a willing seller and a willing purchaser, there was "nothing to stop South Africa, for instance, from buying the whole of Madagascar. Political repercussions, of course, would be something else."

A Foreign Affairs official in Pretoria, who preferred to remain anonymous, stressed that the SA Government had no official role in the Scaramouche purchase, although it

remained "naturally an interested party."

Since the owners and virtually all residents and visitors would be South African, it was logical to expect that South African laws and observances would apply — "of course, with a few minor exceptions such as censorship, gambling, nude bathing, Sunday observance, immorality and the like."

Asked whether Pretoria might use the strategically placed island for military or naval purposes, the official answered: "The idea is too grotesque to contemplate."

## SA resort plan bombshell hits Moroni traders

The Star's Africa News Service MORONI (Grand Comore) — The Comores Government has made no official announcement so far about the sale of Ile de Scaramouche, but news of the plans to turn the nearby island into a multi-million rand tourist resort struck the sleepy state like a bomb this morning.

"Allah will not be pleased," said Emir Akhmediah when told of the gambling, heavy drinking and sexy shows that typify South African havens such as Sun City and the Swazi Spa.

As soon as the news came through on the BBC Africa Service, the Comores Chamber of Commerce called an executive meeting.

"We are taking this very seriously," said CCC chairman Mr Guy d'Argent, as he arrived for the meeting.

The foremost opponent of the scheme is Moroni businessman Roger Deloger, who owns this archipelago's only casino, Jeu des

Cartes. The Islamic code of President Ahmad Asabhatta has restricted Mr Deloger's casino to roulette and vingt-et-un, with bets no higher than R10 a time, and to serving only soft drinks. Last year he got permission to employ female croupiers, but they must wear full-length dresses with Chinese collars and long sleeves.

"At Scaramouche those South Africans will have topless croupiers, strip-tease acts, hard liquor, poker, chemin de fer, flashy discotheques the full catastrophe," raged Mr Deloger.

"With a fun-house like that, who on earth will bother to fly the extra 70 km to Grand-Comore?" he said.

All over Moroni this morning shopkeepers and street hawkers were discussing the Scaramouche development. "Will it be good or bad for business here?" was the general question. Most feared the worst.

## Scaramouche — a loc!

Some important dates in the history of Scaramouche: 500 BC — 1500 AD: Landings by Arab traders.

1784: Claimed in the name of Louis XIV by Admiral Desespoir, given name Scaramouche because of deceptive terrain.

1806: British garrison landed during Napoleonic wars; leaves after two days because of lack of water.

1913: De facto French territory through guano operations. 1975: France confers independence on Comores islands. 1982 (March): Sold to SA consortium.

How Scaramouche Island got its name is lost in the chronicles of 17th and 18th century exploration — but there is an interesting 20th century tie-up which its public relations specialists plan to exploit.

In 1952 Metro Goldwyn Mayer made a successful film called "Scaramouche," based on a novel by Rafael Sabatini, which recounted the exploits of a swashbuckling rogue in French Revolutionary times.

Most of the stars of the old Hollywood epic — Mel Ferrer, Janet Leigh, Stewart Granger,



Water source discovered here

A panoramic view of the lesser-known northern coastline of Scaramouche, showing principal landmarks and other points of interest.



Few if any recent photographs exist of multi-millionaire Dr Aprillio Scemo. His aversion to the camera is said to be because of the prevalent fear of kidnapping in Italy. Although otherwise outgoing, he instructs his personal bodyguards to keep a ceaseless lookout for "sneaked" photographs. This picture of Dr Scemo (arrowed) was taken when security was less tight. He was acting then as a top oil adviser to the King of Saudi Arabia (centre). It shows a younger Dr Scemo in unusually sombre mood.

# White gold set to net millions

The up-and-coming South African fertiliser-based conglomerate, Sanmis, has just added another planet to its galaxy of interests — bird droppings!

This morning's announcement that the little-known Ile de Scaramouche, off the Comores, is going to be developed into a R200 million tourist complex included details of a deal between the new owners and Sanmis Beleggings Beperk.

Sanmis will combine its marketing expertise with millionaire middleman Dr Aprillio Scemo, who has acquired rights in perpetuity to harvest the droppings of Scaramouche's enormous bird population.

Scaramouche — once a slave station for the Sultans of Zanzibar — has remained unspoilt for so long that its birds now number about 500 000.

As the Comores and Seychelles islands became tourist resorts their pelicans, cormorants, seagulls and gannets gradually resettled on Scaramouche, where they competed with only a handful of Creoles living in palm-thatch huts.

Clearly the advent of residents in large numbers will displace many birds.

But after careful study of their habits, the developers are confident that they will resettle happily on a huge platform to be built on stilts off the western tip of Scaramouche.

Once a year men will invade the artificial island to bag the guano — an extremely rich fertiliser that sells for R190 a ton.

Says Sanmis PRO Mr van Zijl Vogel: "Preliminary estimates suggest that each bird must produce a minimum of 10 kg of droppings a year, so work out the total harvest for yourself."

"In the past, of course, only a tiny percentage of this has been recoverable. Most of the guano was very quickly washed off the rocks by waves or by rains in the monsoon season."

"A controlled site such as our platform should actually attract more bird life, and of course more guano. Last year we put up a very small test prototype and the birds seemed to love it. They were fighting, almost queuing for space to sit."

Mr Vogel was reluctant to give detailed figures on the projected profits, but he intimated they would run into millions yearly.

"After the initial

outlay for the platform, running costs will be minimal. The birds do all the work.

"Labour costs are negligible, especially when you consider unemployment in the Comores and the prevailing legal wage minimum of about 50c a day."

"No skills are required either. All you need is a strong pair of shoulders, and of course a strong nose. The present small group of labourers don't seem to notice the smell any more."

"The project will, in fact, make a substantial contribution to the economy of the Comores."

He added: There is a growing market for guano, particularly in the Persian Gulf states, where with petrodollars they are now trying to turn desert into arable land."

Mr Vogel admitted the scheme was inspired by Bird Rock island off Walvis Bay.

This island was put up in the 1930s and consists of a wooden platform resting on steel stilts. It is nearly 2 000 sq m in size and yields an average of 800 tons of guano a year. The present owners reap about R150 000 a year from their feathery tenants.

## The elusive Dr Scemo

### Financial Staff

The Ile de Scaramouche project ranks as one of the most ambitious schemes in the spectacular but little-known financial career of oil magnate Dr Aprillio Scemo.

At 58, he is reportedly one of the 20 richest men in the world.

Dr Scemo made his fortune on the international spot oil market through advising oil sheiks. It all began when the then small-time Florentine garden rake manufacturer befriended a lonely Arab student in a drab pub off Leicester Square in London.

The Arab was later to become Prince Teimu Hudat,

de facto ruler of many Trucial States, and he never forgot Dr Scemo's kindness in showing him the way to the Windmill Theatre.

That was 25 years ago, and since that fateful day the black gold whizz has built up a mighty R2 000 million turnover empire based on crude oil, while continuing to diversify into various areas of high growth potential, such as the present scheme.

Clearly of immense financial proportions, it is a commercial supernova that may out-dazzle Sol Kerzner's Sun City complex. The implications for South African investors and tourists are immense.

### The Star Bureau WASHINGTON

The most lavish resort complex anywhere in the world, is how Playboy Resorts describes its 1 000 luxury cabana tourist hotel, sports centre and marina about to take shape on Scaramouche island's Bal des Plaisanteries.

Playboy king Hugh Hefner told The Star in a telephone interview that he was very excited about "our first resort venture in the Indian Ocean — not to mention the first Playboy resort outside the United States where clothes would be strictly optional."

Pointing out that South Africans were frequent users of Playboy clubs in major cities in Europe and America, Mr Hefner said he was certain that even without the goodwill and image

## Playboy plans bilingual bunnies for island resort

of his magazine — it has been banned in South Africa since 1963 — few people would doubt what to expect in terms of quality of service and the friendliness of the staff.

Bunny girls were already having Afrikaans lessons at Playboy's Chicago headquarters so that there would be a high proportion of bilingual hotel staff on duty by the opening date — December 15.

The architecture of the Playboy Scaramouche Club would be totally different from anything ever designed, he said.

A health centre with a jacuzzi, underground pool and

artificial forest complete with waterfalls and caves, rock pools and bars would give the resort a sensuality which Playboy resorts were noted for, he added.

Six restaurants in different price ranges would provide sustenance for holidaymakers while a beach centre with scuba diving, snorkelling, windsurfing, sailing and water skiing would keep even the most hyperactive visitors busy, he said.

Evening entertainment would be exciting and different.

"Cabarets with laser lighting, Comoro folklore dancing, three discotheques and an all-nude

extravaganza, a triple X-rated cinema with 3-D50 films and 24-hour-a-day television in every room will ensure that nobody gets bored, ever," said Mr Hefner.

"Our gambling casino will be the biggest in the southern hemisphere, and similar in style to the Caesar's Palace Hotel in Las Vegas — except, of course, that the croupiers will wear fewer clothes."

"For the family, there will be electronic bingo, and for the serious gambler, about 50 tables manned 24 hours a day. All drinks, of course, will be on the house," said Mr Hefner.

back

and others — are still alive, although obviously becoming advanced in years.

For the grand opening in December the promoters hope to bring out as many of these as are able to travel, among a line-up of other celebrities.

Efforts will be made to have the 1950's stars appear in their original period costumes.

There will be frequent showings of the "Scaramouche" film in the island's entertainment centre, as relief from the regular programmes of soft, medium and hard-core adult movies.

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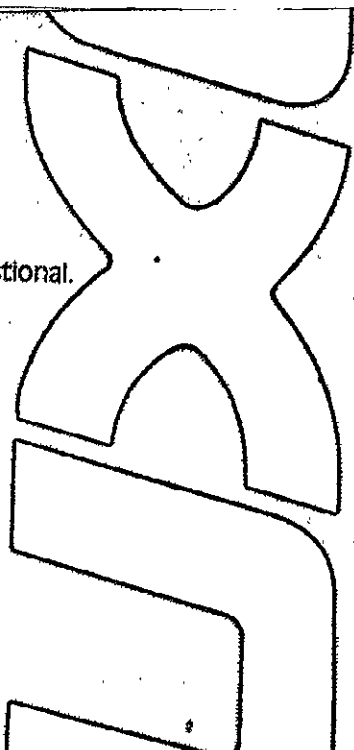
our reputation, everything that's designed in Sweden is better than good. In fact, it has to be perfect.

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Simply, when you buy a Luxor you know you're getting a set that's been manufactured to the most stringent European standards.





# SA snatches Indian Ocean island 'colony'

An international financier working with a giant South African property consortium has pulled off a sensational financial coup which effectively gives South Africa a "colony" near the Comores Islands in the Indian Ocean.

Dr Aprillio Scemo, an Italian multimillionaire, engineered the coup which opens up a 100 sq km island paradise — at present uninhabited — on which is to be built a Mediterranean-style "city" peopled almost entirely by South Africans.

The legendary Hugh Hefner and his new subsidiary, Playboy Resorts, will play a major role in developing its attractions.

The island, Ile de Scaramouche, is 70 km north of Grande Comore, the biggest island in the Comores group. It has a natural harbour and space for a refuelling point for east-bound South African airliners.

Stands for as little as R20 000 will be offered initially on the South African market only. Ready-built "St Tropez" style chalets will also be sold from R50 000 in Scaramouche City,

which will eventually cover an area from the island's natural harbour to the extinct volcano near its centre.

Anglo Italian Properties, Sannis Beleggings and J H Jacobs of Johannesburg are the major parties behind the deal, which was announced at a London Press conference yesterday. Only selected South African journalists were invited, and the news was embargoed until noon today.

The island is four hours by air from Johannesburg, but residents will be entitled to special cheap air concessions costing as lit-

tle as R300 for a two-way flight. The company has also bought a former Union Castle liner as a budget-price ferry operating from Durban.

The holiday city will eventually accommodate 10 000 people, and it will have its own form of government and its own laws.

The amazing property deal was described yesterday by Dr Aprillio Scemo, an overweight, ebullient Italian who has been buying oil for South Africa in the international spot market for years.

"One of my companies was involved in oil-drilling in the Comores, and al-

though drilling off the Ile de Scaramouche was unsuccessful we did discover vast underground supplies of water. The irony was that the island had always been uninhabited because there was no water.

"We offered the Comores government a mere R10 million for the island and it was accepted. At first we intended recouping our capital by leasing the island to South Africa as an air refuelling point to avoid the Seychelles.

"When I mentioned it to a Johannesburg property man he suggested setting up an island retreat for middle class people and for people wanting to retire to a tax haven. I got in touch with a mutual friend at Foreign Affairs and the thing snowballed from there."

Although there are no damnable rivers on the island it gets plenty of rain in the monsoon season and has lush tropical growth along its white sandy beaches. The site for the city is lush with palms.

The Comores government is keen on the transaction because it will boost tourism and provide work for the Creoles who inhabit the rest of the Comores.



An artist's impression of some of the Mediterranean-style chalets to be built on Scaramouche Island. These are some of the more conservative designs in what the designers claim will be a "totally other-worldly concept in outdoor living."

Northern Ireland have come close to being crippled by the new use of an age-old weapon — informers.

"Grasses," as defectors and other informers are called, have helped police to arrest and charge nearly 200 people with guerilla crimes in the past three months.

They have also given vital information which has enabled police and British troops to swoop on hide-outs, secret guerilla training camps and arms dumps and seize dozens of weapons.

The inroads made by "grasses" have caused consternation in the ranks of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA), according to Republican sources.

Now it has unleashed a special new unit of four trusted, veteran guerillas to track down and kill informers. The Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), Ireland's other republican guerilla group, is also trying to weed out traitors.

The bulk of the information has come from seven "supergrasses," captured guerillas who opted to tell police interrogators what they knew rather than face long jail terms.

Detectives learned the techniques for "turning" guerillas from crime investigators in Britain who developed them to clear up hundreds of crimes in the London underworld.

Captured guerillas are offered immunity for their own crimes and a new life far from the venging guns of

is giving evidence for 22 trials, according to informed sources. Police recently trundled two removal vans up to his house in Belfast and have rehoused his wife and children in southern England.

Sir Jack Hermon, chief of Northern Ireland's gunfire-hardened, 7 500-strong police force, denied reports that guerillas have been paid up to R150 000 to inform.

"We have not offered large sums of money," he recently told BBC radio.

"We do offer, to people who give us the evidence on which we convict terrorists, a safe haven because they know, and we know, their lives will be terminated very quickly should the IRA manage to get close to them."

There is a sharp conflict over the motives of informers.

According to Sir Jack: "we are getting men who are disillusioned. There is a change in the attitudes and minds of the total community."

"They are tired of murder and violence and terrified of the intimidation and racketeering going on. There is a rejection of terrorist activities."

But one Catholic, human rights activist Father Denis Paul, said those "turned" had acted out of fear of the police. Some suspected guerillas released after interrogation said they had been offered large sums to betray acquaintances.

And a Belfast commentator with extensive contacts in Republican circles told Reuters:

ine the feelings of a man facing a 30-year jail sentence."

have nearly incapacitated the much smaller INLA, whose most spectacular attack was the

Margaret Thatcher's Northern Ireland adviser, Alfey Neave. All those arrested

The use of informers is as old as the troubles here which have cost 2 100 lives since 1969. — Reuter.

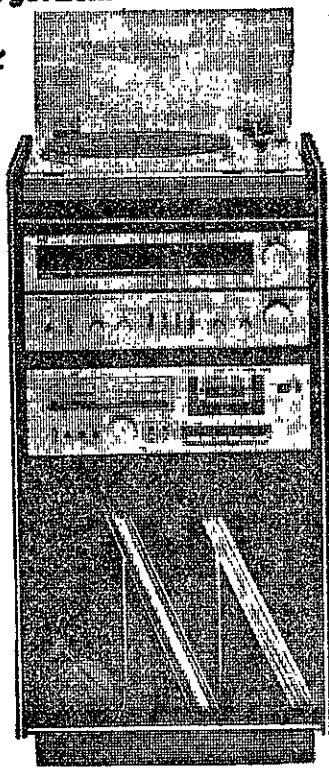
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# OAU in bid to stop island sale

The Star's Africa News Service

DAR ES SALAAM — Tanzania today called for an emergency meeting of the OAU Council of Ministers in a desperate attempt to stop the sale of Ile de Scaramouche to South African interests.

It is likely that Colonel Gaddafi of Libya will be asked to intervene, possibly using military means, to help persuade the Comoros government that the R10 million transaction was a mistake.

"There is no way we can allow the racists to buy an island on our doorstep," said Tanzania's aggressive Foreign Minister, Mr Mnika Butae.

"This take-over is a direct threat to Tanzanian security," he told a hurriedly-convened Press conference in State House. "It puts South Africa in a position to launch Angola-type raids into the heart of Africa."

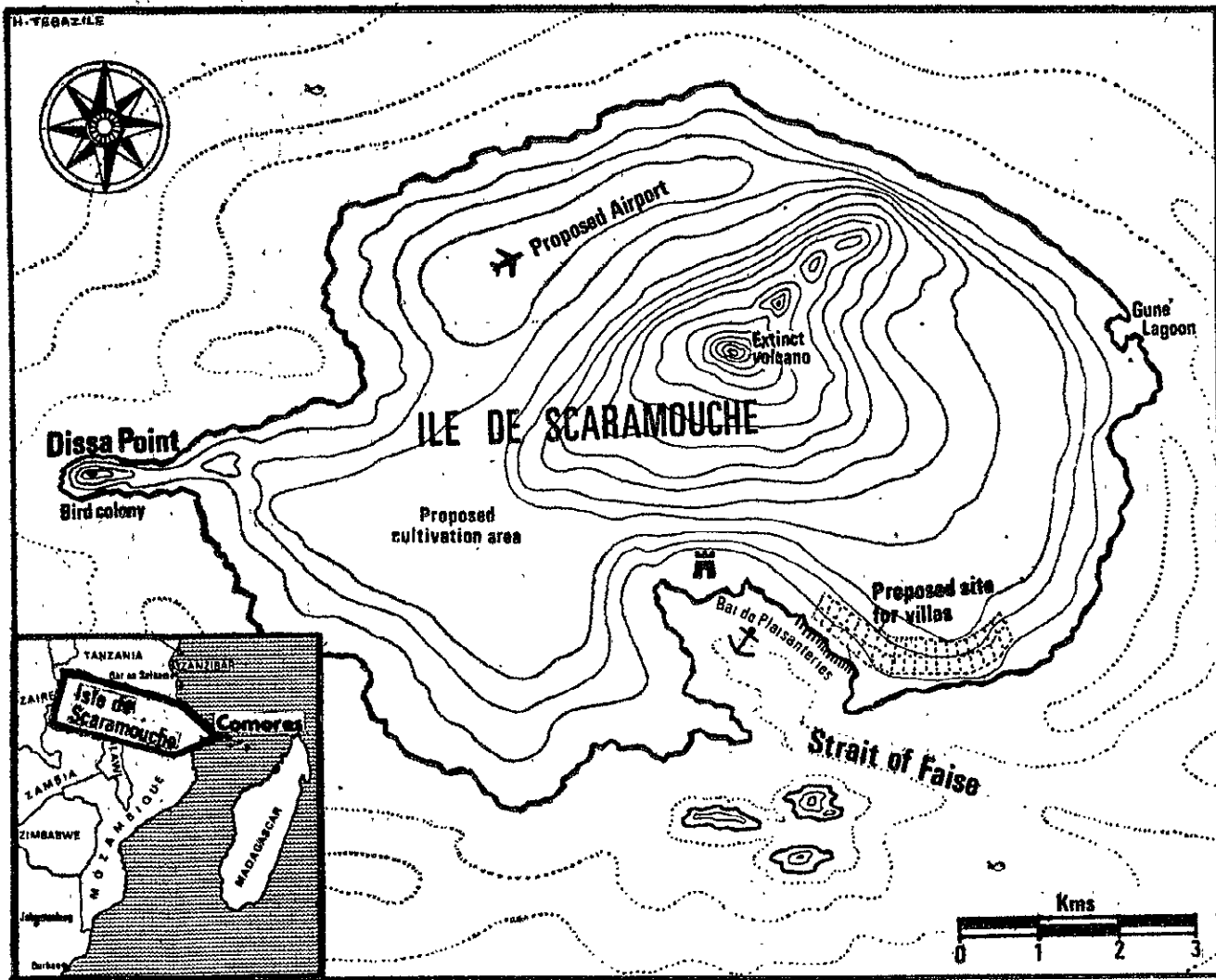
He said the suggestion that South African finance will develop the island merely for tourists was "sheer smoke-screen."

Tanzania is trying to establish that Scaramouche rightfully belongs to the small colony of Creoles who live on the island, collecting guano in season and subsisting on fish.

Though technical subjects of the Comores, because of an ancient quarrel they refuse to have anything to do with the government at Moroni.

It is understood that Tanzanian agents have been trying to induce them to claim independence by setting up a separatist movement called Front de Liberation de l'Ile de Scaramouche (Frolisca).

Only five people are known to have joined Frolisca, despite duress. Yesterday the president of Frolisca, Jean Claude Baptiste Merde d'Oiseaux, a deposed headman of the guano colony, now based in Dar es Salaam, was unwilling or unable to comment on the new developments.



## How the news was broken

The Star's London Bureau

It was the strangest Press conference ever. Only six journalists were invited and all were sworn to secrecy before being flown out of Johannesburg last weekend. Another strict stipulation was: "No pictures, because the interviewee hates cameras."

We were told only that an Italian company was building, by the end of the year, a new airport in the Indian Ocean for east bound South African airliners.

But as we sat down to drinks in London's plush Savoy Hotel after a routine search for pocket cameras, and were introduced to an obviously excited Dr A Scemo, we all knew there was more to it than that.

The host snapped his fingers, the

lights dimmed and colour slides of a beautiful tropical island were shown on a screen. Dr Scemo kept asking: "What do you think, gentlemen?" Somebody said "magnificent" and Dr Scemo replied forcefully: "It is more than magnificent, it is the nearest thing to paradise I have seen in all my travels around the world."

Then he showed slides of France's St Tropez with its whitewashed homes spilling down to the beaches and harbour — and pretty girls topless on the beaches. Somebody whistled.

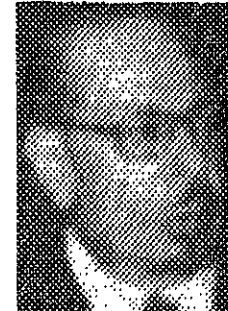
Dr Scemo said: "Imagine marrying the two areas. That's what we are going to do."

"People can buy homes on this island with a deposit of as little as R1 000 — and the right guarantees, of course."

Why the secrecy? somebody asked.

Why? Why? said Dr Scemo. "Can you imagine the international pressure on the poor little Comoros government if it was discovered selling an island to South African interests? Poof!"

"But now the deal is through, I am



Dr Aprilio Scemo — a sneaked picture.

happy, the Comores is happy, South Africa is very happy."

But why only South African residents? somebody else asked.

"Ah, I'm glad you asked that ques-

tion," said Dr Scemo, drawing at a long cigar.

"Firstly, I have always felt a strong affinity for your misunderstood country. This was reinforced after I became a close friend of Professor Chris Barnard, whom I first met at the tailor whom we both use in Rome and later at a rugby festival where he was guest of honour."

"Then, besides, as a businessman I felt South Africans have the money, they have the taste and they are within easy reach of Scaramouche. The consortium which is developing the city is happy to allow others in only if we don't find enough interest in your country. But we know we will."

"The fares and the cheapness of the property will make it as economical to have a home on my lovely Scaramouche

as on the Cape coast."

Once the complex initial financing is completed, Dr Scemo — apart from pocketing a large and undisclosed sum in commission — will retain no direct interest in the Scaramouche tourism developments.

He does keep a key interest — the island's extraordinarily rich potential in bird-droppings or guano, which fetches high prices on the world fertiliser market.

Dr Scemo suggested, in fact, that this was the principal financial attraction for him.

"I cannot deny it," he chuckled. "For seeing a possibility like this, a man needs a certain vision in order to recognise something which others might think is only for the birds."

## Nude holidays on a sunny island

A new three-in-one concept in holidays combining gambling, nudity and group encounter therapy is guaranteed to generate a high level of tourist traffic between South Africa and Ile de Scaramouche.

A spokesman for Hugh Hefner's Playboy Enterprises, which has resorts all over the world, said this week: "We know that people have become blasé with the usual type of tourism and are dying to try something totally unique, hence our special formula."

Scaramouche would be freer than most nudist resorts, he said. Clothes would be purely optional from the moment passengers step off their aircraft at the soon-to-be completed international airport.

"The temperature is always above 24 degrees C so there is no real need for any garments. Our experience is that people tend to feel more uninhibited and escape the pressure of urban life more quickly if they can disrobe and unwind at the same time," he said.

Asked if enough South Africans were genuinely interested in "naturism" the spokesman claimed the decision to "go naked" at Scaramouche had been taken only after extensive surveys had been undertaken all over South Africa.

"Let me say here and now that clothes will not be banned — only made optional — but judging by the resistance of the users of Sandy Bay to police harassment and voyeurs, not to

mention the success of Beau Brummel's nudist club at Warmbaths, we believe the market is wide open out there and this will really take off," he said.

Apart from the practical advantages of travelling with a flight bag containing nothing more than sun-tan lotion, toiletries, and books, there would be "Mr and Miss Nude South Africa" contests, nude sports facilities for the family and an all-nude open-air extravaganza, for which it is hoped to engage Louis Burke and Joan Brickhill to design the sets and costumes, such as they are.

"We will have a world first in a casino which is open to people in their birthday suits, including the exclusive salon privé, although the croupiers will, of course, be dressed in black tie," he added.

The instant-enlightenment courses which have only recently been introduced in Johannesburg would be offered as a package deal with flights and accommodation to make holidays much more exciting and meaningful.

"Get to know who you are," is what we are trying to say, after which our psychologists — all graduates of the Playboy Foundation's Institute of

One of the many lovely tropical beaches on unspoilt Scaramouche Island. By the end of this year these will be a haven for South Africans in their tens of thousands — and, it is hoped, almost as unspoilt.

Prima! Therapy — will help you to become whatever it is you want to be or learn how to do it better," the spokesman explained.

Courses on communication, with the accent on sensitivity training, "to help people overcome their fears about having physical contact with strangers," would be

### Former Laker planes to fly air link

Own Correspondent Air links between Johannesburg and Ile de Scaramouche are to be established by a new Luxembourg registered carrier, Air Scara International.

Mr Henri Muchoir, the company's managing director,

said three ex-Laker Airways DC-10s were being bought to shuttle tourists and owners of holiday homes between Jan Smuts and the new international airport at Scaramouche.

SAA is understood to have ap-

plied for rights to fly the route in pool partnership with Air Scara.

"As we expect to fill every seat on every flight we will be able to offer the lowest type of group rates," he said.

For those who prefer the three-day

sea journey, an ex-Union Castle liner, to be renamed "Bateau Mouche," is being refitted to operate a regular service. With a fare structure roughly approximating the air rate, it will offer "luxury without ostentation."



# Civil strife <sup>1</sup> <sup>stud</sup> in Africa: SA 'not to blame' <sup>2/4/80</sup>

## Own Correspondent

South Africa would gain very little, if anything, if it were to help Joshua Nkomo replace Robert Mugabe as head of state in Zimbabwe.

There were high hopes after Zimbabwe had become independent that it would contribute to peace and stability in southern Africa. But events over the last few months have proved the opposite, according to the latest bulletin from the Institute for Strategic

Studies at the University of Pretoria.

Many leaders in the subcontinent had claimed instability in the region was a result of "South Africa's attempts to destabilise southern Africa." This was not only a gross oversimplification but an attempt by some leaders to pin the blame on South Africa when they could not handle a problem effectively.

Zimbabwe had been unable to ensure the

internal stability — as with other countries in the region — which was important for development and modernisation.

The bulletin said instability in Zimbabwe was mainly the result of ethnic polarisation and personal differences. Mr Mugabe had succumbed "to the temptation of blaming South Africa of colluding with his rival," even though South Africa would gain very little from such an act.

The bulletin cites Angola as the best example of a state with serious internal problems, blaming South African "political, military and economic interference" as their cause.

But Angola had been plagued by instability since independence. The MPLA Government was apparently "still not able to rule without the aid of nearly 20 000 Cubans."

The Unita movement was still conducting a guerilla war against the Angolan and Cuban forces in the south of the country.

The situation was complicated by the open support of the MPLA gave Swapo but Angola was indignant when cross-border operations were carried out against Swapo, the bulletin said.



By NEIL HOOPER

**A DRAMATIC picture of the Soviet military build-up in black states bordering South Africa has been unveiled in evidence submitted to the United States senate sub-committee on security and terrorism.**

Dr Peter Vanneman, chairman of the Department of Political Science at the University of Arkansas and an authority on Soviet policy in Africa, told the sub-committee that the cornerstone of Soviet policy in Southern Africa was to supply arms, advisers and training to its "clients" to destabilise the area.

According to a transcript of his evidence Dr Vanneman testified before the committee, read by Senator Jeremiah Denton that the Soviet Union had supplied Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Zambia with:

- 135 fighter aircraft
- 527 tanks
- 704 armoured cars
- 778 troop carriers
- 738 medium artillery guns.

He also detailed Soviet Union military aid to Tanzania, which although an East African nation, he included because insurgents into Southern Africa were trained at six bases there and because of its influence in Mozambique.

In addition, the Soviet Union has sold 30 armoured cars to Botswana.

Dr Vanneman, an author of several books on Soviet policy, who is spending a year's sabbatical in South Africa with the University of South Africa and its Africa Institute, told the Sunday Times this week that his information about the Soviet arms supplies to black states had been obtained from "intelligence sources" in a number of countries.

## Rightwing

Critics of the Denton sub-committee hearings have tried to discredit much of the evidence of witnesses, suggesting they were selected to promote the views of the SA Government.

They pointed out that the cost of flying Dr Vanneman from South Africa to America to give evidence was paid by the "rightwing" Heritage Foundation.

This implied that his evidence would be "rightwing" and highly satisfactory to the arch-conservative senator's

committee, and that he would over-state the Soviet threat in Southern Africa.

However Dr Vanneman — who confirmed that the Heritage Foundation had agreed to fund his trip — said this week that in his opinion the prospect of the USSR controlling Southern Africa "is not yet near".

And in concluding his testimony to the Denton committee, Dr Vanneman stressed

that to put things in perspective it was important to neither over-estimate Soviet successes in Africa nor to exaggerate Soviet incompetence.

What should be borne in mind was that in February last year, the leader of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, had committed his nation "in the most authoritative fashion" to expanding involvement in Southern

Africa.

He said indicators of the intensity of the Soviet long-range interest in Southern Africa included:

- The creation of three new Soviet departments to deal specifically with Southern Africa.

- Since 1981 the Kremlin had sent a new cadre of diplomats to Southern Africa. An example of the importance attached to this was that the

Soviet Embassy in "underdeveloped Botswana immediately adjacent to South Africa, mushroomed to include a staff of over 50 persons headed by a highly professional official, Nikolai Petrov."

- The quantity of heavy military equipment and the number of advisers the USSR had supplied to states in Southern Africa, aimed at destabilising the area.

"As the Kremlin knows, instability tends to enhance its influence at the expense of Western initiatives like that in Namibia.

"Going further, weapon stockpiles could ultimately serve as sources of pre-positioned hardware for Soviet/proxy power projection," he said.

- The Soviets have switched to using Luanda, the capital of Angola, and Aden

## WHERE THEY ARE

Country	Fighter Aircraft	Tanks	Armoured Cars	Armoured troop carriers	Medium Artillery
Angola	41	264	300	412	550
Mozambique	24	195	200	300	128
Zimbabwe	20	38	109	20	59
Zambia	50	30	65	46	1
Tanzania	56	135	30	100	194
Botswana			30		

in the Horn of Africa, as bases for regular aircraft reconnaissance of naval movements around Africa. Previously they used bases at Omani on the west coast and Berbera, in the Gulf of Aden.

- A Soviet naval fleet is serviced at Luanda, and uses dry-dock facilities at Mpumto.

Dealing with the results of the Soviet policy in Africa

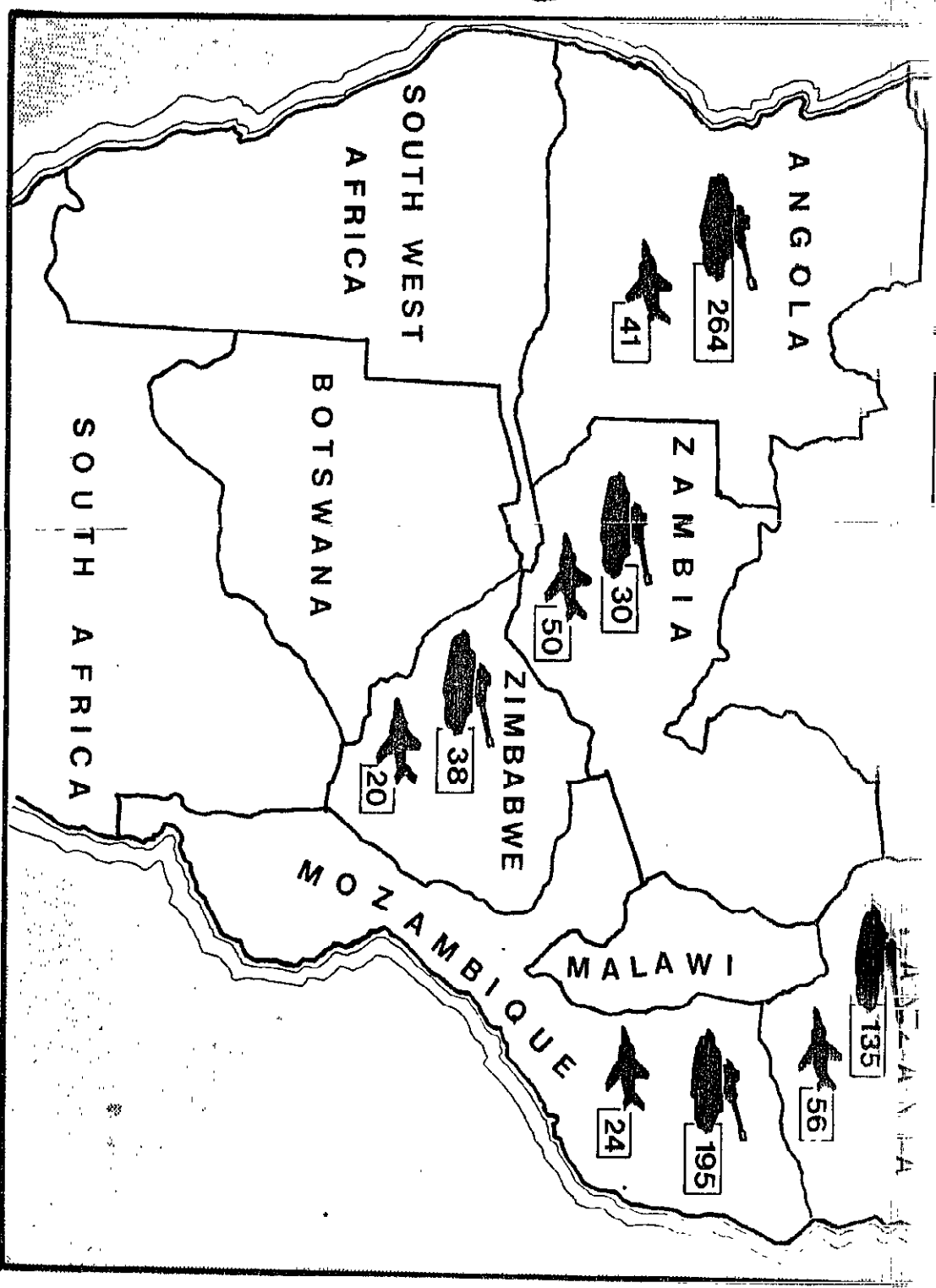
during the past decade, Dr Vanneman said the Soviet gains had been "substantial" when compared to its position after the Congo debacle in the early '60s.

"Since the Portuguese coup in 1974, four African states have declared themselves Marxist-Leninist (Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and Congo-Brazzaville), one (Madagascar)

He added however that according to Soviet admission there are only 10 communist parties in Africa, and only two in Southern Africa: those in Lesotho and South Africa.

# The Red Sunns That

# Spread Over Africa



S. Times  
4/11/82

1

# 'Destabilization': A grey area of covert operation

5/4/82 Cape Times



A NEW word came into vogue in the latter half of last year — destabilization. Like *verlig* or *verkramp* or *reform* or whatever, *destabilization* seems destined to become one of the verbal *koppies* of South Africa's political topography.

What does destabilization mean? Well, to stabilize means to make stable, by way perhaps of a gyroscope or the tailplane of an aircraft. It follows that destabilization means the opposite, and the destabilizer is the fellow who switches off the gyroscope. In the case of Southern Africa, Pretoria stands accused as the culprit in this regard, the principal *sondebok* responsible for setting the whole crazy edifice of apartheid and non-apartheid states wobbling like a jelly.

There is evidence enough of a myriad incidents of strange armed happenings, unexplained, invasions, escapes, attempted coups, bombings and similar such assaults on the fabric of society in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola *et al.* Invariably, following these outrages, there is a ritual denunciation of the fascists/racists/genocidists in Pretoria by the governments of these countries, said charges immediately being dismissed with metronomic monotony by the South African Defence Force as "communist propaganda" or, "Everything is always blamed on us"

## Boredom

But overall hangs a miasma of boredom. The populations of these different countries rarely appear to get too excited by rhetoric that in different geographic circumstances, Europe for example, would amount to declarations of war. Nobody is out there demonstrating in the streets of Pretoria or Maputo or wherever (not that demonstrations are tolerated in many of these places). Accusation and counter-accusation, denial and counter-denial — nobody listens.

Why not? Is it that we are all consumed with political lethargy? Or is it perhaps that we are all so totally confused that we

By DAVID WILLERS, research manager of the South Africa Foundation. This article originally appeared in the periodical Frontline.

can't make any sense of it? After all, a respectable, Christian, government like ours couldn't possibly be in the business of creating chaos, could it now?

But *something* must be going on. What of Mugabe's renewed allegations of South African perfidy? To accuse a foreign government of trying to destroy you, unhorse you, break your economy, and foment a climate of revolution is serious stuff. And yet Zimbabwe and South Africa continue to have trade offices, allow an exchange of visitors, and conduct themselves as relatively peace-loving neighbours with open borders. In fact there's been a resumption of railways assistance and not a little to-ing and fro-ing of officials. Major dam construction rivalling Kariba is planned in a joint venture with Lesotho, and South Africa continues to co-operate with Mozambique. Does it make any kind of sense? Perhaps, consider the following:

After the fall of the Caetano regime in Lisbon and the domino collapse which it set in motion the Pretoria government fell back for a tactical breathing space to survey the damage. The corpses of detente, the constellation of states, and other sundry initiatives of a diplomatic nature emanating from government agencies past and present, littered the field.

Of all the casualties Mr P W Botha's constellation brainchild was the most telling. For this was meant to be the association of states that gave *de facto* if not *de jure* legitimacy to the independent "homelands" — without the promise of which the government would find it harder to persuade the remaining homelands to opt for independence; which it must do if it is to realize the child of constellation, confederation.

Zimbabwe and South West were meant to be the lynchpins of the constellation, which was why, Muzorewa enjoyed such



Mr Robert Mugabe... in Pretoria's eyes, an incarnately evil victor

odds-on backing — with whatever stake came to hand, helicopters, cash, guns and goodwill.

Yet he ran a poor race and the harbinger of black nationalism won instead. Mugabe, it is important to understand, was an incarnately evil victor in Pretoria's eyes. He was the ultimate terrorist, a slayer of women and children, he was *swart gevaar* personified. The psychology of this is important. Direct English translation ("black danger") fails almost entirely to convey the emotional connotations of this expression with its dreadful mnemonic nudge of *laagers, slagtings* and *Bloedrivier* — the history of the Covenant.

In short, unlike Machel who has been uttering the same message in incomprehensible Portuguese for years, Mugabe, precise, terrifying, and articulate in a common language, struck a blow at the very fibres of a whole set of values. The entire *raison d'être* of a nation came under sudden shocking assault from this vocal critic right there on the Limpopo. Was it any wonder that Pretoria's first response was to move a very long spoon's length away?

Here was Mugabe saying apartheid was on an immoral rampage, apartheid this, apartheid that. "Right," thought so many civil servants, politicians, men schooled in the notion that apartheid was an intrinsically moral concept, a God-ordained ethic. "We'll teach you to denigrate the very foundations of our self-concept, to mock at our habits, our lives, our *Volksweltanschauung*" (another word not to be translated). "You want diesel locomotives?" said SAR. "You can whistle for them until you show some respect for your neighbours, man."

## Aghast

Perhaps misreading the essential roots of this gut reaction, the business community was naturally aghast at PW's folly and said as much. But the politicians, sullen, brooding, uncomfortable in the vice of economic pragmatism versus pride, only shook their heads and muttered darkly: *Mugabe vloek ons uit. Hy se ons is sleg.*

Such is the texture of destabilization. It is more an attitude, a gnashing of teeth and railing against the dark forces arraigned

over the hill. It is difficult to imagine the cabinet meeting every Tuesday to plot the next step in some master blueprint designed to plunge neighbouring countries into civil war and economic ruin. (Although that doesn't necessarily absolve it of foreknowledge of specific deeds.)

Rather it is a day-to-day response, rooted in a pathological inability to come to terms with Mugabe and the whole mammoth African threat he personifies, that leads a bureaucrat in one department to cut back on a quota here, another to curtail contracts or introduce visa restrictions there, and so on. Cumulatively, the effect of all these actions has been to suggest some co-ordinated action, some evil conspiracy to break Mugabe and teach him a lesson. And this is why everybody assumes some intelligent genie must be directing it all.

## Bombings

But that still doesn't explain away bombings in Zimbabwe, armed incursions into Mozambique, and what the whole world accepts without question as South African support for the Mozambique Resistance Movement.

One construction might be that this is in fact the real world of Graham Greene, the grey area of covert operation not always subject to political authority. This is supported by even a superficial perusal of the press. The operatives themselves are grey men, apparently attached in some unspecified way to paramilitary-type units that may or may not enjoy official sanction.

They are the legions of the damned, guns metaphorically for hire, whole command infrastructures that detach themselves like amoebae from their former parent and drift around looking for new families to adopt. The Selous Scouts is one such, the Mozambique Resistance Movement another. This is the debris of the wars of the Sixties and Seventies, the legacy of burnt-out men filled with terrible memories and hatreds, bent on vengeance for past wrongs to them and their kin.

## Nostalgia industry

Much of the mythology of Southern Africa is bound up in the colonial struggles of Mozambique and Rhodesia, is even now freshly sprung from the sad battles in Namibia, a way of life lost. The moment must be relived, and a whole nostalgia industry is born — in illicit cross-border operations.

It is this, perhaps, more than any sophisticated political analysis, which explains destabilization. This is not to suggest though that there are not practical motives aplenty. Bear in mind that apartheid is the shortest of short-term policies, as is not unknown to many people within government and around it. Enough "running around in the bush and shooting out windows" in the already trouble-ridden states of Africa will surely make the short term that much less short. And if the end result is the destruction of the entire sub-conti-

ment, so what? To people who think this way, the end of apartheid is synonymous with the end of the world. Regrettably, the hate-mongers and the pragmatic apartheidists thus too often end up being seen as themselves synonymous.

Support for dissident movements in neighbouring countries may so distract the attention of hostile governments that they have scant opportunity to support the liberation struggle in South Africa. To make life so unpleasant for innocent whites in countries like Zimbabwe by fuelling black xenophobia through intermittent acts of sabotage, encourages them to leave. The emotional kith and kin baggage is brought home, so to speak

## Deeper contagion

But in the final analysis, whatever agency decides to batten on the souls of forgotten soldiers for its own ends, firing them to hopes of recaptured glory and an unmarked grave in some far-off African country (because disclosure of their identity would be politically embarrassing), cannot be forgiven. Destabilization is a symptom of the whole, the deeper contagion within that does not bear the superficial markings of tidy settlements, tidy boundaries and what we read in our daily papers.

What is going on in Southern Africa right now is akin to the American civil war in the scope of its geography. Twelve countries are in effect one country and, as St Exupery said: In a civil war there is no front line. It runs through the hearts of men

# Ethiopia's embattled guerillas celebrate a signal victory

**EXCLUSIVE**



The bomb-ruined village of Nacfa in the mountains of Eritrea has become the symbolic focal point of the Eritrean secessionists' resistance against Ethiopian rule. HENRY REUTER of The Star's Africa News Service, who has just returned from the guerillas' front lines, reports exclusively on the massive Soviet-backed onslaught against them.

① Star 7/4/82

In dry river beds beneath precipitous mountain slopes, in large and elaborate underground bunkers, in clumps of dusty forest, screened from air attack, men and women fighters of the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF) are dancing.

Rusty cans of home-brewed sorghum beer, aptly called "sewer," are coming out along with the home-made lyres, drums and other skin and sinew musical instruments.

They dance and drink to celebrate the beating off of one of the most massive military offensives to be launched in independent Africa.

No outsider knows exactly how many EPLF fighters there are, but it cannot be much more

than 12 000 to 15 000. For more than six weeks, since February 15, they have fought furiously against about 120 000 soldiers of the Ethiopian army, four Soviet generals, 400 Soviet field advisers, several hundred southern Yemenis and 1 000 Libyans.

Thrown into Ethiopia's sixth offensive against them have been enormous artillery power, fleets of helicopter gunships and Soviet-supplied MiG 21s

and 23s, fearsome 40-barrel "Stalin organs" and, against the rules of the Geneva Convention, lethal gas bombs and shells.

## WINNING

Today, although the offensive — code named "Operation Red Star" — is by no means over, the EPLF guerillas, fighting for the independence of their mountain homeland from rule by the communist regime in Addis Ababa, are win-

ning handsomely.

For the past three weeks I have been with them on their mountains, in their bunkers and in the gaunt ruin of their mountain capital, Nacfa.

"Operation Red Star" was planned for two years by four Asmara-based Soviet generals. On its success Ethiopia's military leader, Mengistu Haile Mariam, staked his prestige and, probably, his military career.

He moved, with his entire government, to Asmara, Eritrea's capital, for the operation. He told a meeting of his top officers that, although three months from February 15 had been allowed for the offensive, it was expected to be over by April 15.

## LEAFLETS

I have seen leaflets issued to Ethiopian troops in which his High Command claimed that "Operation Red Star" would be a mopping-up operation. They said it was estimated that there were only three or four bandits on each of the mountains in the 20 000 sq. km. range, which is Eritrean guerilla territory and that the Ethiopian army would attack each mountain in battalion strength.

Mengistu's top aides told correspondents who were in Addis Ababa for February's OAU Foreign Ministers' meeting that the main aim of the operation was to capture Nacfa, the EPLF's spiritual home and the only town held by them. And they promised to take journalists to Nacfa in April.

Soviet strategy was to surround the entire mountain range and attack from all directions simultaneously. Within three weeks the Ethiopians had suffered heavy losses and had been forced to withdraw on all but the eastern front.

## CORPSES

In the north-west where the slaughter was worst, the mountainsides still reek with the stench of decaying Ethiopian corpses. There the guerillas deployed in the well-trodden horseshoe strategy, retreating in the centre of the front to encourage the Ethiopian army, which had crossed the Barka river to the foot of the mountains, to advance until encircled by the closing arms of the horseshoe.

In the north, Ethiopia's 18th Division of trained mountain troops crossed 7 km into Sudanese territory and dug in on a 1 785 m peak called Jebel Dombobet. There the normal roles were reversed with the guerillas charging up the mountain and forcing the Ethiopians to retreat round it and back into the relative safety of the flat lands between the mountain range and the Red Sea.

On the southern front the Ethiopians withdrew 40 km after a mountain battle.

## CASUALTIES

Despite some international scepticism, EPLF leaders — members of its controlling political bureau whom I met in their mountain headquarters — are sticking to their estimate that between 25 000 and 30 000 Ethiopian troops

# Ethiopian guerillas repel all-out attack

① Star  
7/4/82

From Page 6

were killed or wounded in the clashes.

I have seen nearly 1 000 Ethiopian prisoners of war taken in the battles and there are reliable reports that many hundreds of wounded have been admitted to Addis Ababa hospitals.

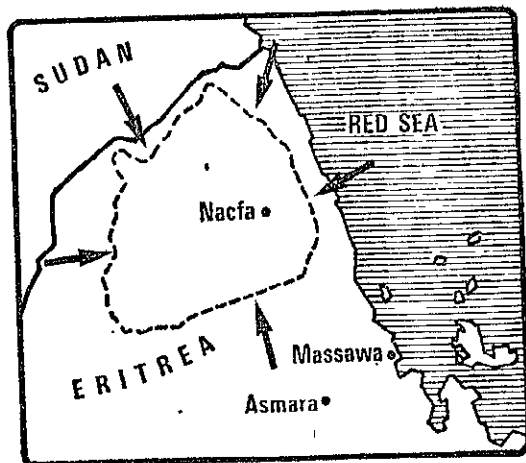
## MORALE

In the EPLF bunkers morale is tremendous. They are a more raggedy army than when I visited them four years ago, most of them preferring civilian clothing to the captured Ethiopian uniforms. But they are well supplied with arms and ammunition, most of it captured.

The fighters eat two or three times a day in the trenches, groups of half-a-dozen crouching round a square metre or so of grey, blanket-like sorghum bread. Into the middle of this are thrown tomatoes, sardines, onions, egg plant or any other food "extras" that are available.

These are then wrapped in bits of the blanket and eaten.

As a diet, it is unbalanced. There are cases of scurvy. But, washed down with glasses of sweet, black tea, it is



adequate for fighting men. Water comes from wells in sand rivers and much of it is supplied by tankers which fill up bunker water tanks nightly.

Nacfa is continually at war. The sound of two-way artillery fire rolls round the mountains. There is a continuous procession of MiGs, working in pairs and strafing anything in the mountains that moves. At one small oasis I counted the bodies of 26 camels blasted by MiG cannons.

At least once a day, or night, a lone Antonov comes over Nacfa to drop anti-personnel fragmentation bombs or napalm and, sometimes, flares. But no

one takes much notice of it. Helicopter gunships are being used extensively but there is nothing left to destroy in Nacfa except the bunker network, which is concealed and blast-proof.

Just as Mengistu has sworn that Nacfa will fall, the EPLF's number two leader, Issias Afewerke, has sworn that it will not.

It is probably the first time in African history that a collection of ruins on a scrubby mountainside has become such a powerful symbol for both sides in a bitter and seemingly never-ending civil war.



# Gas-bomb claims arouse criticism — and scepticism

① 7/4/82 Stan

The use of gas warfare by the Ethiopian Army in its bloody struggle against the Ethiopian People's Liberation Front for the control of Eritrea has aroused widespread international criticism — and some scepticism.

From my personal investigations in the guerilla-held Eritrean mountains and numerous interviews, I can give these facts:

● Gas-filled shells were fired by Ethiopian forces into EPLF positions on February 15 and 19, and gas bombs and shells fell on EPLF trenches, on what is known as the "Afabet Front" on March 30 and 31.

● In the first two attacks, it is understood that two types of gas were used — one normal tear-gas, the other nerve gas. Both times, witnesses said, a dark cloud fell on to the trenches. It seemed to be black in places and bluish in other places.

● In these attacks, 37 people were affected by the suspected nerve gas. One died immediately. The rest recovered between a few hours and a week later.

● An autopsy on the dead guerilla revealed signs of neuro-toxicity. Those guerillas gassed displayed symptoms which included blurred vision, uncontrolled drooling, unco-ordinated limb movements, difficulty in breathing, and contracted pupils.

Their recoveries were speeded by injections of Atropin — some patients recovering dramatically after these injections.

From markings on recovered shell fragments, it has been ascertained that the gas shells were manufactured in East Germany.

Atropin supplies have been rushed to the EPLF fighters by humanitarian organisations in Holland and Norway, and all the fighters now carry syringes, Atropin ampoules, and home-made gas masks.

In the gas attacks, which are an infringement of the Geneva Convention, each shell or bomb contaminated an area of about 600 square metres — with the gas dispersing and losing its effects after five hours.



Atropin injections and home-made gas masks are the guerillas' defence against nerve gas. Ampoules of the drug and syringes for injecting it protrude from the pocket of the man in the front of this picture.

## Mengistu under pressure

With the Eritrean war, partly financed by Libya, estimated to be costing Ethiopia about R1 million a day there are reports of growing pressure in Addis Ababa on the Mengistu Government to accept that a military solution is not possible.

The Eritrean People's Liberation Front has been fighting against Addis Ababa rule since Eritrea was invaded and occupied by forces of the late Haile Selassie.

The Mengistu government has rejected all peace proposals and claims Eritrea is part of Ethiopia and must be ruled from Addis Ababa.

ARGUS 10/19/82

# Hoare's 'greed' blamed

Argus Africa News Service

VICTORIA (Seychelles) — Professor South African intelligence agent Martin Dolinchek alleged that Colonel Mike Hoare's greed caused last November's coup attempt to fail.

He was counting dollars. He scalped the whole thing down to about 50 people. That is cutting the meat to the bone, Dolinchek is quoted as telling the United Nations Commission of Inquiry into the abortive takeover bid.

According to an annex to the commission's report the South African National Intelligence Service agent said Hoare had also changed plans to infiltrate his men from a number of different countries and had instead done it on the cheap by bringing his entire strike force into

the Seychelles aboard an Air Swazi jet. Dolinchek's testimony emerged with a number of other extraordinary and previously unpublicised aspects of the bungled coup attempt.

Details are given of the decision of former British paratrooper Roger Eng-land 26 to try to make his own way out of the Islands instead of flying over him. He then swam about four kilometres up the coast to the plish Reef Hotel and sat in his room until the police station opened fire. (Cont'd on Page 3, col 1.)



Martin Dolinchek

## Hoare changed plans, UN commission told

(Continued from Page 1) someone would have done the same for me. Carey said he had a grandstand view next morning when troops made an excellent commando raid on the empty terminal to rescue the hostages.

They must have put 30 to 40 shells into the place and really tore the place to pieces. Until then, Carey said, the terminal had suffered little damage.

Carey, England and Brooks were all captured and are now facing charges that carry a possible death penalty. Dolinchek told the commission that

Hoare changed the agreed plan to send the weapons and the men into the Seychelles separately.

As a member of the advance party the first he knew of the change in plan was when he picked up the suitcase after his arrival and felt its weight. "Oh my God," I said, "there must be an AK inside with Hobor's choice. Lucky for me I got through."

Dolinchek also told the commission that the South African Government had given 'tacit approval' to the coup plan

Drinking with work. He alleged that part of the advance party had spent two days and nights drinking solidly.

Handwritten notes in a circle: 12/2, 20

# Claim by spy: General Lloyd silent

From PETER KENNY

WINDHOEK. — The Officer Commanding the South West Africa Territory Force, Major-General Charles Lloyd — alleged by South African "spy" Mr Martin Dolinchek to have had intimate prior knowledge of the Seychelles coup bid — is remaining tight-lipped.

In spite of repeated attempts to contact General Lloyd about allegations made about him by Mr Dolinchek, he could not be contacted.

A spokesman for the SWA Territory Force repeated an earlier comment of the South African Defence Force saying General Lloyd could not comment because Parliament had ruled the matter to be sub judice.

The spokesman repeated that the Defence Force would not respond to Mr Dolinchek's allegations until the trial of the alleged mercenaries had ended.

The allegation about General Lloyd emerged from

*Cape Times 14/4/82*  
taped conversations between Mr Dolinchek and the Seychelles authorities, and discussions between Mr Dolinchek and the special United Nations commission investigating the alleged coup bid.

Mr Dolinchek had told investigating officials he had written a full report on the Seychelles invasion plan as presented in 1980.

The report had been given to two top South African government departments — the South African Defence Force and his own department, the National Intelligence Service.

Mr Dolinchek had said that a SADF recipient of his report was General Lloyd, before he was appointed OC in SWA.

Before General Lloyd took up his appointment in Windhoek he was Officer Commanding Natal Command, where Mr Dolinchek claims he himself represented the Bureau for State Security and the National Intelligence Service.

# Hijack trial: Airport 'unsafe' for landing

ARGUS 14/4/82



Argus Correspondent  
VICTORIA (Seychelles).  
— The first witness in the Maritzburg hijack trial commission here said armed men on Mahe Island airport had turned down his pleas to divert the Air India Boeing which was allegedly hijacked here on November 25.

The witness Mr M J L Loustau-Lalanne, Director of Civil Aviation in Seychelles, said he had considered it necessary to divert the aircraft because landing would be unsafe.

The situation was also abnormal because armed men had forced entry to the air traffic control tower and various staff had been rounded up by the armed men.

He said a sharp-featured dark man had told the aircraft pilot to land as normal.

With the aircraft below 1 000 feet and with about a mile to go, he had

pleaded with the armed man to tell the pilot to land 'deep' as the approach to the runway could have been obstructed.

He said the man gave the pilot meteorological and other figures which were not the same as what would have been available had the meteorological staff been left at their posts.

Mr Loustau-Lalanne said he had been told that the 'colonel' wanted to see him. He assumed the 'colonel' was in charge of the armed men. He was an older man with a goatee beard and light hair.

The colonel had told him the flight should not have landed and that he was prepared to negotiate with the government. An official was told to telephone the Commissioner of Police.

Mr Loustau-Lalanne was then asked to speak

to the authorities in Victoria and they agreed to the Boeing being allowed to take off safely.

'Our army withheld its fire until the safe departure of this aircraft, but the armed men were not to board the aircraft,' he said.

Mr Loustau-Lalanne said since the incident his health had suffered. He had passed blood in his urine and could not stand the sight of certain telephones.

Earlier today, the trial was adjourned until this afternoon when the first witness, Air India pilot Captain U C Saxena, was admitted to hospital with virulent conjunctivitis.

The Deputy Attorney-General of Natal, Mr Hendrik Klem, his assistant, Mr Gideon Scheltema, and his secretary also have eye infections and appear in court in dark glasses.

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# Clemency plea: PM answers Rene

Political Staff

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has assured Mr Albert Rene, the President of the Seychelles, that his appeal for clemency on behalf of three members of the banned ANC who are facing the death sentence, will be considered.

President Rene made his appeal to Mr Botha in a telegram this week as four South Africans and three others face possible death sentences for their part in the

abortive coup attempt on the Seychelles last November.

In a remarkably cordial exchange of telegrams, Mr Botha explained South Africa's procedure for considering clemency and said that all relevant details would be taken into account, "including your own representations".

President Rene's request and the tenor of Mr Botha's reply, particularly under current circumstances, are regarded as being highly

significant.

President Rene has appealed, on humanitarian grounds, to the South African authorities not to carry out the death sentences on Nchimbi Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Tsepo Mashigo and Naphali Manana for their part in the attack on the Soekmekaar police station.

In his reply Mr Botha said that every death sentence was reviewed by the State President acting on the advice of Ministers of State

constituting the Executive Council.

The council considered not only the relevant facts "as they appear from the court record and the judgment of the court itself, but also other considerations such as the views of the prosecuting officers, the State law advisers and any other considerations which are brought to their attention by way of counsels' memoranda, petitions and the like".

"This body has the authority in terms of South African law to grant clemency after a thorough investigation of all the relevant facts and has, in fact, done so on occasion."

"In the present instances the accused were sentenced to death by a provincial division of the South African Supreme Court."

"The court's decision was confirmed by the Appellate Division."  
"Although I have neither

the duty nor the power to grant clemency of my own accord, I can give you the assurance that the State President and the ministers constituting the Executive Council will, as is customary in all instances, take cognisance of all the relevant facts, including your own representations."

Both telegrams were signed with the diplomatic phrase expressing "highest consideration".

CNC Times

14/4/82

10

ARGUS 14/4/82 (1) (A) (EY) (Z)

Political Staff

# Rene plea: PM's 'pleasant surprise'

OPPOSITION politicians and diplomats expressed 'pleasant surprise' today at the cordiality of the Prime Minister's reply to President Albert Rene's clemency plea.

The Seychelles President has appealed, on humanitarian grounds, to the South African authorities not to carry out the death sentence on three ANC members, Ncinibithi Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Tsepo Mashigo and Naph-tali Manana, for their

attack on the Soekmeaar police station.

He has been assured by Mr P W Botha that his appeal would be considered.

Opposition and diplomatic spokesmen said today that the exchange was obviously on a high diplomatic level — and the fact that four South Africans and three other people are facing the possible death sentence for

their alleged part in the attempted coup on the island would have been taken into account.

They said it would be unwise to comment publicly on the issue as it could only serve to upset matters.

President Rene made his appeal in a telegram this week to which Mr Botha, also by telegram, explained the South African procedure for consi-

dering clemency. He assured the Seychelles President that all relevant details would be taken into account, including his own representations.

Mr Botha explained that every death sentence was reviewed by the State President, acting on the advice of ministers of state constituting the Executive Council.

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**From a Staff Reporter**

VICTORIA (Seychelles). — Air India pilot Captain Umesh Saxena said in the Seychelles Supreme Court today that after a hazardous landing on November 25 he was told: 'You have landed in the middle of a revolution.'

This was said by a man introduced as Tom, whom he described as being about 55 and who had a goatee beard.

When he asked Tom what was happening, Tom replied: 'Those Tanzanian bastards are shooting at us.'

Captain Saxena said Tom had told him that if he and his first officer tried to doublecross them one would be shot and their aircraft blown up. If they co-operated they would be unharmed.

**Vehicle**

While committed to land at Mahe Airport he saw a vehicle on the runway and was unable to avoid hitting it.

Had he tried to lift off again the lack of thrust would have forced the plane down to crash into the vehicle, killing all occupants.

He was angry and asked the control tower why he had been allowed to land on a blocked runway. He received no explanation. Instead, the control tower told him to taxi around.

He refused the instruction and was told that some men would meet the plane on the apron, which was in darkness.

He could, however, see the marshaller who guided him in.

He was told to wait and while preparing the safety precautions, he was told by the purser that he was wanted outside.

The stepladder was in position and when he and Captain Misra descended they found a group of 10 to 15 armed men.

He was then taken to Tom, who asked him where the aircraft was capable of flying.

He said that if the aircraft was refuelled it could go to Bombay, but Tom replied that they should forget about Bombay and asked if they could go to Oman.

Tom then asked him if they could go to South Africa and he asked his navigator to plan a course.

**Police chief**

Captain Saxena said he agreed to go to South Africa because of the threats of shooting and blowing up the plane and he thought some revolution was taking place and he was in the company of one of the 'rebels.'

Tom was then speaking on the telephone to the Commissioner of Police in Victoria and Tom told Captain Saxena to speak to the commissioner and tell him that the plane would be allowed to go. But he was not to tell the commissioner that he and his men were going in the plane as well.

He lied to the commissioner because he felt he had no option as he wanted the shooting outside stopped and the runway cleared.

He later asked the commissioner for permission to clear the runway. This was agreed to and he and Captain Misra cleared the runway in a vehicle provided by the air traffic controller.

ded by the air traffic controller.

About 40 of Tom's men boarded the plane. One man came into the cockpit and he and the pilot studied maps by the light of a pencil torch.

They planned a route from the Seychelles to Johannesburg over the Mozambique coast, but a man objected, saying they

(Contd on Page 3, col 1)

**REVIEWED BY THE PHOTO UNIT**

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# Rene plea — PM replies

Star 14/4/82

**Political Correspondent**  
Opposition politicians and diplomats expressed "pleasant surprise" today at the cordiality of the Prime Minister's reply to President Albert Rene's clemency plea.

The Seychelles President has appealed, on humanitarian grounds, to the South African authorities not to carry out the death sentence on three ANC members Numbithi Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Tsepo Mashigo and Naphthalah Manana, for their attack on the Soekme-kaar police station.

He has been assured by Mr P W Botha that his appeal would be considered.

Opposition and diplomatic spokesmen said today the exchange was obviously on a high diplomatic level in which account had also been taken of the fact that four South Africans and three other people face the death sentence for their part in the abortive coup attempt on the island.

President Rene made his appeal in a telegram this week to which Mr Botha, also by telegram, explained

the South African procedure for considering clemency. He assured the Seychelles President that all relevant details would be taken into account, including his own representations.

Mr Botha explained that every death sentence was reviewed by the State President acting on the advice of Ministers of State constituting the Executive Council.

The council considered not only the relevant facts as they appeared from the court record and the judgment of the court,

but also other considerations such as the views of the prosecuting officers, the State law advisers and any other considerations brought to their attention by way of counsels memoranda, petitions and the like.

"This body has the authority in terms of South African law to grant clemency after thorough investigation of all the relevant facts and has in fact done so on occasion.

"In the present circumstances the accused were sentenced to death by a Provincial

To Page 3, Col 6

# Woman mercenary 'victim of love'

AGUS 15/4/82

Argus Africa News Service  
VICTORIA. — A pathetic story of love and trying to protect the woman with whom he was living, Susan Ingle, was told to the UN commission into the Seychelles coup attempt, by captured South African mercenary, Robert Sims.

At the start of his evidence to the commission, Sims, who is the brother-in-law of mercenary

leader Colonel Mike Hoare, said: 'One thing I am a bit perturbed about is another member of our party, a lady by the name of Susan Ingle.

'Well, her crime is loving me. She has done 61 days in solitary confinement. That is her crime. When I say 'her crime', she came over here to look after a little cottage for me, to do my cooking, to wash

my clothes, look after me like a normal housewife.

'We have been together for the past 10—12 years, and she has been locked up for 61 days because she loves me. It seems a bit odd.'

When it came to her testimony, Mrs Ingle confirmed her basic knowledge of what was to be a 'bloodless' coup and that she had been given charge of a

bank account to operate for the 'convenience' of herself and Mr Sims.

Here was by far the shortest testimony of all those captured, and she claimed to have no knowledge of the details of the planned coup.

The last statement uttered by Sims to the commission was: 'As regards Susan, sir, I would be obliged if you could please do something about her.'



Susan Ingle

# PW's reply points to swop

DDM 15/4/81  
Political Reporter

THE South African Government may stop the execution of three ANC insurgents in return for the lives of seven people — including four South Africans — who face death sentences in the Seychelles for alleged complicity in last year's coup attempt.

This was the interpretation yesterday by political observers of the Prime Minister's unusually mild reply to a plea by President Albert Rene of the Seychelles, to spare the lives of the ANC men sentenced to death for their attack on the Soekmekaar Police Station.

President Rene appealed, on humanitarian grounds, to the Government not to execute the three, Ncinibithi Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Tsepo Mashigo and Naph-tali Manana. No-one was killed in the attack on the police station.

In reply, Mr Botha said all death sentences were reviewed by the State President acting on the advice of Ministers of State.

He said while it was not in his power to grant clemency "of my own accord", he gave the assurance that on review "all relevant facts", including President Rene's plea, would be considered.

Observers said yesterday they could not recall a similar Government reaction in recent times to appeals for mercy towards convicted ANC members facing execution.

It is clear that if the death sentences on the three are commuted, South Africa would be in a favourable position to make a similar plea for clemency if all or any of the seven accused in the Seychelles are sentenced to death.

# Soldier to face fraud charge over call-up papers

ARGUS 15/4/82 (1) (ATTN) (SATA)

Argus Africa News Service

VICTORIA (Seychelles). — A permanent member of the South African Defence Force is to be charged with issuing call-up papers to mercenaries involved in the Seychelles coup attempt.

This emerges in the report of the United Nations commission into the coup.

The report quotes an interview with General P van der Westhuizen, head

of military intelligence, in which he said that a non-commissioned officer of the SADF 'fraudulently issued a call-up in the reserve force.'

According to the report, the matter would be handed over to the civilian 'judiciary authorities, because the people concerned were not in service at the time.'

The UN commission's report of the meeting confirms allegations in The Argus that a number

of the mercenaries had signed call-up papers issued by the adjutant officer of an SADF unit without authorisation.

As result of The Argus report the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, confirmed that an army board of inquiry had investigated such allegations, but refused to tell Parliament what the result of the investigation was on the grounds that it contravened the sub-judice ruling.

However, it now appears that General van der Westhuizen freely gave this information to the UN commission at a time when his Minister declined to give it to Parliament.

On the supply of arms, General van der Westhuizen said he could say nothing because 'it is the responsibility of the internal security police.'

However, there could have been a flow of arms in Southern Africa because of military activity

in the area in the past 10 to 15 years.

The Argus has established through three sources, two of them operating in South African intelligence, that the 80 Rumanian AK-47 rifles used by the mercenaries in last November's abortive coup came from sources in South Africa — a Government source as indicated by professed national intelligence agent Martin Dolmchek in his original testimony to the commission.

# Pilot tells of hijack drama

(Continued from Page 1)

should not fly over Mozambique.

They planned another route over Madagascar, but the man also turned this down. They then planned a new route to Durban, with Johannesburg as the alternative.

Captain Saxema said he would not normally have flown with a damaged plane, but he decided it was best to take a calculated risk.

Tom's men carried guns and he asked if they had other arms. They replied they had no other explosives.

He started the engines and took off without permission and without filing flight plans.

The man who helped to plot their course knew about navigation. He did not want a route over

Madagascar because he feared the plane might be forced down.

While the aircraft was at Mahe no passengers were allowed to alight and no passengers for Bombay were picked up.

At the airport there was sporadic firing and shelling and he saw a 'shell' flying past the nose of the aircraft.

Twice he fell flat for fear of being shot.

## High speed

While in the airport building he asked to go to the plane to see how the passengers were reacting.

Tom's gunmen used to let him go. He was surprised that Tom's men had arranged some fuel to be taken aboard.

Captain Saxema said his aircraft was on the ground at Mahe for about three

hours. When he took off again a 'gunman with aviation experience' sat on the jump seat behind his crew with a submachine gun.

He went down the runway at a higher-than-normal speed and abruptly pulled the aircraft into the air to avoid the damaged flap affecting take-off.

The gunman wore a headset to monitor transmissions between the crew and ground stations.

'I was cautious about what I said to the ground stations as I did not want to provoke him. I was being cautious in line with company policy.

'Whenever the gunman did leave the cockpit, he was replaced by one of his companions.'

The pilot commented later that he also felt threatened by the other gunmen.

'I could not take decisions as the commander I had to ask permission for every small decision.' He was under extreme tension.

His company had instructed him to follow the instructions of a hijacker to the letter — 'that is what I did.'

## Under siege

His first radio contact was with Mauritius and then Johannesburg came through.

Captain Saxema said he was told by the gunman in the cockpit to tell the Johannesburg tower that one of his main flaps was damaged and he was heading for Durban for repairs in an 'extreme emergency.'

He passed the message on and added that he was

unable to explain further. His aircraft was fitted with the standard anti-hijacking transponder which put out a signal in a discreet code to warn ground stations of the emergency.

Unsure of whether the gunman was aware of the transponder, the pilot said, he gradually switched it through frequencies until it was in the right position.

Johannesburg finally reacted and asked what transponder code he was using.

'I said "Stand by", which conveys that the aircraft is under siege.'

At this point counsel said the code details would not be given to avoid future danger to aircraft.

The court adjourned until tomorrow.

(Proceeding)

16/1/82  
2 The Cape Times, F

# Lloyd maintains silence

From PETER KENNY

WINDHOEK. — Major-General Charles Lloyd, military chief in SWA/Namibia, yesterday refused to comment on a report quoting him as strongly denying having prior knowledge of an attempted coup in the Seychelles.

But he confirmed that he had been interviewed by the Natal Witness.

In the report he was quoted as saying he was approached by Mr Martin Dolinchek, who wanted him to listen to a story Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare wanted to tell him.

## Full report

According to reports from the Seychelles Mr Dolinchek is reported to have told officials investigating the attempted coup that he had written a full report on the Seychelles invasion plan and that General Lloyd had received a copy.

Admitting he granted an interview to the Natal Witness, General Lloyd said it had taken place before Monday's report from the Seychelles.

## Wednesday

But the Natal Witness said it had interviewed General Lloyd telephonically on Wednesday — two days after the report from the Seychelles appeared.

According to the Witness report General Lloyd said on Wednesday that Mr Dolinchek — who now faces a high treason trial in the Seychelles — had approached him when he was still OC Natal Command.

"He wanted me to meet Colonel Mike Hoare to listen to a story he had to tell — I told him I didn't want to have anything to do with Mr Hoare's affairs."

According to the report he denied allegations that he had been given a full report on the Seychelles invasion plan.

# SA 'knew about coup men'

Staff Reporter

VICTORIA. — Mr Eddie Stafford, SC, who is defending 10 alleged hijackers, said they would say it was mentioned at Mahe Airport that landing in South Africa would be no problem because the authorities knew about them and would not turn them away.

He was cross-examining an Air India pilot, Captain Umesh Saxena, in the Seychelles Supreme Court here today.

Mr Justice Frank Wood is acting as commissioner for the Maritzburg hijack trial.

Captain Saxena denied he had agreed with Colonel Mike Hoare that he would fly the group to Durban.

He said one did not make agreements at the point of a gun.

## NOT MENTIONED

Mr Stafford said that the 10 he represented believed there had been an arrangement between Captain Saxena and Colonel Hoare that he would fly them to South Africa.

Captain Saxena said he had not mentioned the word 'hijack' to the police at Durban because of the possibility of having to fly off with the mercenaries again.

Mr Hannon: 'That is incredible. You thought it possible that after they had been arrested and held incommunicado under terrorism legislation that they could be given back their guns and that you could all fly off into the wild blue yonder?'

Captain Saxena: 'Yes. I did not want to give the police all the facts and anger the mercenaries. Mr Peter Duffy negotiated with the police in a friendly manner and shook hands with them when we arrived at Louis Botha airport.'

## 'IN PLACE'

Mr Hannon: 'Many things now fall into place for me. The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, said that the men shot out a few windows on Mahe, and the Attorney-General of the Transvaal did not prosecute them.'

Captain Saxena said Mr Duffy had told him it had not been a hijack, and he was not to mention it.

Asked why he had followed these instructions long after Mr Duffy's arrest, Captain Saxena said he had wanted to do nothing that would delay his departure from South Africa.

He admitted he could have told Colonel Mike Hoare on Mahe airport that the aircraft had been too badly damaged in its collision with a vehicle on the runway to take off again.

(Proceeding)

APGul  
16/4/82



# Dolinchek not State witness - wife

① AKA

AKGWS  
19/4/82

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Ina Dolin-  
chek, wife of self-con-  
fessed South African in-  
telligence agent, Martin  
Dolinchek, said at her  
home today that she did  
not think her husband  
would turn State witness  
in the forthcoming trial  
in the Seychelles in June.

Speaking for the first  
time since she returned  
from the Seychelles on  
Saturday, Ina said that  
she was not allowed to  
talk privately to her hus-  
band and was always  
accompanied by the Com-  
missioner of Police.

She said it seemed  
'highly unlikely' that her  
husband would turn State  
witness although in the  
same breath she admitted  
she wasn't allowed the  
time to talk to him 'about  
those matters.'

Commenting on her  
alleged aim to move to  
the Seychelles, she said it  
was 'nonsense.'

'I am living from day  
to day and it is absolutely  
untrue that either of us  
have decided on anything.'

She denied that she  
was selling her Durban  
home, 'unless someone  
offers me a million,' she  
quipped.

Asked about her hus-  
band's health, Ina said  
that he was 'alright' but  
that they were both very  
concerned about the com-  
ing trial.

'I really liked the  
Sevchelles and I'm very  
glad that I went, but  
really everything depends  
on the trial.'

# Major US arms aid to Africa

Star 19/4/82  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration is planning military aid worth nearly \$250-million to African nations, including Zimbabwe, next year.

This is about one quarter of the total aid package — mainly economic — which Congress is being asked to authorise for Africa.

The major recipients of "Foreign military sales" credits will, as in the past, be the Sudan (\$100 million), Kenya (\$35 million), Somalia (\$30 million) and Zaire (\$20 million).

The administration has asked Congress to approve \$3 million for a "new" recipient in that category, Zimbabwe.

Explaining the military aid proposals to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, said: "Our overall commitment to Zimbabwe's total development compels us to look favourably on appropriate requests for non-lethal military assistance.

## INVALUABLE

"We anticipate that Zimbabwe will wish to use the credits for ground transportation, uniforms, boots and some communication equipment."

Under the heading "international military education and training," the administration proposes \$1.5 million for Kenya and \$1.3 million for Zaire.

Dr Crocker says the military education and training programme "produces invaluable results for an extremely modest outlay."

The programme "not only keeps us in close touch with the military establishments of the countries concerned, but also gives us a unique opportunity to expose the future leaders of those establishments to American methods, values, equipment and society."

He emphasised that the ratio of American economic to military assistance in the Africa budget was about three to one, and denied Washington was seeking to become Africa's major arms supplier.

"The US has no such ambition. We account for no more than about 4 percent of African arms imports, while the Soviet Union accounts for about 60 percent.

"What we do want is to be seen as a reliable partner, a sympathetic and helpful friend who no longer looks askance at the very real security requirements of friends in need.

"To do less would be to discourage our friends, or to force them to turn to sources of help that would be destabilising and against our interests."

IMF STAND-BY ARRANGEMENTS AND ARRANGEMENTS UNDER EXTENDED FUND FACILITY IN AFRICA\* (SDRm)

	Date of agreement	Programme years	Total commitment	Undrawn balance
<b>STAND-BY ARRANGEMENTS</b>				
Cent. African Republic	April 10, 1981	1	10.40	2.40
Ethiopia	May 8, 1981	1	67.50	23.50
Kenya	Oct 15, 1980	2	241.50	151.50
Liberia	Aug 26, 1981	1	55.00	22.00
Madagascar	April 13, 1981	1	109.00	70.00
Malawi	May 9, 1980	2	49.88	9.80
Mauritania	June 1, 1981	2	25.80	15.50
Mauritius	Dec 21, 1981	1	30.00	22.50
Senegal	Sept 11, 1981	1	63.00	47.26
Somalia	July 15, 1981	1	43.13	17.25
Tanzania	Sept 15, 1980	2	179.60	154.60
Togo	Feb 13, 1981	2	47.50	40.25
Uganda	June 5, 1981	1	112.50	35.00
Zimbabwe	April 8, 1981	1	37.50	—
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>1,072.31</b>	<b>611.84</b>
<b>EXTENDED FUND FACILITY</b>				
Gabon	June 27, 1980	3	34.00	34.00
Ivory Coast	Feb 27, 1981	3	484.50	307.78
Morocco	March 9, 1981	3	817.05	680.55
Sierra Leone	March 30, 1981	3	186.00	152.50
Sudan	May 4, 1979	3	427.00	176.00
Zaire	June 22, 1981	3	917.00	737.00
Zambia	May 8, 1981	3	800.00	500.00
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>3,660.55</b>	<b>2,587.83</b>

\* As at December 31, 1981 Source: IMF

ARGUS  
20/4/82

①

# AFRICA'S BATTLE TO MEET THE IMF'S DEMANDS

LUSAKA. — In his seventh floor office in Zambia's imposing Central Bank Mr Bitwell Kuwani, the governor, is preparing for this month's critical round of negotiations with a group of foreign economists.

Their analysis will affect everyone from the shoppers in the street below to Zambia's overseas suppliers who look with misgivings at the country's arrears in import payments nearing Kwachas 500-m (£306m) and stretching back 27 months.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is coming to town, news which is greeted with apprehension in many African capitals. It is often a signal that domestic credit will tighten, that a devaluation is in the offing, and that food subsidies will be cut — in return for the fund's assistance.

As non-oil producing African states stagger under rising balance of payments deficits, heavy debt

service commitments, crippling fuel costs and internal economic mismanagement, the importance on the continent of the IMF has increased dramatically. Yet there is growing evidence that governments, whether in Kenya, which adopts a mixed economy, or in socialist Zambia, are struggling to meet the fund's conditions.

Two of the IMF's largest programmes in Africa — both over three years — are in serious trouble. The SDR 912-m arrangement in Zaire has effectively broken down. In Zambia, further drawing under an SDR 800-m programme has been delayed, exacerbating an already acute foreign exchange crisis.

## Sensitive

The most sensitive issue is often the fund's demand for cuts in government spending, which usually means reducing food and other subsidies — as in Zambia's case.

There is a political price to pay, however. Mr Duncan Ndegwa, Governor of the Kenya Central

Bank, told a recent IMF seminar in Nairobi, that cuts in subsidies 'impose tremendous adverse affects.'

Mr Ndegwa could have cited two cases. Several hundred people died during food riots in Morocco (which signed an SDR 819m agreement in March 1981) last June, while protesters took to the streets in Sudan in January after price rises for basic commodities followed agreement on an SDR 198 m programme in October. Both governments were attempting to meet targets agreed with the fund.

Yet the non-oil producing countries are in a bind. They have few other sources of large-scale financial aid at a time when their predicament has never been worse.

Two recent meetings in Nairobi released some disturbing statistics.

The annual increase in GDP of non-oil producing African countries fell to 2.5 percent between 1978 and 1980, compared with 3.8 percent in 1973-1977. Since the annual average population increase is 2.5 percent, per capita in-

come has been stagnant.

The annual rate of inflation tripled in 1973-77 to nearly 17 percent, rising to about 20 percent in 1978-80. Medium and long term external debt of the non-oil African group more than quadrupled, reaching \$47.8bn at the end of 1980.

Also in Nairobi last month, African delegates to the United Nations World Food Council heard an alarming assessment of the continent's food position. The forecast is that food imports of 18.5-million tons in 1980-81 will triple by the mid-1980s. Overall agricultural and food production grew by only 1.7 percent in 1981 — well behind the growth rate of the population.

## Extended

As balance of payments deficit rose and commodity prices fell, so the Fund's role has increased. Commitments under the upper credit tranche standby and extended arrangements rose from two in 1978 to nine in 1979 and 12 in 1980. Last year the board approved 14 such arrangements with African countries for periods of one to four years, and seven others negotiated three-year programmes.

Yet African resentment of the fund seems to have risen in proportion to its role. One of the world's poorest countries has taken the toughest stance: Tanzania has conducted a running battle, with President Julius Nyerere and Mr Amir Jamal, Finance Minister, regularly taking up the cudgels.

'The IMF,' Mr Jamal told the fund at one of its annual meetings, 'was never geared to taking care of the slow, painful start of developing countries on the road to economic development.'

Among his calls for reform is the suggestion of a 'referee' to arbitrate in disagreements between the fund and a member, and 'significant additional low conditionality facilities.'

Many economists argue that government mismanagement is a major factor in Africa's decline, however. Mr Paul Acquash, of the fund's Africa department, told delegates in Nairobi: 'To a large extent the relatively poor performance of the non-oil African countries can be attributed to domestic

economic policies' — including poor agricultural pricing policies, burgeoning and inefficient state-owned companies, and 'overly expansionist' fiscal and monetary policies.

Among the many cases which bear out his criticisms, Zambia is one example, less tobacco is produced today than at independence in 1964.

Treasury officials throughout Africa however can point to the impact of world price fluctuations over which they have no control. In Zambia, for instance, the copper mines provided over 50 percent of government revenue in 1974. For the past five years it has ranged from nil to negligible.

One analysis which carries disquieting implications has been carried out by Professor Tony Killick, of the Overseas Development Institute.

## Broken down

In a paper looking at the fund's relationship with Kenya, Professor Killick points out that three higher conditionality agreements have all broken down. Yet the Government is 'rather conservative, pragmatic and generally market orientated.' Further, there is 'no great ideological divide... the Treasury does not disagree with the thrust of the IMF policies (and) the principle of conditionality is not contested.'

He does not put all the blame for the difficulties on the IMF, but one result is that today Kenyan officials 'contemplate an application for an IMF credit with reluctance and regard negotiations with it as unnecessarily taxing.' Costs are high, fund interest charges have risen, and negotiations take up too much of the time of overstretched officials. 'They view the fund as being too concerned with the short term, too anxious to achieve quick results,' Professor Killick writes.

'If successful stabilisation and good working relationships with the fund are not feasible in Kenya,' he concludes, 'it is unclear where else in Africa they might be achieved.' — London Financial Times News Service.

3. No candidate may have with him in the examination room any books or notes whatsoever unless specially instructed by the Registrar by written notice to bring such with him, when he may take into the room the books indicated but no other books or notes.

4. A candidate attempting to help or obtain help from any other candidate, or having any unauthorised books or notes in his possession will be liable to be disqualified and to be further dealt with as may be determined by the Senate.

5. A candidate must not take out of the examination room any examination books supplied by the University.

6. Pages must not be extracted from this book.

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in the they should have in a bid for

# History revised in Ethiopian struggle

Ethiopia has resorted to a new interpretation of history to support its campaign of napalm, bombs and bullets against secessionist guerillas in Eritrea.

Ethiopia's military ruler, Mengistu Haile Mariam, argues that Eritrea was the cradle of Ethiopia's civilisation and that the links between the marxist-run nation and its troublesome province are therefore unbreakable.

He argues, too, that Eritrea has always been the soft underbelly of Ethiopia, exploited by a series of invaders.

At the start of Operation Red Star, the latest offensive against the guerillas in the 20-year war, Mengistu was accompanied by a team of historians from Addis Ababa University when he set up his war headquarters in Asmara.

A study of the messages now being directed from Asmara to civilians in Eritrea shows great play is being made of the fact that the Axumite civilisation dating from 500 BC, was the forerunner of Ethiopia's civilisation, and that the northern part of Ethiopia (including Tigre province and Eritrea) was the

womb of Ethiopian culture.

In his frequent speeches Mengistu has stressed that the main invasion route to the heart of Ethiopia has always been from the Red Sea through Eritrea.

He promised that Ethiopia's outlets to the Red Sea would never again be used against the nation, "regardless of the sacrifice it demands." Underlining Eritrea's strategic importance to the Ethiopian heartland, Mengistu and his historians have been reciting the long list of invaders who have been beaten off including Turks and Egyptians followed by the Dervishes from the Sudan as well as the Portuguese from the sea.

Coming to the present century, the Ethiopian version of history has it that, after chasing out the Italians during World War 2, the British connived to keep Eritrea divided from Ethiopia under a provisional mandate then "organised puppets who tried to annex western Eritrea and join it with the Sudan."

Mengistu accused the Americans of backing certain factions of Eritrean

rebels to suit a US master plan. "Ethiopia has become the principal object of imperialist designs by virtue of its strategic location commanding the passage of oil routes through the Red Sea and by its proximity to the Persian Gulf," the Ethiopian leader declared at a public rally in Asmara, Eritrea's upland capital.

He then added: "The proliferation of imperialist bases in our vicinity and the recent establishment of rapid interventionist forces (sic) cannot fail to heighten our alarm."

The skilful propaganda campaign is meant to convince Eritreans that they are Ethiopians who have in the past been deluded by "dirty geopolitical tricks" to become the "hub of feudalism," permitting foreigners to become involved in the secessionist struggle for their own ends.

Much is also made of the friendship treaty signed last year between Ethiopia, Libya and South Yemen. The pact was designed to create powerful allies who would resist attempts to encircle Ethiopia by what are seen as hostile elements.

These "elements" have since been officially identified as Egypt, Sudan and Somalia because of the military ties they have with the United States and their agreement to provide bases and military installations for the US Rapid Deployment Force.

— The Observer  
London.

# Voters' choice: playboy or radical

Depending on who wins the Mauritius general election on June 11, power in the country will be dictated by an eccentric playboy (whose bizarre lifestyle would never be tolerated in Western politics) or a deadly serious radical, deported as a student from France during the 1968 Paris riots.

They are, respectively, Sir Gaetan Duval, leader of the Mauritian Social Democrats (PMSD) and Paul Berenger, general secretary of the far left Militant Mauritian Movement (MMM). The PMSD is the voice of the Creole people and a growing number of others who have fallen under the spell of its charismatic leader.

The MMM is the first highly organised and systematic assault on the Government in 14 years. This marxist-leaning cyclone has swept across the island with gathering momentum in recent years in a ceaseless campaign for reform.

These two parties are the strongest among the several opposition groups that have emerged to challenge the ruling Labour Party whose leader, Prime Minister Sir Sewoosagar Ramgoolam, is now taken seriously by few Mauritians.

It is well understood that he cannot hang on for much longer. Having postponed the five-year election until the latest possible date he has still to announce his future plans while the power

struggle between his top ministers has yet to reveal a winner.

Strangely, neither Duval nor Berenger will become Prime Minister in June, and perhaps never. The unspoken rule on the island is that the PM has to be of Indian descent so one or the other will have to settle for a senior cabinet post. But as leaders of their people, they may still rule from behind the scenes.

Richard Paris spoke to both men last week. His interview with Mr Berenger is published today; that with Sir Gaetan will appear tomorrow.

# Berenger turns cold shoulder to Pretoria

Meeting the head of the Militant Mauritian Movement (MMM), 34-year-old Paul Berenger, had a touch of mystery about it.

He is a man who does not appear to be well known personally to many leading Mauritians as he refuses to be seen in the popular watering holes or other capitalist institutions.

But he did agree to a meeting during a telephone call, requesting that my driver take me not to his central office in the capital, Port Louis, but to a small branch of Barclays Bank in a village nearby.

My driver recognised the State Security Police as we arrived. While I was in a vacant room upstairs interviewing the MMM leader — who, if his party wins will be not just the next Minister of Finance, but virtually in charge of all major policy decisions under a figurehead Indian Prime Minister — the driver was being interrogated for more than an hour by the SSS.

When I returned to the car, he signalled me not to talk as he was certain we were being observed and his feigned ignorance of my reason for being there found wanting. Later I discovered that my telephone had been tapped and my hotel visited more than once in an effort to glean further information about the purpose of my visit to the island.

Mr Berenger, a Mauritian Creole (coloured) who could

pass for white in South Africa, strikes one as intense and humourless except when he is being sarcastic about the Government which is often.

Expelled from university in Paris and deported during the 1968 student revolt, he has devoted most of his adult life to strengthening the trade union movement in Mauritius and building a strong political party under the banner of a need for major economic reforms.

For a while he was imprisoned by his opposition counterpart, Sir Gaetan Duval, for encouraging employees to take part in illegal industrial action.

What would the MMM's policy be towards South Africa?

"Basically not to do anything that will increase the dependence of Mauritius on South Africa, and then gradually to reduce it," he said.

"As a member of the OAU and as a non-aligned country, we mean to put into practice the principles for which we are supposed to stand and the policies for which we have voted.

"The MMM has nothing against the people

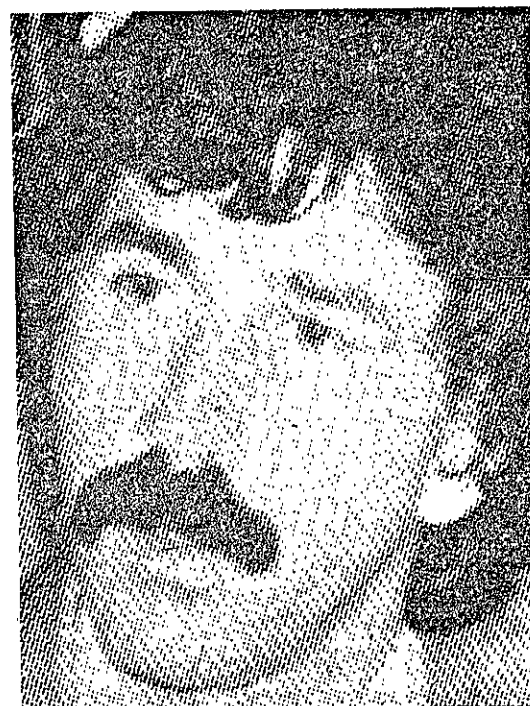
of South Africa, only the Government. We are watching every political and social development with interest in the hope that history will catch up, but it may take a long time," he added.

If elected, his party would be looking to countries other than South Africa for many of its imports — about 75 percent emanate from Durban harbour at present — and the search for alternatives was already well under way.

Although they would require visas to visit Mauritius, South Africans would continue to be welcome to visit the country without discrimination on grounds of race, but Air Mauritius would be forced to terminate its twice weekly flights to Johannesburg and Durban and its South African offices would be closed, he said.

South African Airways, which currently has five flights a week to the island, four of which go on to Australia or the Far East, would be able to continue its services "for a few more years."

"It is our intention to stop SAA from landing here eventually, as my colleague, Albert



Paul Berenger . . . intense and humourless.

Rene in the Seychelles has done, but it is not in our interests for this to happen immediately."

Mr Berenger also warned the South African Government that it could not take the airline's landing rights in Reunion, a French dependency just 200 km from Mauritius, for granted for much longer.

"Our party works very closely with the French Government and the French Socialist Party. We have discussed this at the highest levels and I

ting the island to holidaymakers could be put to much better use than at present, with more emphasis on nationals of whose potential had not yet been tapped.

Mr Berenger expressed disappointment in some international financiers who had originally backed a number of new hotel projects only to shelve them when the elections were announced, "in spite of reassurances from the MMM that their investments would be protected and supported by our party."

"Many people do not realise that the entire economy of this island is controlled by a few families. We have a five-year plan to rectify the situation which will be similar but necessarily more radical than that of the French Socialist Government," he said.

Internationally, Mauritius would become non-aligned.

"This Government says it is so already, but then it constantly crawls to certain countries in the most disgusting way when it wants something badly."

"We do want an alliance of the socialist countries in the Indian Ocean — Mauritius, Madagascar, Seychelles, Comores and Reunion in particular — but our global friends will be in both the West and the East, including China, India, Algeria, France and Canada."

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# Duval: We can set example

This is the second and last article by Richard Paris on the Mauritius general election. He talks to the leader of the Social Democrats.

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22/4/82

PORT LOUIS — Sir Gaetan Duval cannot become Prime Minister of Mauritius on June 11, but Ramgoolam's Labour Party realised that the only way of avoiding a victory by the extreme left Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM) would be to form a coalition with his rival's Social Democrats.

To please Duval, who is called King of the Creoles, Ramgoolam recommended him to Queen Elizabeth for a knighthood, which was awarded nearly two years ago. Yet the two men are not on speaking terms even for the purpose of forming a joint manifesto and clarifying exactly what concessions must be made for the coalition to be officially declared.

If Gaetan Duval were a writer, his lifestyle would be considered outrageous but he would be tolerated and supported by the "way out" literary fringe; as the holder of the highest judicial position in a Commonwealth country below that of a judge and as a leading politician who expects to have the highest ministerial portfolios shortly, it is nothing short of mind-boggling.

"He is a very strange man but a brilliant lawyer." "He is fascinating to watch in court." "He is loved and admired more than any other person in Mauritius." "He is above all, open and honest about what he says and how he lives." These were all comments I heard again and again.

Our first meeting took place at the St Geran, the island's premier hotel, partly South African owned



Sir Gaetan . . . open and honest.

He arrived surrounded by an entourage of young Creole and Indian men.

"As Minister of Foreign Affairs and Tourism, I will see to it that we establish full diplomatic relations and closer trade links with South Africa. We will do this with Taiwan as well, after which my people will be able to sleep in peace," said Sir Gaetan.

Sipping a glass of cool white wine, he said the Russians were plotting to gain control of the Indian Ocean which meant the island could no longer afford not to recognise its nearest and most powerful allies.

Ten new hotel projects, supplementing the existing dozen major resorts and including a new Southern Sun property at Grand

Bay at the north end of the island, would give a new thrust to the economy, he claimed.

"We want many more South African tourists to come here, more flights with our two airlines, lower air fares and a national tourist board in South Africa to market the island more effectively," he said.

Sir Gaetan expressed his disappointment over the few non-white South Africans who came to the island as the potential among other races had to be very good, he believed.

"We can teach the South Africans how to live together in peace which is why I am totally opposed to any discrimination against our nearest big neighbour even though we will continue to oppose her

domestic policies," he said.

We continued our discussion at Sir Gaetan's house the next day, travelling in his car which was littered with hangover analgesics.

Fourteen young men joined us for drinks, several of them "staff," the other uninvited lunch guests. As we drank whisky and the wine, Sir Gaetan held the floor, telling tales in Creole and then interjecting a comment in English now and then for my benefit.

Of Reunion, a French island which can be seen from the highest hill in Mauritius on a clear day, Sir Gaetan denied that the MMM had a special link with the island because of the Socialist Government in France.

"In fact, I have just heard this week that Reunion is fed up with Mitterrand and wants independence from France and will certainly get greater autonomy. They have offered me their television service for campaigning when I want it." (Reunion TV can be received in Mauritius).

As time wore on, he became more expansive.

"I have always attracted people around me. I do not crave power because it has been given to me as a birthright. I am only involved in politics because I must look after my people, who would kill for me if necessary," he smiled.

Sir Gaetan said his openly bisexual habits would have to be tolerated by the public, "otherwise, they can find themselves another leader."

Sir Gaetan moves

easily and frequently in society in Paris, London and the Cote d'Azur but also touches down regularly in Johannesburg and Sun City; has met most of the world's leaders and a fair share of its glittering stars of entertainment and the arts.

Every half hour or so during the afternoon he would brood for a few minutes on the election campaign.

I asked him if there were any issues in the election which were not related to a path of socialism or capitalism, such as birth control or abortion.

"No, but I am speaking out on pornography. I am for it," he bellowed. Pornography and pornographic cinemas should be all over

the island for those who wanted them and there should be less interference in the private lives of the people by political and religious leaders.

Sir Gaetan's inability to agree on the coalition with the Prime Minister without further delay was dismissed with a wave of the hand.

"I've told him in a letter that I want to be Minister of Foreign Affairs and Tourism and the only Creole in his cabinet, and I will not settle for less."

He also admitted he could never really work with the Prime Minister, as "he is too old, does not listen and is impossible to talk to."

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# Frontline states reject Kaunda's courting of SA

S. Express  
25/4/82

THE proposed summit meeting between Prime Minister P W Botha and President Kenneth Kaunda is an exclusive Zambian initiative.

It was not approved by the other Frontline states, which were neither informed nor consulted in advance.

I learnt this from a source closely connected with the Tanzanian, Mozambican and Zimbabwean Governments.

I was told this week that Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zimbabwe were privately said to be opposed to the move.

When asked whether that was the official position, I was told: "Frontline states do not criticise each other publicly.

"They will only comment publicly after the meeting and especially if it seems to be to the advantage the Pretoria Government.

"However, it can be said that the correct position is that the other Frontline states do not believe that the meeting will take place.

"But, of course, their attitude would change if there were some political mileage to be gained from the meeting, such as a Namibian settlement or the release of Nelson Mandela."

Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's terse rejection of any possible meeting with Mr Botha seems to reflect the attitude

## ZAMBIAN LEADER DID SOLO SPOT IN SEARCH FOR SUMMIT WITH SA

Special report by J H P SERFONTEIN



● President Kaunda ... hankering for past glory?

of the other leaders.

This information contradicts the belief that the Kaunda initiative was the result of the meeting of the Frontline presidents held in Maputo last month.

This was two weeks before President Kaunda's announcement that he was prepared to meet Mr Botha to have talks on Southern African.

According to one source, the other Frontline states

had, until a week ago, not yet been briefed about the meeting by the Zambian Government.

The other Frontline states do not compare the proposed meeting to the historic Kaunda-Vorster meeting at the Victoria Falls railway bridge in August 1975.

That meeting had the tacit backing of the other Frontline states. And it came after 10 months of secret diplomacy between Lusaka and Pretoria and led to some concrete results: the release of the black nationalist political leaders and direct talks with Ian Smith.

However Zambian Frontline allies regard this meeting in the same light as the separate unilateral secret meetings between President Kaunda and Mr Smith in Lusaka in 1979.

That was seen as a bold move by President Kaunda to achieve a Zimbabwean settlement on the basis of a Nkomo-Smith alliance, which could have resulted in Mr Nkomo preventing arch-rival Mr Mugabe from win-

ning the premiership.

Those secret Kaunda-Smith meetings, about which Zambia's partners knew nothing in advance, caused considerable bitterness and anger in Luanda, Maputo and Dar-es-Salaam. And Zanu leader Mr Mugabe, then in exile in Maputo, was furious about it when I interviewed him a day after the news about the clandestine meetings was made known.

Frontline circles claim the Kaunda-Smith meeting was the decisive event that ultimately caused the final breakdown of the uneasy Zanu-Zapu alliance.

At a Lusaka Frontline meeting I attended in February 1981 it was clear there was considerable tension between President Kaunda and President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, who were close allies a decade ago.

At present there is a close personal and political alliance between presidents Nyerere, Machel and Mugabe.

I was told: "The present Zambian diplomatic initiative is a nostalgic hankering for past glory when, in the Sixties and Seventies, Lusaka was the key centre of the ANC and Swapo campaigns.

"If the meeting involves a possible Namibian settlement, then the key Frontline state in this regard is Angola and no longer Zambia. There has already been direct and indirect diplomatic contact between Angola and South Africa."

These sources attribute two motives to the unexpected Kaunda move.

● It is an effort to end the Namibia war. The war has strained relations between South Africa and Zambia.

● Because it has had a damaging effect on Zambia the Kaunda initiative is seen as an attempt to obtain South African economic co-operation and assistance. The Zambian economic position has deteriorated over the years, causing serious domestic political problems for President Kaunda.

This has been aggravated by the fact that South Africa has used its economic strength and transport system as a lever "to teach the Frontline states a lesson" from time to time.

It is claimed that Zambia



Black states ban South Africa from airport projects

# SA SNUBS JUST A BIG FACADE

By Hugh Poulter

*Industrial week 27/4/82*

BLACK neighbouring states are spending hundreds of millions of rands in an effort to by-pass SA's international airports.

In recent months Botswana, Lesotho, Bophuthatswana and Swaziland have invited tenders for the construction of international airports worth approximately R60-million, R40-million, R27-million and R30-million respectively.

Backed by Arabian, Japanese and European finance in conjunction with the Southern African Development Economic Committee, the Black states have deliberately cold-shouldered South African companies by tendering exclusively overseas.

But behind the scenes companies from SA have been jumping on this lucrative bandwagon and a heavy cloak of secrecy surrounds SA's involvement in

the projects.

McAlpine International were awarded a R21-million slice of the total R60-million Botswana airport contract. A spokesman for McAlpine SA however denies any involvement with the project.

"McAlpine SA is a public company and independent of McAlpine International and McAlpine Botswana. We are only involved with mining in SA and in no way with civil engineering contracts," says the spokesman.

Although no formal prohibition existed against South African companies tendering for the Botswana project, the Botswana government ordered a pre-qualification questionnaire to be sent to interested companies short listed as possible contract winners.

All South African companies were "knocked out" despite the economic advantages of using SA materials, plant and expertise.

In the tender for R30-million improvements to their existing airport, the Swaziland government ordered a proviso to be included preventing SA companies from tendering.

A leading SA expert on international projects, who asked not to be named, says it is not economically viable to completely prohibit SA's involvement in contracts of this size and nature.

"Certain materials, equipment and expertise have to come from SA as it would be too expensive to import

them. Contractors get around this by setting up offices in the country in which they are to work and deal with SA through their head offices abroad."

Contractors approached in Botswana refused to comment, saying this must come from the Department of Aviation.

A Botswana Department of Aviation spokesman, Mr Stafford-Smith, would only comment on technical matters and referred Industrial Week to the Ministry of Works and Communications for information of a "political nature".

At the time of going to Press the Ministry of Works and Communications could not be contacted for comment.



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# Hijack trial: Judge eases secrecy ruling

CAPL Times 29/4/82

Own Correspondent



**MARITZBURG.** — An in-camera ruling to stop publication of evidence detrimental to South Africa's interests was lifted at the Seychelles hijack trial here yesterday as the hearing moved into its final stages in the College Road Supreme Court.

After the Judge President, Mr Justice Neville James, had announced that the in-camera ruling would no longer apply to two sections of the evidence already heard behind closed doors, Mr Cecil Rees, SC, leading the prosecution, made a surprise move.

He said the State would close its case against the 43 men accused of hijacking an Air India jet from Mahe airport to Durban on November 25 last year unless there were other developments.

Mr Justice James said shortly after the resumption of the hearing yesterday that he felt the in-camera ruling that had led to reporters and the public being excluded from court for many hours had been too widely applied.

### In public

Any future references to two of the three aspects heard behind closed doors would now be heard in public unless specific applications were brought by counsel, he ruled.

Mr Rees then introduced the State's last witness, Captain Cyril Rogers, chief training officer

for South African Airways, who was asked to give evidence on the effects a hijacking could have on an aircrew.

After an objection by Mr Hannon, the judge ruled that much of Captain Rogers's evidence was pure speculation and could not be admitted.

Captain Rogers then gave his views on the importance of flight plans to international airways and said it would be dangerous for a plane to enter an area without knowing the whereabouts of other aircraft.

### Special

The evidence taken in the Seychelles was handed in yesterday and will be read to the accused by their counsel during a special session in court today.

The men are due to assemble to hear the 393 pages of evidence at 9am today. The hearing proper will resume at 2.15pm if the task has been completed and counsel have received further instructions.

An unnamed State witness is also to be recalled for re-examination this afternoon at the request of Mr Hannon.

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Colonel Mike Hoare outside court yesterday.

# Hoare: SA condoned coup bid

Own Correspondent

MARTZBURG. — The cabinet and top-ranking officers of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) and Defence Force knew about and condoned the abortive Seychelles coup last year, Colonel Mike Hoare said yesterday.

Taking the stand in the Supreme Court here, Colonel Hoare said he had met senior Defence Force men who required a "minute from the prime minister's office" about the planned coup before they would help with the scheme.

Colonel Hoare said the men had agreed to supply the arms and ammunition and delivered it to his Hill-ton home after agreeing that South African involvement should be limited to between 12 and 15 men.

The arms, 60 AK-47 rifles of communist origin with folding butts usually for use by paratroopers, 15 Hungarian rifles, 23 800 rounds of ammunition in

17 boxes, 40 hand-grenades, 102 rockets and 10 launchers were delivered in a five-ton civilian truck on October 6, 1981, and were stored in the cellar of his home The Vicarage, in Hillton.

"I give this evidence only because I have no alternative and with great reluctance," Colonel Hoare said when asked to describe the involvement of South African Government agencies.

Initial contact with NIS had been through Mr Martin Dolincheck, who had been informed of the plans as "I found it prudent to confide closely in the NIS with everything I was contemplating," Colonel Hoare said.

Through Dolincheck, Colonel Hoare said, he had arranged a meeting with the head of the Bureau of State Security, former minister of the NIS, a Mr Van Wyk, who had said he would submit a minute to the cabinet of the proposals to take the Seychelles by force.

had still kept contact with Dolincheck.

Plans for the coup, to be known as "Operation Anvil", were resuscitated after a meeting with Mr Gerard Horeau, former chief immigration officer for the Seychelles and one-time confidante of President Rene, who had imprisoned Mr Horeau and then deported him from the islands.

men of the agency. "I got sympathetic attention and they said my plan would be submitted to the cabinet, where they felt it would receive favourable attention," Colonel Hoare said.

A telephone call had followed and he had hurried to Pretoria. "Here I was taken to lunch by the second-in-command of the NIS, identified as a Mr Claassen. "He informed me the

# 'Pink-eye' epidemic hits City

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO

THE "pink-eye" disease had reached epidemic proportions in Cape Town and thousands of people had been treated for the highly infectious virus, the Medical Officer of Health for Cape Town, Dr R J Coogan, said yesterday.

He said, however, that since doctors did not have to report all cases of the virus as it was not notifiable, accurate figures were not available.

The origins of the virus were traced to a Woodstock family who had returned from a holiday in Durban.

However, we are issuing drops which have to be used six times a day," Dr Coogan said.

The signs of pink-eye can be recognized by irritation in the eyes — "a feeling of sand or grit" — with the eyes becoming red and swollen. Haemorrhages or bleeding under the conjunctiva, the membrane covering the eye, are also a means of identifying the virus.

"The patient usually gets a respiratory infection at the same time, and therefore the virus spreads quickly the only means of prevention

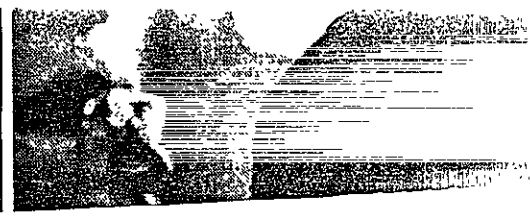


# 100 to 1000

LONDON. — Argentina yesterday rejected new United States peace proposals after Britain's war fleet had torpedoed the Argentine cruiser, General Belgrano, which was "presumed sunk". They

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# Two held after gang rampage



Major Van der Merwe had delivered the weapons. He had signed an "issue and receipt voucher" — SADP form DD12 — for the armaments, which had been packed in green boxes with yellow lettering.

It was impossible to disguise the rockets and their launchers, Colonel Hoare said.

"I didn't take them with me, regretfully. They would have made all the difference," he said.

Recruitment of mercenaries was started by Tuli, one of the accused, before the initial meeting with Military Intelligence.

Colonel Hoare said he had also met the officer commanding an unnamed citizen force unit who had said that given time he could recruit about 40 men.

## Unexpectedly

After the initial meeting with military authorities in Pretoria, another avenue of recruitment had unexpectedly cropped up.

Colonel Hoare said he had met Ken Dalgleish of the Riviera Hotel in Durban which was "a watering-hole for ex-Rhodesians."

"I was seeing a lot of Dolinchek because I required the co-operation of the NIS. At one stage he suggested he should go as part of the advance party as a security man to keep an eye on everybody," Colonel Hoare said he had been uncertain about allowing Dolinchek along, already having refused him as he was not a trained soldier, and told him to get official approval from his employers.

"He was unable to do this so took two months leave," Colonel Hoare said, Dolinchek had then signed recruitment forms and had received a down-payment of R1 000.

Each of the men was to return to South Africa, he said.

The hearing continues today.

## Rockets

He had then been visited at the Burgerspark Hotel by a disappointed Claasen, who said he had received a communication from the prime minister that the whole operation was to be handled by the army.

At Zanza building in the capital he was introduced to Brigadier Hamman and Martin Knoetze by Claasen.

## Authority

"The brigadiers wanted to know on what authority Claasen was acting. He told them and they said they wanted a written minute from the prime minister's office. He said he would get it and asked them to examine my plan in the meantime."

He had given details of the plan and they had been studied at length. The men acceded to the request for arms, ammunition and radios. Military Intelligence was prepared to back it.

Colonel Hoare said he had planned on recruiting about 78 South African soldiers for the coup "because their motivation would have been right", but Military Intelligence had said only 12 to 15 South Africans should be recruited.

"They should preferably be foreign passport holders. It was a question of keeping South African interests. It was a question of keeping South African involvement to a minimum," he said.

## Weapons

It was agreed that weapons should be paratroop versions of the AK-47 rifle.

"The last thing we would want was for equipment to be traced to South Africa," Colonel Hoare said.

"No date was set for the delivery of the weapons, at that stage to be created and sent to the islands by sea, but Brigadier Hamman undertook to get weapons to them by October 9," Colonel Hoare said.

He had been given a warning by phone that a "consignment was to be delivered" and a Sergeant and a Sergeant.

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He had been given a warning by phone that a "consignment was to be delivered" and a Sergeant and a Sergeant.

Colonel Hoare said he had seen the killing of Africans as an attempt to impose communism on the north-east Congo had been reduced to famine and then starvation.

"As a result of this I not only became virulently anti-communist but began way of life and the rule of law."

He had begun studying Western civilization and had based his attitudes on Thomas Jefferson's declaration of American independence — "the motivation of my life" — Colonel Hoare told the court.

He had been approached to help overthrow the Seychelles regime simply because he was anti-communist, he said.

Colonel Hoare said his payment as a mercenary came second to his opposition to communism.

As a result of two years in the Congo, where he led a band of South African mercenaries during "carnage and loss of life" as an attempt was made to impose communism on Africans.

He had seen the killing of the intelligentsia — in African terms anyone who could read and write — and had seen the destruction of hospitals and clinics until the whole of the north-east Congo had been reduced to famine and then starvation.

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## Hoare tells of coup motive

From page 1

The statement said older and uneconomic power stations have had to be kept in commission to meet the shortfall of power. This in turn had led to a higher level of coal consumption, which had also contributed to Eskom's extra costs.

Eskom was accelerating its construction programme in order to eliminate the shortfall in installed capacity as soon as possible.

Least hit by the new tariffs will be Natal, where the Orange River region will only pay 5.8 percent more.

Increases will be applied as follows: Rand and OFS (Northern 6.0, Orange River 5.8; Bor-Natal 7.5; Eastern Transvaal 7.3; Cape 6.4; Western 5.8).

6.0 percent — Sapa

The South African government of course would welcome any sign of a division among frontline States, but that should be avoided.

The announcement tended to negotiate, if not to assume the leadership of liberation movements, the editorial added.

From page 1

## Criticism of Kaunda talks

DAVID FORRETT

After the Maputo frontline summit

The South Government has no illusions that the Prime Minister's last week's talks with Kaunda of Zambia were between it and the Zambian Government, and not on behalf of the frontline States.

The newspaper said the "content, timing and authority" of Dr Kaunda's plan to meet Mr Botha in the Herald, the Herald implicitly attacked Kaunda for his bus-ness meeting with Mr Kaunda.

"There is probably no conspiracy about the attitude of the South African press towards Dr Kaunda. But it remains true that an African leader can expect sympathetic treatment only when he embraces and accepts South Africa's occupation of Namibia and its oppressive system."

The newspaper said it was "unfortunate" that Dr Kaunda had claimed that his 1975 meeting with Mr Vorster had helped hasten independence for Zimbabwe.

"During our struggle, one constant criticism levelled at the Zambian leadership was that it intended to negotiate, if not to assume the leadership of liberation movements," the editorial added.



In a few weeks Mauritius goes to the polls for the second time since it became independent in 1968. For the Labour Party and its leader, 82-year-old Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, in office ever since 1953, this is the crunch.

The election will be a straight fight between two national parties and their allies — the Labour Party with the Comité d'Action Musulman (CAM) and the Parti Mauricien Social Démocrate (PMSD) on the one hand, and the Mouvement Militant Mauricien (MMM) and the Parti Socialiste Mauricien (PSM) on the other.

In terms of the Prime Ministership it means Sir Seewoosagur versus either MMM President, Aneerood Jugnauth, or PSM leader, Harish Boodhoo.

From 1953 until the last election in 1976 nobody could think of anyone else as head of government but Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam. His supporters say he has all the qualities a leader should possess — tolerance, patience, far-sightedness.

None of his contemporaries — Sookdeo Bissoondoyal, leader of the Independent Forward Bloc (IFB), Abdoel Razack Mohamed, CAM leader, or Jules Koenig, PMSD leader, challenged him as Prime Minister.

This time it is different. Jugnauth, one-time IFB member, a founder member of the All Mauritius Hindu Congress, and an ex minister, was elected in 1976 under the MMM banner and became Leader of the Opposition — a position he still holds.

In its early days in 1969 the MMM proclaimed itself a communist party and drew its inspiration from Marxism-Leninism. Since then it has departed from its radicalism and adopted a flexible line in step with Mauritian

# Mauritius election could

## end ties with SA

TEKILALL GUNESH, in Port Louis, looks at the chances of a radical opposition group winning the June general election in Mauritius.

Though a moderate, Boodhoo has a reputation as a courageous politician and has a significant following among the youth of the Hindu community, which constitutes 52 per cent of the Mauritian population of almost one million. He has a following also among IFB diehards who became leaderless when Bissoondoyal died.

Boodhoo has made an alliance with the MMM on three conditions: that he will be the Deputy Prime Minister in an MMM-PSM government; that if Jugnauth is defeated he will be Prime Minister, and that his party will be allotted 18 nominations with four ministerial portfolios.

Rangoolam, the father of independence, is accused of having deviated from the socialist line charted by his predecessors such as Dr Maurice Cure, who founded the Labour Party in 1936, although he claims to be following in their footsteps.

But everybody, including his enemies, concede that he has done much for Mauritius. His achievements include granting the franchise to 18-year-olds, free education and a national pension scheme. He still feels he can go on providing leadership.

For Sir Seewoosagur defeat at the polls would be a bitter personal blow after 40 years in politics. However, he is quite capable of producing an electoral trump card.

In the last election he outwitted his rivals and averted defeat by procuring education free. For June 11 he is leaving nothing to chance. For the first time, he has called in foreign experts to advise him on electoral strategy.

It had seemed last time that Labour's star was setting. Out of 60 candidates only 28 were elected — a humiliating result. One senior minister said: "It's the beginning of the end."

Political observers believe that after a honeymoon period the Alliance will not hold together ideologically. While PSM steers a middle course MMM has relations with radicals like Albert Rene, President of Seychelles, and Didier Ratsiraka, President of Madagascar.

Boodhoo does not mind about Mauritius's trade links with South Africa. Paul Berenger stands for a total rupture of relations. Jugnauth, it is said, is too much in Berenger's power to assert himself if he becomes Prime Minister; and if Jugnauth becomes Prime Minister it will be Berenger who will rule.

The fear that Berenger would act against the interests of the majority community (Hindu) is fast gaining ground, and this being so, the MMM seems unlikely to win an easy victory. "Then, again, members who have defected from MMM are busy helping Labour by denouncing Berenger as anti-Hindu. The say he has dismissed Hindus on flimsy grounds of non-conformity with the party line, while condoning the blunders of those with whom he shares cultural and ethnic affinities.

Labour will exploit these situations to the maximum and it will argue that only Ramgoolam, thanks to his intimate contacts with world leaders, can obtain help for the asking to bail the country out of any crisis.

MMM-PSM will play up the people's manifest desire for a change of government with such slogans as "Change the present government and you will lose nothing but your chains".

But MMM-PSM have yet to convince the silent majority that they could really present a cohesive and stable government. Recently, the



Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam — after 40 years in the politics of Mauritius, can he pull off victory again in the election on June 11?

MMM finds itself changing its language and strategy. To shed the image of a violent party aimed at taking power by direct action, it has adapted to parliamentary democracy. To expand its base, MMM has involved itself in trade union activities.

According to its manifesto it will nationalise key sectors such as sugar estates and factories (at least two of the eleven), the banks, the insurance companies.

It will cut all trade links with South Africa and move Mauritius closer to such countries as the Soviet Union, Tanzania, Seychelles and Madagascar.

Harish Boodhoo, a leader of Seva Shivir — a

- S.A. Diamond Workers Union
- S.A. Association of Dental Mechanicians
- Optical Workers Union
- Goldsmiths Union
- South Africa Cutters Union

Other

# Lusaka manifesto: 'Talk rather than kill'

①

*Cable Times 4/5/62*

THE

The meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia last week has given rise to renewed hopes that a rapprochement between South Africa and black Africa may in time become possible.

The meeting has recalled the publication of the Lusaka manifesto more than a decade ago, in which 14 leaders of East and Central African states, led by President Kaunda and President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, set out a basis for peace and understanding with the white-ruled countries of the South, which at that time included Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola as well as South Africa.

The manifesto, which has been widely discussed since last week's meeting, was issued to remove what it described as "widespread misapprehension" of the attitudes and purposes of black Africa.

THE Lusaka manifesto, signed by leaders of 14 East and Central African states in Zambia in 1969, sets out to remove what it describes as "widespread misapprehension of our attitudes and purposes" towards Southern Africa.

Following are key passages:

None of us would claim that within our own states we have achieved that perfect social, economic and political organization which would ensure a reasonable standard of living for all our people and establish individual security against avoidable hardship or miscarriage of justice.

On the contrary, we acknowledge that within our own states the struggle towards human brotherhood and unchallenged human dignity is only beginning.

It is on the basis of our commitment to human equality and human dignity, not on the basis of achieved perfection, that we take our stand of hostility towards the colonialism and racial discrimination which is being practised in Southern Africa.

If the commitment to these principles existed among the states holding power in Southern Africa, any disagreement we might have about the rate of implementation, or

about isolated acts of policy, would be matters affecting only our individual relationships with the states concerned. If these commitments existed, our states would not be justified in the expressed and active hostility towards the regimes of Southern Africa such as we have proclaimed and continue to propagate.

Our objectives in Southern Africa stem from our commitment to this principle of human equality. We are not hostile to the administrations of these states because they are manned and controlled by white people.

We are hostile to them because they are systems of minority control which exist as a result of, and in pursuance of, doctrines of human inequality. What we are working for is the right of self-determination for the people of those territories. We are working for a rule in those countries which is based on the will of all the people, and an acceptance of the equality of every citizen.

Our stand towards Southern Africa involves, thus, a rejection of racialism, not a reversal of the existing racial domination.

As an aftermath of the present policies it is likely that different groups within these societies will be self-conscious and fearful. The initial political and economic organization may well take account of these fears and this group self-consciousness.

But how this is to be done must a matter exclusively for the peoples of the country concerned, working together. No other nation will have a right to interfere in such affairs. All that the rest of the world has a right to demand is just what we are now asserting — that the arrangements within any state which wishes to be accepted into the community of nations must be based on an acceptance of the principles of human dignity and equality.

We would prefer to negotiate rather than destroy, to talk rather than kill.

We do not advocate violence, we advocate an end to the violence against human dignity which is now being perpetrated by the oppressors of Africa. If peaceful progress to emancipation were possi-

ble, or if changed circumstances were to make it possible in the future, we would urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle, even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change.

But while peaceful progress is blocked by the actions of those at present in power in the states of Southern Africa, we have no choice but to give to the peoples of those territories all the support of which we are capable in their struggle against their oppressors.

Dealing specifically with the Republic of South Africa, the manifesto says:

The Republic is itself an independent sovereign state and a member of the United Nations. It is more highly developed and richer than any other nation in Africa. On every legal basis its internal affairs are a matter exclusively for the people of South Africa.

Yet the purpose of law is people and we assert that the actions of the South African government are such that the rest of the world has a responsibility to take some action in defence of humanity.

There is one thing about South African oppression which distinguishes it from other repressive regimes. The apartheid policy adopted by the government, and supported to a greater or lesser extent by almost all its white citizens, is based on a rejection of man's humanity.

Even if international law is held to exclude active assistance to the South African opponents of apartheid, it does not demand that the comfort and support of human and commercial intercourse should be given to a government which rejects the manhood of most of humanity. South Africa should be excluded from the United Nations' agencies and even from the United Nations itself. It should be ostracized by the world community. It should be isolated from world trade patterns and left to be self-sufficient if it can.

The South African government cannot be allowed both to reject the very concept of mankind's unity, and to benefit by the strength given through friendly international relations.

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Black Allied Workers Union

Cape Explosives Industrial Workers Union

Chemical and Allied Workers Union

Chemical Workers Industrial Union

Chemical Workers Union

Durban Rubber Industrial Union

Engineering and Allied Workers Union

Engineering Industrial Workers Union of S.A.

Federated Mining, Explosives and Chemical Employees Union

Industrial Salariat Staff Association

General Workers Union

Metal and Allied Workers Union

National Union of Engineering, Industrial & Allied Workers

National Union of Motor Assembly & Rubber Workers of South Africa

S.A. Chemical Workers Union

South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU)

Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers Union

Union of Industrial Workers

Weskaapse Plofstof & Chemiese Operateursvakbond

Non-Metallic Mineral Products

Building, Construction and Allied Workers Union

Glass & Allied Workers Union

Glass Workers Union

National Cement Employees Union

National Union of Brick and Allied Workers

Transport & General Workers Union

Base Metal Industries and Manufacture of Fabricated Metal Products

Machinery and Equipment

Amalgamated Engineering Union of South Africa

Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers

Black Allied Workers Union

Electrical and Allied Trade Union of S.A.

Electrical and Allied Workers Union of S.A.

Engineering and Allied

Engineering Industrial

General Workers Union

General Workers Union of

Iron Moulders Society

Metal and Allied Workers

Motor Assembly Component

Motor Industry Employe

Motor Industry Combine

Motor Industry Staff As

National Union of Engin

National Union of Motor

Radio Television, Elec

S.A. Boilermakers, Iron

S.A. Electrical Workers

S.A. Iron, Steel and Al

S.A. Tin Workers Union

South African Allied W

Steel, Engineering and

Transvaal, Radio, Telev

United African Motor ar

# PFP on 'hijack'

Political Staff

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THE parliamentary caucus of the Progressive Federal Party will give urgent attention today to the allegations implicating the South African cabinet in the abortive Seychelles coup

The move follows a refusal by the Speaker of Parliament, Mr J P du Toit, to allow a special debate on the alleged government involvement in the Seychelles debacle

The allegations by mercenary leader Colonel Mike Hoare have sent a shockwave through political and diplomatic quarters and have hit headlines in the Western

The Speaker of Parliament refused a special debate on the matter on the grounds that it was *sub judice*

In terms of an earlier ruling by the Speaker, no reference at all to the Seychelles incident may be made in Parliament

The official Opposition has challenged the ruling on several occasions without success

In terms of the ruling the PFP's chief spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Colin Eglin, will not be able to raise the Seychelles affair in today's budget debate on the Foreign Affairs vote.

5/5/82 world.

CAPK Times

# Coup bid: CIA approached

CAP TMS 5/5/82

## for consent



Colonel Hoare

### Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The Central Intelligence Agency, a prospective United States senator and the West German Government had been approached for their tacit consent for the proposed coup in the Seychelles last year, Colonel Mike Hoare alleged yesterday. He was giving evidence for the second day in the

Supreme Court here, where he and 42 others face charges, which they have denied, arising out of the alleged hijacking of an Air India Boeing 707 from Mabe to Durban in November last year.

He also alleged that the South African Defence Force, through a Brigadier Knoetze, had offered him use of a military training ground in the

north-western Transvaal, and reiterated his claims that the cabinet and government agencies had known of the coup attempt.

He said he had approached an unnamed CIA agent in Pretoria and informed him of the planned coup in an attempt to obtain the tacit approval of the United States.

He had also written to a friend, Mr Robin Moore, who was running for the US Senate, and asked him to use his influence to get Arab support.

A Seychellois exile had travelled to West Germany to try to interest that government, he said. While the CIA were interested, there had recently been an internal upheaval in the agency,

and they had been "extremely timid", he said.

"The interest of America stemmed from the strategic value of the Seychelles," said Colonel Hoare, adding that he had had to point this out to his US contact.

"It sometimes takes a man like me to point out where a great power's interests lie," he said. Turning to the alleged

role of South Africa in the abortive coup on November 25 last year, Colonel Hoare said he had done everything to "avoid embarrassment" for the Republic.

He had restricted the number of South Africans in the party to 20 and told a Mr D'Offay, a former Seychelles cabinet minister that it would not be in the country's interests for

it to be known that South Africa had helped return President Jim Manchem to power.

"Once it was generally known that South Africa helped, it would rub off on a new government."

He had been prepared at one stage to set up his headquarters in Europe to avoid embarrassing the Republic and had remained silent on the

country's role. He admitted under cross-examination that he had told his men they could look forward to Kenyan, US and CIA backing.

In response to questions later, he had told them the South African authorities knew and the other two governments would grant instant recognition to the new regime

once it had been established.

"I got this information through Horeau, a former confidante of President Rene living in South Africa, who dealt with the CIA in Pretoria," Colonel Hoare said.

In a letter to D'Offay

From page 1

To page 2

A From page 1

while he was planning the coup, he had mentioned promised benefits, which included landing rights for South African Airways, tourist rights, a voice in the Organization of African Unity and a "pro-Mulder stance"

Questioned about the "pro-Mulder stance" Colonel Hoare said he presumed it referred to the ex-minister, although Mr Mulder had nothing to do with the coup

Mr Rees suggested that Colonel Hoare had misused Mr Mulder's name and had done the same with the Prime Minister

"I ask you and I suggest that the very day that you and D'Offay had a meeting, May 10, 1979, Mulder made a statement in Parliament about irregularities in trips to the Seychelles," Mr Cecil Rees, SC, for the State, said.

There had been tremendous debate in newspapers at the time, Mr Rees said.

Colonel Hoare rejected claims by Mr Rees that he had asked security police to meet the aircraft at Louis Botha Airport to escape prosecution and "hold the government to ransom".

He had disclosed the government involvement in open court simply because he had had no alternative. His attempt to explain to police at the airport had been made specifically to save the government embarrassment, he said.

Colonel Hoare said he had spent several years planning the coup and was due to receive only R15 000 for his role.

The hearing continues today.

From page 1

To page 2

A

# Coup claim is *CAPK Times 6/5/82* 'petty (1) (327) gossip — PM

## Political Staff

### HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has described allegations of South African Government involvement in the unsuccessful Seychelles coup as "petty gossip stories".

Mr Botha broke his silence on the Seychelles issue in a dramatic interjection in Parliament yesterday at the start of proceedings in the Assembly.

His remarks came during a heated debate following an application by Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, calling for a parliamentary select committee to investigate alleged government authorization of SA Defence Force and intelligence involvement in the coup attempt.

### Speaker's ruling

A clearly angry Mr Botha interjected during the ensuing debate: "You are lending your ears to petty gossip stories."

The Speaker of the Assembly, Mr J P du Toit, rejected Mr Schwarz's notice of motion in accordance with the sub judice rule.

The Speaker's ruling was immediately challenged by the Official Opposition's Chief Whip, Mr Brian Bamford, but the Speaker would not allow Mr Bamford to address him and referred him to previous ruling by the Speaker on the subject.

Both Mr Bamford and Mr Schwarz made several subsequent attempts to address the Speaker on the subject but the Speaker replied: "I have given my ruling and I based it on previous rulings given by me in connection with the same issue. Nothing has changed since that gives me any reason to deviate from my previous rulings."

### Another attempt

Mr Schwarz then again attempted to address the Speaker: "Mr Speaker, surely on the basis of the audi alteram partem rule you should at least hear what we have to say. You should surely give us the opportunity of trying to persuade you."

It was at this point that the Prime Minister, who was obviously angry with the Opposition's persistence, interjected: "You are lending your ears to petty gossip stories."

CAPL Times 6/5/82

# Hoare's fund-raising appeal turned down

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— The director of fund-raising had refused an application by Colonel Mike Hoare for a welfare number to raise funds for the accused in the Seychelles case, Dr L A P A Munnik, Minister of Health, said yesterday.

Colonel Hoare had wanted to defray the legal costs of the accused and to give financial aid to needy members of the ac-

cused and their families

The disclosure was made yesterday when Dr Munnik replied in Parliament to questions tabled by Dr Marius Barnard, chief Opposition spokesman on health

Dr Munnik refused, however, to comment further on the matter.

He said the application fell within the jurisdiction of the director of fund-raising who rejected the application

# Unexpected halt called in hijack trial

Cape Times 9/5/82

**Own Correspondent**  
**MARITZBURG.** — The Seychelles hijack trial ground to an unexpected halt here yesterday after it was disclosed that defence, advocate Mr Mike Hannon, SC, might not be able to defend all his clients because "of a conflict of interest".  
 The news came only minutes after Mr Cecil Rees, SC, had finished his cross-examination of

Colonel Hoare who has been in the witness box since Monday morning. Mr Hannon stood and asked the Acting Judge Justice James, if he could consult him in chambers. The court adjourned and reconvened 10 minutes later when the judge alluded to Mr Hannon's conversation. "An ethical question has arisen on the defence

of the accused defended by Mr Hannon and he wishes to discuss it and take the advice of his Bar Council," Mr. Justice James said.  
 The judge then adjourned the hearing until tomorrow.  
 He urged Mr Hannon to do all in his power "in the interests of justice and the accused" to resolve the dilemma before tomorrow.

No further indication of the nature of the "ethical problem" was given by the judge. The problem affects only the 33 men defended by Mr Hannon. Questioned about the flight of the Air India Boeing from Mahé to Louis Botha airport on November 25 last year, Colonel Hoare, who has pleaded not guilty to a hijacking charge, said he had built up a rapport

with the pilot Captain Umesh Saxena and had not had to force him to fly to Durban.  
 He had made a bargain with Captain Saxena at the besieged Mahé airport by telling him he wanted the aircraft off the ground immediately. He had also managed to get the government forces to stop the shelling of the airport that was threatening the safety of the aircraft and

passengers, he said. In return Captain Saxena had offered to fly the men to Durban.  
 Questioned on the death of mercenary Johan Fritz at the airport, Colonel Hoare said he wished to record that he answered questions with "deep sorrow and reluctance".  
 There had been a lack of discipline involved in the incident in which

Fritz had been accidentally shot dead by a fellow mercenary, he said. He did not know who had shot Fritz.  
 Shortly before landing he had told the men that they were to stick to a story that there had been a popular uprising in the Seychelles and that for

◆◆◆◆◆  
 To page 2

**METAL AND ALLIED WORKS**

Year	Members	
	Asian and Coloured	African
1980		
1979		
1978		
1977	7 000	
1976	6 700	
1975	3 900	
1974	3 900	
1973		
1972		
1971		
1970		

Address: 1 Central Court  
 125 Gale Street  
 Durban  
 4001  
 Officials: Secretary: D. Sibabi

Area of Operation: Transvaal, Natal, Ba

Founded: 1973

Registration: See note on FOSATU regis

Recognition: 1) Tensile Rubber  
 2) Precision Tools  
 3) Automatic Plating  
 4) Hendrick Tractor  
 5) Hundler  
 6) Kraft Engineering  
 7) William Bros.  
 8) Scottish Cables

Membership: 1981 = 24 300

UNIONS OPERATING IN 1981 GROUPED ACCORDING TO INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION

Unions have been classified according to the Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities. The full extent of the operation of the following general workers unions has not been established:

- National Federation of Workers
- Orange-Vaal General Workers Union
- General and Allied Workers Union

AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY AND FISHING

- Black Allied Workers Union
- Farmworkers Union
- Food and Canning Workers Union
- National Certifi
- Orange-Vaal Gene
- Trawler and Line

MINING AND QUARRIES

- Amalgamated Engli
- Amalgamated Unio
- Amalgamated Soci
- Black Allied Wor
- Black Mineworker
- Federated Mining
- Iron Moulders Sc
- Mine Coloured St
- Mine Surface Offi
- Mine Workers Uni
- S.A. Boilermaker
- S.A. Electrical
- S.A. Engine Drive
- S.A. Technical C
- Underground Offi

MANUFACTURING

- Food & Beverage
- African Food an
- Amalgamated Eng
- Bakery Employee
- Black Allied Wo
- Boland Inmaakwe
- Brewery Employee
- Cadbury In-Compe
- East London Meat
- Food and Canning
- Food, Beverage &
- General Workers
- General Workers
- Natal Baking Ind
- Natal Sugar Ind
- National Milling
- National Union o
- National Union o
- National Union o
- National Union o
- Operative Bakers
- Pretorise Bakery

The hearing continues tomorrow.

He might have told the men he knew somebody who was a friend of Haig's, he said

Colonel Hoare denied telling his recruits that he had the backing of President Reagan and Secretary of State General Haig.

There were money problems, however, and he had decided to try to get help in monetary and "in kind" from BSS — the then Bureau for State Security.

In another note, regarding a meeting with Mr G D'Offay, a former cabinet minister in the Manchem regime. Colonel Hoare recorded that D'Offay had seen Manchem who approved plans for a coup on the islands.

A reward was then promised. This had not been a personal reward to Hamman from himself the Colonel said and would have been in the context that Hamman was a civil servant.

He was referring to landing rights for SAA aircraft, tourist rights and a voice for South Africa in the Organization of African Unity. Colonel Hoare said

they searched his house in Hilton. Colonel Hoare said.



"humanitarian" reasons the men had flown out with the civilian aircraft and its passengers

He had taken the step to save the South African Government embarrassment and to shield his men, who were "naive when it came to the press", if they were met on landing by newspapermen, he said.

On landing it had been the task of Peter Duffy to liaise with the security police, whom he had known while working as a Durban photographer, as well as to avoid the press. As it turned out they were not among the "welcoming party", Colonel Hoare said.

Colonel Hoare said he had a friend working on the Citizen, another on the London Daily Telegraph, and a son working on the Natal Mercury as a sub-editor.

This son, Chris, had helped test some of the arms used in the coup before the men embarked on their campaign, he said.

The crew of the Air India jet had bade him farewell at Louis Botha Airport, Colonel Hoare said.

Captain Saxena had "wrung" his hand and said: "Mr Tom (Colonel Hoare's alias), I do hope we meet again".

Co-pilot Captain Misra had embraced him and said: "Mr Tom, you are a lovely man", Colonel Hoare claimed.

Letters written by Colonel Hoare to Seychellois contacts and to a Brigadier Hamman were then read to the court.

The letters had been seized by police on November 27 last year when

Employees

(type)

S and Welders Society

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# African leaders slam SA 'terrorist aid'

DOM 7/5/79

DAR ES SALAAM. — Tanzania and Mozambique have condemned South Africa for allegedly financing anti-government guerrillas in black African countries.

The two leaders also called for the dismantling of the US military base on the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia.

A joint statement was issued last night after the departure for home of Mozambican President Samora Machel, who had just com-

pleted a seven-day visit to Tanzania.

The statement, signed by Mr Machel and Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, "re-affirmed their commitment to the UN declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, and called for the dismantling of military bases in the Indian Ocean, particularly the US base at the coral atoll of Diego Garcia".

In an apparent reference to anti-government guerrillas operating in central Mo-

zambique, the statement said: "The two presidents condemned racist South Africa's financing of the activities of armed bandits who were disturbing neighbouring independent states."

The statement also called on African countries to support the admission to the Organisation of African Unity of the Algerian-backed Polisario front, urging them to "close their ranks" against the split caused by the decision to grant Polisario OAU

membership. The admission of Polisario, which has been fighting Morocco for control of the western Sahara for seven years, prompted a mass walkout at the summit.

Before Mr Machel left for home at the end of his visit, he and Mr Nyerere also signed an agreement strengthening ties between the ruling parties of the two countries and calling for increased economic co-operation. — UPI.

Registration: Yes

Founded: 1979

Area of Operation: Transvaal

Officials: Secretary: L. Scheepers

2000

Address: P.O. Box 3400 Johannesburg

Telephone: (011) 834 8029

Year	Membership			\$
	African	Asian and Coloured	White	
1980				468
1979				
1978				
1977				
1976				
1975				
1974				
1973				
1972				
1971				
1970				
	Total			

TRANSVAAL RADIO, T.V., ELECTRONIC AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION



# Africa a new frontier for US business

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7/5/82

From The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK — Africa has become a new frontier for American business, says the United States Commerce Secretary, Mr Malcolm Baldrige.

### GOLD RUSH

A gold rush of American entrepreneurs has been heading to the lands south of the Sahara, where US experts have leaped 92 percent in the past two years from \$3 400 million in 1979 to \$6 000 million in 1981.

658:

business prospectors, especially investors, the promise of Africa is as yet unfulfilled, forestalled by recurrent problems.

Since the independence of most black African nations in the 1960s, a volatile political climate and chronic economic instability have tarnished the continent's glittering potential.

Prospects have been further dimmed in the two biggest markets for US exports to Africa — Nigeria and South Africa — whose attractive economies have been dulled by a plunge in world prices

of gold and oil, respectively.

US investors, however, have a new guide on the safari to Africa markets — the Reagan administration.

In January, the Agriculture Secretary, Mr John Block and Mr Baldrige led a trade mission of 26 business executives to Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Nigeria and Morocco.

"The mission was a success," said Mr Baldrige, who cited seven signed agreements for trade and many more under negotiation.

Still, the economic downturn in Nigeria and South Africa will make it difficult to maintain the recent spectacular growth in US trade to Africa, says Mr Gerald Feldman, director of the East-West Africa division at the Commerce Department.

### MORATORIUM

In Nigeria, for instance, plummeting reserves in foreign exchange from lower oil exports caused the country's central bank to place a temporary moratorium on new import commitments in March.

The ban has since been lifted but stiff rules are now in place.

However for these

Report Fosatu Annual 1980/81

	445		
	..		
\$			
£	377	347	30
£	222	201	21
£	331	305	26
£	322	294	28
£	418	320	98
Total	White	Coloured	Asian and
Membership			

1976

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1980
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JEWELLERS AND GOLDSMITHS UNION

# Hijack, trialists plan own defence

Own Correspondent  
Cape Times 8/5/82

MARTZBURG. — Several of the Seychelles mercenaries, left nearly destitute after the enormous expense of their trial, are expected to conduct their own defence when the hearing opens next week. One of the men said after yesterday's brief proceedings that the trial costs had run into hundreds of thousands of rands and some of the men were so destitute that they would be forced to "sell their cars" if they wanted defence lawyers. Although they had all contributed to the cost of counsel and the burden had not fallen entirely on one man, costs had amounted to about R7 000 a day, he said.

He and several others who could no longer take the financial strain, would be defending themselves, he said. Mr Peter Rohwein, a West German citizen, yesterday told the Acting Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice Neville James, that he would be looking after his own interests when the case resumed. The other defendant said he would follow Mr Rohwein's example. "I know it is not wise to defend yourself in the Supreme Court without having a good idea of the law and the proceedings, but there is nothing more I can do," he said.

They would all be entitled to cross-examine and call witnesses, drawing out proceedings. Twenty-five of the accused — including the alleged mercenary leader Colonel Mike Hoare — have been left without legal counsel after the sudden withdrawal of their lawyer, Mr Mike Hannon. The blow to the men, facing charges of hijacking an Air India Boeing from the Seychelles to Durban on November 25 last year, came yesterday when Mr Hannon said he had been instructed to withdraw by the Johannesburg Bar Council because of "ethical" problems. It was with regret that he withdrew from the hearing because of a conflict between certain of the 33

UNIONS OPERATING IN 1981 GROUPED ACCORDING TO INDUSTRY

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  - Farmworkers Union
  - Food and Canning Workers Union
  - National Certified Fishing Officers Association
  - Orange-Vaal General Workers Union
  - Trawler and Line Fishermen's Union
- 
- MINING AND QUARRYING
- Amalgamated Engineering Union of S.A.
  - Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers
  - Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers of S.A.
  - Black Allied Workers Union
  - Black Mineworkers Union
  - Federated Mining Explosives and Chemical Employees Union
  - Iron Moulders Society of S.A.
  - Mine Coloured Staff Association of South Africa
  - Mine Surface Officials Association of South Africa
  - Mine Workers Union
  - S.A. Boltermakers, Iron and Steel Workers Shipbuilders
  - S.A. Electrical Workers Association
  - S.A. Engine Drivers, Firemen and Operators Association
  - S.A. Technical Officials Association
  - Underground Officials Association of S.A.

- African Food and Canning Workers Union
- Amalgamated Engineering Union
- Bakery Employees Industrial Union
- Black Allied Workers Union
- Boland Inmaakwerkersvereniging
- Brewery Employees Union (Cape)
- Cadbury In-Company Union
- East London Meat Trade Union
- Food and Canning Workers Union
- Food, Beverage & Allied Workers Union
- General Workers Union
- General Workers Union of South
- Natal Baking Industry Employees
- Natal Sugar Industry Employees
- National Milling Workers India
- National Union of Daily Employ
- National Union of Operative
- National Union of Sugar Mannu
- National Union of Wine, Spirits and
- Operative Bakers, Confectioners & Conductor's Union (Cape)
- Pretoriase Bakmywerkersvereniging

men he was representing, he said. Mr Justice James then ordered everyone from the courtroom so the accused could be left to consider their future with attorneys and Mr Piet Oosthuizen SC, who is appearing for 10 of the men. When the court reconvened, Mr Oosthuizen told the judge the men wanted time to consider their problem and approach new counsel outside Natal. Mr Stephen Jansen, a Durban advocate who has held a watching brief on the trial, then announced that he would defend eight of the 33 men. Mr Justice James then granted an adjournment to Wednesday to give the men time to find new counsel.

# Newspapers' notes on Dolinchek seized

Cape Times 8/5/82 (1)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Two senior Commercial Branch officers yesterday presented the Rand Daily Mail with a search warrant authorizing them to seize documents relating to the activities of the National Intelligence Services (NIS).

Brigadier Theo Scherman, head of the Commercial Branch, said he was investigating charges under the Official Secrets Act against the Mail, the Sunday Times and Rapport, and against Mail Investigations Editor Mr Eugene Hugo and Rapport journalist Mr Eddie Botha.

Asked who was pressing charges, Brigadier Scherman said it was Dr Niels Barnard, Director-General of NIS.

He said the charges he was investigating related to reports in the Mail editions of April 13 and 19.

headlined "Dolinchek may be State witness" and "Bid to gag Dolinchek: Two named", as well as the written statement by self-confessed spy Mr Martin Dolinchek reported under the headline "Agents involved in bid to silence spy".

Brigadier Scherman read out the relevant clauses of the Official Secrets Act (Sections 3(2)(a) and (3) of the Act, No 18 of 1956, which refer mainly to the protection of the identities of NIS agents and their activities.

## Attorney-General

He said he was investigating charges and the results of his investigations would be forwarded to the Transvaal Attorney-General, Mr J E Nothling, who would have to decide whether to prosecute.

According to the search warrant, the police were entitled to seize Mr Hu-

go's notes concerning the two articles, as well as a statement from Mr Dolinchek smuggled to the Mail from his Seychelles prison.

Mr Hugo covered the Seychelles affair for the South African Morning Group and the Sunday Times.

Brigadier Scherman, accompanied by Captain Peter Jordaan, arrived at the Mail offices in Main Street soon after midday.

After discussion, Mr Hugo agreed to supply them with the relevant material.

The police officers then went to the Rapport offices about 2pm. They entered Mr Botha's office and seized two notebooks and a diary after presenting a search warrant.

Mr Botha is in Maritzburg covering the trial in which alleged mercenaries are charged under the Aviation Act.

# Hoare to defend himself

ARGUS  
12/5/82



Argus Correspondent

Welders

S

MARITZBURG. — Colonel Mike Hoare told the hijack trial today he could no longer afford defence counsel and would defend himself for the rest of the trial.

Mr Justice James refused an application to adjourn the trial until June 1 and ordered it to restart on May 17.

New counsel Mr Steve Janson said he was in "an invidious position" and he had learnt only today that he would represent a further 21 accused in addition to the eight he took on last Friday.

Besides Colonel Hoare, three other hijack accused may represent themselves.

Mr Paul said, however, he might fall under the wing of Mr Piet Oosthuizen, SC, who is still defending 10 accused, including the members of the Reconnaissance Commando.

Mr Oosthuizen is awaiting a decision from the Bar Council.

Mr Justice James reacted when Mr Hansor said that instructing attorney Mr Chummy Hurwitz of Johannesburg had withdrawn from the case.

He said he wanted an explanation about Mr Hurwitz's withdrawal and said it was most unsatisfactory that Mr Hurwitz was not present to withdraw formally from the case and this was most discourteous to the court.

Mr Kelly told the judge he was prepared to defend himself, "but I expect you to be extremely fair."

The judge replied smiling: "Shall I put it another way: that you are not represented but you can rely on the court to give due consideration to anything on the record that may be in your favour. You can be assured that whatever happens you will be well looked after."

Products

Africa

United African Motor a  
Transvaal, Radio, Tele  
Steel, Engineering and  
South African Allied  
S.A. Tin Workers Union  
S.A. Iron, Steel and A  
S.A. Electrical Worker  
S.A. Boilermakers, Iro  
Radio Television, Elec  
National Union of Moto  
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General Workers Union  
General Workers Union  
Engineering Industrial  
Engineering and Allied  
Electrical and Allied  
Electrical and Allied  
Black Allied Workers  
Amalgamated Society of  
Amalgamated Engineering  
Machinery and Equipment

Base Metal Industries and Manufacture of  
Transport & General Workers Union  
National Union of Brick and Allied Workers  
National Cement Employees Union  
Glass Workers Union  
Glass & Allied Workers Union  
Building, Construction and Allied Workers  
Non-Metallic Mineral Products  
Weskapse Plofstof & Chemiese Operateursvereniging  
South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU)  
S.A. Chemical Workers Union  
National Union of Motor Assembly & Rubber  
National Union of Engineering, Industrial  
Metal and Allied Workers Union  
General Workers Union  
Industrial Salaried Staff Association  
Federated Mining, Explosives and Chemical  
Engineering Industrial Workers Union of S.A.  
Engineering and Allied Workers Union  
Durban Rubber Industrial Union  
Chemical Workers Union  
Chemical Workers Industrial Union  
Chemical and Allied Workers Union  
Cape Explosives Industrial Workers Union  
Black Allied Workers Union

Chemical & Chemical Products, Coal, Rubber & Plastic Products

# Changing the borders of Southern Africa

17/5/82 U (1982)

LONDON. — The leaders of independent Africa did not have a deal between King Sobhuza II and the government of South Africa in mind when they decided in the OAU that the boundaries of yesterday's colonial share-out of the continent would remain the borders of the new sovereign states of today.

Now the possibility that the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, may hand over two bits of Bantustan territory to the independent kingdom of Swaziland could cause a whole new debate about borders in Africa Hall, Addis Ababa, as well as in Tripoli, Lagos, Khartoum, Nairobi and elsewhere. The OAU may find itself in some philosophic difficulties when formulating the basic attitudes to, say, the inviolability of South African or even more "Bantustan" territory.

## Dangerous

Worse still, the detaching of bits of land from one state and adding them to another, or simply leaving them free-floating on their own, could become a dangerous example for all Southern Africa, not excepting the RSA itself.

Swaziland is, of course, a member of the OAU, as are all the former protectorates. The organization does not recognize there is any internationally legal entity such as a "homeland" or a Bantustan nor can there be any internationally recognizable state which has evolved from a Bantustan. The OAU's position is that there should be a majority rule government in South Africa itself to which all South Africans, black and white, belong.

But what would be the position of a fully recognized member of the OAU which acquired by treaty with South Africa the whole of one "homeland", Kangwane, as well as the part of the Kwazulu "homeland" the coastal area known as Ngwavuma with a port, Khosi Bay, on the Indian Ocean?

We know that the heads of the Bantustans concerned, Chief Gatsha Mthethlezi of Kwazulu, former school inspector, and Enos Mabuza of Kangwane, have both said that the people of these areas

want to remain the citizens of South Africa that they are today. They claim to be citizens of South Africa first and foremost and Swazis, if they are at all, by ethnic accident, just as white South Africans of today could be described as Hollanders, Britons, Frenchmen, Germans.

## Recognize

However, if the OAU does not recognize Bantustans, still less does it recognize Bantustan leaders as spokesmen of their people. It would probably accept only the free vote of all the black citizens of South Africa on the matter, expressed in an election supervised by the UN, *a la* Namibia — and in the meantime depend on the say-so of the ANC as the main liberation movement of black South Africans.

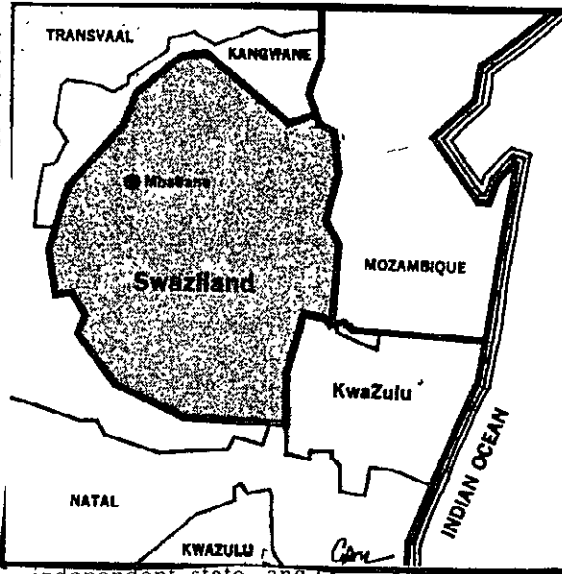
In fact the OAU could risk getting itself into the same "procedural wrangle" if King Sobhuza accepts the South African gift as it has done over

the recognition of the Western Sahara Polisario guerillas. There an OAU member, Morocco, accepted the Spanish gift of the former Spanish colony, Western Sahara, and incorporated it into its territories as "historically" part of the old Moroccan state.

The local liberation movement, Polisario, is fighting for Western Sahara to be an independent state on its own, and both the UN and the OAU want an internationally organized referendum to find out whether the people there want to be part of Morocco or on their own.

King Hassan of Morocco makes the claim that the Western Sahara inhabitants have already accepted his rule through their ethnic chiefs, though he is willing to hold some sort of popular election under his government's control. Polisario want Moroccan administration withdrawn and an internationally controlled election with the right to put their case to the Western Saharans.

Now that more than half of the OAU members are said to recognize the Polisario group as the legal representatives of an



independent state, and the OAU secretariat has given the Polisario group representation in its councils, a serious split has developed among OAU members about admitting this representation.

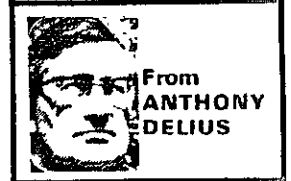
## Speculation

Consequently there is considerable speculation about whether Morocco will withdraw its representation at the OAU and even end its membership of the organization if Polisario representation is allowed to remain.

More or less the same situation could develop over a Swaziland incorporation of Kangwane and Ngwavuma, even if it was done with some show of chiefly authority for the enlargement of King Sobhuza's rule. There are already some signs of resistance in the South African territories which could be transformed into liberation movements. It's fairly easy to imagine a withdrawal of greater Swaziland from the OAU and its looking for protection nearer home.

## Solidarity

I don't suppose South Africans would lose any sleep about the OAU shedding members in the north or in the south. The OAU stands for African solidarity, and breakaways would be a triumph for the South African policy of separation. It only needs a couple of



From ANTHONY DELIUS

might offer a greater temptation for linkage to tribal relatives in Botswana than it is believed to do today. Both territories have considerable wealth underground, and Bophuthatswana's population offers great reinforcement to the small population of Botswana. Need for development in some sort of association with South Africa might seem to present a larger Tswana population with more attractions of membership than a distant and carking OAU.

At the moment it is only Zimbabwe and Angola that hold out shadowy and remote possibilities of population splits and even realignments. If Simbi gave up his ambition to do a deal with the Angolan government in Luanda and broke away

with a large southern chunk of the country, and Nkomo or Nkomo's successor succeeded in hiving off south-eastern areas of Zimbabwe, parts of both Angola and Zimbabwe would lie inside the OAU orbit and other parts would look south for aid and protection.

There are also vague prospects of Namibia and Mozambique breaking apart in the uncertain times ahead and seeking new attachments. South Africa itself, making social adjustments to grasp new opportunities, may even fall victim to the fashion it started and split along the Drakensberg to become two different states.

Once the Southern African mind is seized by the infinite possibilities of separation it may be very difficult to control the results.

successes for the separation idea to catch on more and more, and there are still quite a few pieces of South Africa that could be offered to encourage it.

## Zimbabwe split?

For instance, it may not be too far-fetched to project a time when Robert Mugabe's hastening on with his one-party ideas results in the splitting in two of Zimbabwe. Joshua Nkomo was obviously saying recently that a breakaway of the south-east of the country could happen if the discontent and disappointment of his former guerilla support was further provoked by the now largely Shona government. To add to any territory of a breakaway based on the old Matabeleland, there is the Bantustan of Venda, which has ethnic relatives across the border in Zimbabwe.

In the future, independent Bophuthatswana

# Africa's trade with SA tops R1 000m

COM 21/5/82

By GERALD REILLY

SOUTH Africa's trade with other African countries is flourishing, according to figures released in Pretoria yesterday by the Department of Customs and Excise.

The figures show, according to the South African Foreign Trade Association (Safta), that — in spite of boycotts and hostile rhetoric — most African countries buy on the best and cheapest market.

And this for many happens to be South Africa.

Last year for the second time South Africa's exports to other African countries exceeded R1,000-million.

At R1 037 500 000 the figure for 1981 is only fractionally less than the record figure for 1980.

Imports from African countries increased in 1981 from R287 800 000 to R317 400 000.

The general manager of Safta, Dr P. J. Keiser, said the

figure reflected only the direct African imports of South African goods.

The indirect figure could be anything up to another R500-million.

The factors limiting further significant trade expansion were financial difficulties and transport inadequacies.

South African manufacturers, Dr Keiser said, were trading with more than 40 other African states.

Their products covered a wide field and included bulk and processed food, clothing, spare parts and machinery, he said.

Economists said the consumer goods needs of African countries were boundless.

And the high quality of this country's goods, in addition to the shorter distances to be covered, made South Africa a favourite market when competing with other countries.

● See Page 2

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# Court told of pilot's 'deal' to fly men out

CAPE TIMES 25/8/82

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The son of an Austrian High Court judge told here yesterday how the pilot of an Air India jet had offered to get the Seychelles mercenaries out of the islands if they saved his plane.

This was said by one of the accused in the hijack trial in the Maritzburg Supreme Court.

Mr Sven Forsell, 38, a Johannesburg-based film production manager, told the Acting Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice James, that he had been surprised when Captain Umesh Saxena had said there was "no problem" in getting the mercenaries away from the beleaguered Mahe Airport on November 25 last year.

He had been talking to Captain Saxena while he and his co-pilot, Captain S Misra, were in the terminal building, Mr Forsell said.

Seating

He had asked Captain Saxena what the seating position on his plane was like. Captain Saxena had replied and he had then said: "So, you could take us," Mr Forsell said.

"Captain Saxena said: "No problem — if you get us out of here," Mr Forsell, who joined the abortive coup in an administrative capacity, said.

"I was not astonished. I think it was obvious that they (the Seychellois forces) were not stopping the firing and he had an option to join us or the others," Mr Forsell said.

Mr Forsell, who admitted under cross-examination from Colonel Hoare that his father was an Austrian High Court judge, said he had not seen any of the mercenaries threaten or point firearms at civilians. He had had the impression that the Seychellois regarded the civilians caught up in the coup as expendable.

Firing from a 75mm recoilless rifle had begun after the Air India jet touched down and Colonel Hoare had negotiated with Seychellois authorities to stop the shelling of the airport "on humanitarian grounds", he said.

After the men had boarded the plane at Mahe and it had lifted off, he had seen men packing away their guns. He had walked up and down the

aisle talking to passengers and apologising for the inconvenience the mercenaries had caused.

"It was not really necessary, people were calm and collected," he said.

"There was a lot of hand-shaking and shoulder-slapping and once the weapons were stashed away it was like a normal flight", he said.

Mr Forsell told the court he had got involved in the abortive coup purely by accident.

He had been researching a film script about mercenaries in 1975 and had interviewed Colonel Hoare to gather research material, he said.

Later, while acting as production manager on the TV series "The Diggers" he had met Tullio Moneta — also one of the accused — and had become friendly with him.

One day last year, while visiting Mr Moneta to discuss a trip overseas to sell a feature film in which they both had an interest, Colonel Hoare had arrived at Mr Moneta's house.

Mr Moneta had told him he better leave and he had done so, but remained curious about Colonel Hoare's visit, he said.

Later that night he had telephoned Mr Moneta and asked him if there was "something brewing".

Mr Moneta had evaded his questions, but when he had jokingly brought up the matter two days later he had been invited to attend a meeting.

Bloodless coup

Colonel Hoare had addressed the meeting and said he was planning a bloodless coup which had the support of the South African authorities.

Mr Forsell said Colonel Hoare agreed to take him along in an "administrative" capacity.

He had arrived on the islands unarmed and had not touched a gun during the entire battle at the airport, he said.

Earlier another accused, Mr John Mackay, 26, a member of the crack Recce regiment based on Durban's Bluff, said he had initially thought that the Air India jet which touched down at Mahe during the fighting had been arranged for their escape.

The hearing continues today.

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION

Standard Industrial Classification the operation of the following

Union

Union

.ca

Builders and Welders Society

Association

Bakers

Printing Employees

Workers

Union (Cape)



**SOUTH AFRICANS** go there in their thousands to swim and gamble; SAA jumbo jets land there to refuel.

Yet next week Mauritius, that idyllic, but strategically vital, speck in the Indian Ocean could come under the control of a militant new leader who is no friend of the West — or Pretoria.

Reports of worried Western diplomats and local analysts reach a uniform conclusion: The far-left Militant Mauritian

**Movement** (MMM), led by the enigmatic but in many ways charismatic, 34-year-old Paul Berenger, is heading for victory in the country's general election that is now only a few days away.

Only a last-minute upset can deny power to a man who has kept lines open to Moscow and whose militancy in his youth was such that he was expelled from Paris during the 1968 riots.

It is, from South Africa's point of view, a deeply worrying prospect.

And it should be no less worrying to the West which has in recent years been increasingly concerned about the Soviet naval build-up in the Indian Ocean.

Paul Berenger may, in fact, be no communist. He may in reality be just an extremely militant socialist.

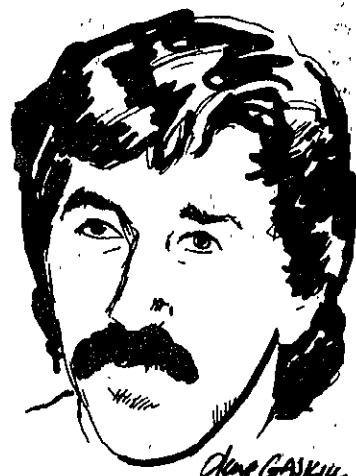
But at the very least his accession to power in the election will mean that highly-strategic Mauritius will be taken firmly out of the Western sphere of influence which has predominated since the end of British rule.

In the final few days before polling, it has become clear that much of the MMM's outside help and sympathy has come from none other than Libya's Colonel Muammar Gadafi. There are accusations that he has funded Mr Berenger's campaign — and that he will later call in the chips.

At the very least, Mr Berenger's administration will be aligned with the most radical governments of Africa and the Indian Ocean: One of his closest personal friends is President Albert Rene of the Seychelles, whose political "guru" in turn, is Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, of Tanzania.

It is out of these associations that the moderate, pro-Western Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, 82, is seeking to make most capital in the final days of the campaign.

But his Labour Party, which has for years dominated Mauritian politics, is in



Paul Berenger — Soviet leanings

*S. Times*  
**A Red sun's**  
*30/5/82*  
**about to set over SA's Indian Ocean Eden**

**NEWS ANALYSIS**  
 by BRUCE LOUDON

South Africans have substantial investments on the island. This country supplies Mauritius with most of its consumer goods and is its major trading partner.

And, more importantly, Mauritius is a vital refuelling point for SAA long-haul flights to Asia and Australia.

Mr Berenger has indicated that one of his first acts will be to stop flights of Air Mauritius to South Africa, and to ban SAA's landing rights on his island.

He has also said that as a faithful member of the OAU he will seek to apply OAU designated sanctions against South Africa.

Indeed, Mr Berenger has gone even further: he has said he will use what he claims to be his excellent contacts with the ruling French Socialist Party to ensure that SAA is denied landing rights on the island of Reunion.

All these possibilities are of deep concern to Pretoria.

But there are wider considerations, too. Considerations that have global implications.

There seems no gainsaying, for instance, that Moscow is desperately keen to see the MMM installed in power.

The island's ports and airfields offer an extraordinarily enticing prospect to the Red Navy's Indian Ocean fleet.

Mauritius under a regime that is truly "socialist" will, from Moscow's point of view, be worth a score or more of Seychelles under the much milder President Rene.

Above all else, it could provide the true counter to the big American build-up on Diego Garcia, to the north.

Diego Garcia has become vital for Western interests in



GAETAN DUVAL  
 Fair support

deep, deep trouble — bedevilled by charges of corruption and beset by the inertia induced by widespread unpopularity.

Opinion polls give Sir Seewoosagur as little as 26 percent of the vote.

This, if translated into election terms, would mean a landslide victory for the MMM.

The unknown factor in the closing stages of the campaign is the flamboyant playboy politician and former Foreign Minister Gaetan Duval, who enjoys considerable support among the wealthier whites and creoles.

He is the leader of the Mauritian Social Democrats (PMSD) and he could have been a natural and valuable ally for Sir Seewoosagur.

Duval is, however, nothing if not ambitious, and reports indicate a steady closing of the gap between him and Berenger — unlikely though such an alliance would appear in the light of their vastly differing political views.

At the very least, the PMSD is splitting the vote in crucial seats that will probably go to the MMM because of it.

Duval is considered to be first and foremost a playboy and secondly a friend of South Africa.

So if he is effective in ensuring victory for Mr Berenger there is just a chance that he could act as a restraining influence on the new administration as far as its attitude towards South Africa is concerned.

For South Africa can be vitally affected by what happens in Port Louis in the next few days: tens of thousands of South Africans go to Mauritius each year for their holidays.

At the moment they enjoy easy access. The MMM has said they will still be welcome, but that they will have to go through the troubling process of getting visas.



SIR SEEWOOAGUR  
 In trouble

the Indian Ocean area and its littoral, and in the oil-rich Persian Gulf.

Its value could, however, be seriously depleted if the MMM allows the Russians the sort of facilities they undoubtedly would like to get in Mauritius.

So there's much, much more at stake in the election than just the comfort or discomfort of South African sun and sea worshippers who normally flock to Mauritius in their thousands each year.

A pawn in the game of international power politics is up for grabs, and the odds-on chances are that it is going to be seized by forces that are warm towards — if, indeed, not beholden to — Moscow.

Which is not good news for South Africa.

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 Farmworkers Union  
 Food and Canning Wo  
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# Reprieve of ANC trio may save coup group

By EUGÈNE HUGO

THE reprieve of three African National Congress insurgents has almost certainly saved seven of Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare's mercenaries from a possible fate on the gallows in the Seychelles.

An appeal for clemency for the three ANC men from Seychelles President Albert Rene in April was intended to establish a basis for similar clemency for the mercenaries now facing treason charges on the Indian ocean islands.

And Seychelles Government sources told the Rand Daily Mail that should a reprieve be granted by the South African State President, the Seychelles President would be in a position to do the same for the mercenaries.

Behind the Rene move was his personal abhorrence of the death sentence. But Seychelles sources made it clear to the Mail that unless President Rene could point to a softening of South Africa's traditional hardline stance in such cases he would be politically unable to take such a decision.

An unusually mild reply to President

Rene's plea from Mr Botha was seen as the first step in state-to-state manoeuvres aimed at saving the lives of Mr Martin Dolinchek, Mr Jeremiah Puren, Mrs Susan Ingles, Mr Robert Sims, Mr Aubrey Brooks, Mr Roger England and Mr Bernard Carey.

They are due to stand trial for their roles in the abortive Seychelles coup on June 16

President Rene appealed to the SA Government on humanitarian grounds not to execute Ncinibithi Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Tsepo Mashigo and Naphtali Manana

They were sentenced to death for their roles in the attack on the Soekmekaar Police Station in January, 1980. There were no deaths in the attack.

Their sentences were commuted to life imprisonment on Thursday after a dramatic 11th-hour petition for clemency — filed just minutes before the deadline at noon on Wednesday.

The former UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, and Amnesty International groups in several countries also pleaded for clemency.

# SA hit by Mauritian import cut

*Industrial Week 8/6/82*  
SOUTH African exports to Mauritius have been seriously affected by the restrictive legislation imposed recently by the Mauritian Government.

In the face of forthcoming elections next month, the Government has drastically cut import permit allocations to the barest essentials.

Industrial Week reliably learns that established importers first have to apply for an import permit followed six weeks later by the application for an import licence.

When the latter is granted, they have to pay 5%

of the CIF value of the goods to be imported.

With current high interest rates, the exercise is costing them considerably more than the normal prevailing prices.

The new conditions were proposed last October and put into operation in January this year.

Irrespective of which party is returned to power it is generally believed that two way trade between SA and Mauritius will continue.

SA's industrial availability and proximity to the holiday island makes it the logical supplier despite threats to sever trade between the two.

# Accused was 'convinced' SADF backed coup attempt

Own Correspondent

**MARITZBURG.** — Hiring Colonel Mike Hoare to lead the coup bid in the Seychelles last year could have been in accordance with plans laid by the South African Defence Force, one of the accused told the Supreme Court here yesterday.

Mr Patrick Henrick, a member of the elite Recce Commandoes and a Cape Town estate agent, told the "hijack" trial he had been convinced that the planned coup of the islands had been a "covert Defence Force operation".

The fact that Colonel Hoare, known for his exploits as a mercenary leader, was in charge could have fitted in with army plans, he said.

He had decided the coup bid was backed by the government after Colonel Hoare had disclosed that he was working closely with a general and two brigadiers on the project.

There had also been a lot of troops from his regiment, and this had added to the legitimacy of the project, he said.

Colonel Hoare, in a briefing, had told the men that the "two brigadiers" had insisted on an aircraft being held available at all times to lift out the South Africans involved in the operation.

After the group had arrived on the island, he had cleared customs only to be told to get "his toy" when Mr Kevin Beck, another accused, had his gun discovered by a customs officer.

He had tried vainly to assemble his AK47, but finally abandoned the damaged weapon and ran to the Air Terminal armed with a knife after hearing shooting.

Inside he found a friend, Johan Fritz, lying on the ground bleeding profusely from a wound above his heart. He shouted for help from Dr Steyn de Wet and tried to tend to his friend, who died soon after.

Mr Henrick said he then grabbed a weapon lying near Fritz's body and ran to the control tower after telling four men to follow him.

He arrived at the tower first, found the door locked and then shot out the windows — not realizing there were women in the tower.

He then found the door ajar and entered the control room to find two other accused, Mr Charles Goatley and Mr Vernon Prinsloo, talking to the women. He had left, become involved in another action and had then helped manufacture petrol-bombs for use on an armoured car.

The armoured car was bogged down in mud. He had climbed on to the rear of the vehicle, poured petrol over the vision slots, and set it alight.

The crew inside believed their vehicle was alight and surrendered.

He clambered into the car to try to get its armaments working. While doing so he was told the coup was to be abandoned. He went to the air terminal, where he and others prepared Mr Fritz's body for the flight to South Africa.

The hearing continues today.

(1) (269)  
Mauritius  
Jan 9/8/82  
links safe

## for SAA

Own Correspondent

PORT LOUIS — South African Airways will not lose its landing rights on Mauritius and South African investments will not be nationalised if the left-wing Movement Militant Mauricien (MMM) come to power in Friday's general election.

This was made clear yesterday by Mr Paul Berenger, the MMM's secretary-general, in a reversal of previous statements. He added that Air Mauritius would continue to fly to South Africa.

"The South African route has become an essential aspect of Air Mauritius's finances," he said.

Mr Berenger said the international community would be asked to help end America's use of Diego Garcia as a military base if the MMM came to power.

# Hijack trial told of 'special assignment'

ARGUS

10/6/82

(1) ~~10/6/82~~

Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — A Durban photographer, Mr Peter Duffy, was approached by alleged National Intelligence Service (NIS) agent Mr Martin Dolincheck to take on a special assignment in the Seychelles, the Air India hijack trial heard today.

Scottish-born Mr Duffy, 41, who served in the mercenary 5 Commando unit in the Congo, said he was initially approached by Colonel Mike Hoare.

He was then paid a social call by a Mr Y, who was employed by a Government department. When pressed, he identified this man as Mr Martin Dolincheck, who claims to be an NIS agent.

"He smiled at me and said did I know there was an operation in the air. I smiled back and said I believed so.

"He said he had a special assignment for me on the operation."

## PLANNING

Mr Dolincheck told him he had been involved in planning the Seychelles coup.

"He said Colonel Hoare was a straight soldier and he (Mr Dolincheck) had suggested the idea of a cover for the mercenary group — the Ancient Order of Froth Blowers."

Mr Duffy was to be tour leader of the group.

The judge asked him if he had any claims or qualifications as leader of the order.

Mr Duffy replied: "Not the ancient part, but I've done a bit of froth-blowing."

When the weapons were discovered at Mahe

Airport in the Seychelles Mr Duffy said he tried to distract the attention of the customs official with a squeaky duck — one of the toys taken along by the Ancient Order as gifts for disabled children on the island.

Later, when the Air India jet landed, Colonel Hoare told him the aircraft should not have come down.

Wearing civilian clothes and with his AK-47 rifle under his jacket, Mr Duffy said, he climbed on board to speak to the captain.

He said a coup was taking place and the aircraft would be refuelled as soon as possible and take off.

A Seychellois helped with the refuelling and told Mr Duffy: "I am prepared to die for you."

Mr Duffy said he boarded the Air India Boeing without knowing where it was going. Later a crew member told him jokingly they were headed for Bombay, but Colonel Hoare laughed and told him they were going to Durban.

Before reaching Louis Botha Airport, Mr Duffy said he spoke to Colonel Hoare.

"I told him there was going to be a big stink

and there would be an international incident blown-up out of all proportion."

He suggested contacting the authorities to explain what had happened.

A note was sent to the navigator: "Suggest you request senior security to meet aircraft and aircraft to stop at end of runway to be met by doctor."

## AMBULANCE

After landing Mr Duffy noticed an ambulance on the runway. He asked that it be moved because he had recently been on an assignment for the Sunday Tribune and thought the ambulance personnel might recognise him.

A senior security officer, Colonel Mouton, walked up to the aircraft and "the captain asked if I would explain the situation to the authorities."

"I told him there had been an attempted coup in the Seychelles but it had failed and that he had better contact Pretoria before all hell was let loose. I told him he should attempt a cover-up."

Colonel Mouton then left to telephone Pretoria for a decision, he said.

(Proceeding)

# Charges fly as Mauritius gets set for change

ALLISTER SPARKS

PORT LOUIS. — The Indian Ocean island of Mauritius, which more than 30 000 South Africans visit annually, is poised today to become the first member of the Organisation of African Unity to change its government through the ballot box.

Local observers are unanimous in predicting that an alliance headed by the Left-wing Militant Mauritius Movement (MMM) will take power from the Labour Government of 82-year-old Prime Minister Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam.

Sir Seewoosagur has been in power for 22 years and is a former chairman of the OAU.

In contrast with most members of the OAU, which have one-party systems, Mauritius has a vigorous multi-party parliamentary democracy.

Thirty-four political parties are contesting the election in a complexity of alliances. The country also has a free Press with 12 daily newspapers, some of which have taken a strongly independent line.

Campaigning has been lively, with open-air meetings all over the tiny 2 040 sq km island, which is crammed with a multiracial population of nearly 1 000 000.

A crowd of 150 000 attended an MMM rally in the capital of Port Louis on Sunday.

The whole island is ablaze with party slogans spray-painted on the walls of almost every building and on the surface of the streets.

Fears have been expressed that if the

MMM wins, it will put an end to the island's democracy and try to turn Mauritius into a one-party state.

Sir Seewoosagur predicts this, saying the MMM is communist and will take Mauritius into the Soviet bloc.

But the MMM denies it, accusing Sir Seewoosagur of resorting to scare tactics to try to stop a landslide. Party members describe themselves as social democrats who will follow a policy of non-alignment in foreign affairs.

They also say that, while taking a stronger line against South Africa, they will not cut trade links or end SAA landing rights and that South African tourists will still be welcome without visas.

There have been some vigorous charges and counter-charges during the last days of electioneering.

On Tuesday the Government released documents purporting to show that the MMM was financed by Libya — a point which could scare off the 52% of the population who are Hindus.

The MMM denounced the documents as faked, noting that the Libyan eagle on them was facing the wrong way.

They, in turn, accused the Government of collaborating with the CIA in producing the fakes and promised to produce evidence proving this next day.

But on Wednesday a pro-Government newspaper ran a story exposing an MMM party official as having forged a telex message which would have provided this evidence.

By yesterday the parties appeared to have called it quits in the forgery stakes.

Examiner's Initials:

Letters van Eksaminator:

TOWN  
STAD

on the Examination Paper):

book  
rdie boek

TES

1. Candidates must not use both sides of the paper for their answers. The left-hand pages may be used for rough work, but the examiners will only give credit for answers written on the right-hand pages.

2. Candidates are reminded to indicate their names on all loose sheets accompanying an answer to an examination question.

3. No candidate may have with him in the examination room any books or notes whatsoever unless specially instructed by the Registrar by written notice to bring such with him, when he may take into the room the books indicated but no other books or notes.

4. A candidate attempting to help or obtain help from any other candidate, or having any unauthorised books or notes in his possession will be liable to be disqualified and to be further dealt with as may be determined by the Senate.

5. A candidate must not take out of the examination room any examination books supplied by the University.

6. Pages must not be extracted from this book.

1. Eksamenantwoorde mag net aan één kant van die papier geskryf word. Kladderwerk mag op die agterkant van 'n bladsy gedoen word, maar die eksaminator sal vir eksamendoeleindes alleen in aanmerking neem wat op die voorkant geskryf is.

2. Kandidate word herinner om hulle name op alle los blaaië wat 'n antwoord op 'n eksamenvraag verskaf, te skryf.

3. Geen kandidaat mag boeke of aantekeninge van watter aard ookal by hom in die eksamenkamer hê nie tensy die Registrateur deur skriftelike kennisgewing las gegee het om bepaalde boeke mee te bring.

4. 'n Kandidaat wat probeer om 'n ander kandidaat te help of om hulp van 'n ander kandidaat te verkry, of wat ongeoorloofde boeke of aantekeninge in sy besit in die eksamenkamer het, stel homself bloot aan diskwalifikasie en sulke verdere stappe as wat die Senaat nodig mag ag.

5. Geen eksamenskryfte deur die Universiteit verskaf, mag uit die eksamenkamer weggeneem word nie.

6. Geen bladsye mag uit hierdie eksamenskryf geskeur word nie.



Argus Correspondent

PORT LOUIS (Mauritius). — South African Airways will not lose its landing rights on Mauritius and South African investments here will not be nationalised if the left-wing Movement Militant Mauricien (MMM) comes to power in today's general election.

This was made clear by Mr Paul Berenger, the MMM's secretary-general, in a direct reversal of previous statements. He added that Air Mauritius

# SA route 'essential' to Mauritius—Berenger

ARGUS 11/6/82

(1)

would also continue to fly to South Africa.

"The South African route has become an essential aspect of Air Mauritius's finances," he said.

Mr Berenger added that if the MMM came to

power, the international community would be asked to help end America's use of Diego Garcia as a military base.

Formerly a Mauritian dependency, Diego Garcia was ceded to Britain shortly before indepen-

dence in 1968, but has been leased to the United States for 50 years.

Mr Berenger said: "We consider Diego Garcia as our territory, which has been stolen from us. We will do everything to recover it."

# Island <sup>①</sup> govt. <sup>S. Times</sup> hostile <sup>13/6/82</sup> to SA

Sunday Times Reporter  
Port Louis

A LEFTWING government, outspokenly hostile to South Africa, has taken over in Mauritius. The Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM) won an overwhelming victory in the Indian Ocean island's general election.

It won 60 of the 62 seats, destroying veteran Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam's Labour Party, which had ruled Mauritius since independence in 1968.

The MMM's victory had been expected but the extent of it astounded political observers.

The party won every seat it contested. It is now in a position to change the constitution and declare a republic with a non-executive president replacing the governor-general, thus ending the link with the British crown.

## Tribute

The new rulers are expected to offer the post of president to Sir Seewoosagur as a tribute to his 40 years in politics.

Mr Aneerood Jugnauth, a London-trained barrister from the majority Hindu community, will be the new Prime Minister. It is traditional that the office should be filled by someone from the Hindu community.

But the dominant figure in the new administration will undoubtedly be Paul Berenger, the MMM founder and secretary-general, who will be Finance Minister.

Berenger, an avowed Marxist, is one of a group of Francophone intellectuals dedicated to the creation of a socialist alliance in the Indian Ocean area.

He is a former classmate of President Didier Ratsiraka, of Malagasy, and an old friend of President Albert René, of the Seychelles.

According to diplomats here, the Libyans poured a fortune in cash into the MMM campaign.

Three days before the poll, Sir Seewoosagur published documents which he said proved Libyan interference in Mauritian politics.

The documents were denounced as forgeries by the MMM, who, in turn, accused the Labour Party of employing an American adviser, Mr Joseph Napolitan, who they alleged was a CIA agent.

Though the new Mauritian rulers intend to be in the vanguard of the struggle against white South Africa, there is not likely to be any immediate change in its attitudes.

Mauritius depends heavily on South Africa for trade and tourism, and Berenger — the party's chief strategist — told reporters last week that South African tourists would still be welcome and that flights to and from the Republic would continue.

This was a flat contradiction of the MMM manifesto, which was drawn up before Berenger had grasped the economic realities.

The manifesto warned that full support would be given to the ANC and Swapo and said that Air Mauritius flights to South Africa would be stopped immediately and measures would be taken to stop SAA flights "as soon as possible".

According to diplomats in Port Louis, the MMM also had plans to end the import of goods from South Africa and to buy goods instead from Malagasy, but these were dropped when it was found that Malagasy had little to offer.

# Mauritius says SA tourists still welcome

①  
RDM  
14/6/82

By ALLISTER SPARKS  
PORT LOUIS. — The leftist Militant Movement of Mauritius (MMM) swept to an overwhelming victory in the island's general election at the weekend, turning its multi-party democracy into a virtual one-party state.

The government of 82-year-old Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam was thrown out without winning a single seat. The result is thought to be unprecedented in any democratic election anywhere in the world.

It was the first time any member of the Organisation of African Unity had changed its government through the ballot box.

But it did so with an overkill that some feared may have placed its democratic system in jeopardy.

Only a three-quarters majority is needed to change the constitution, so the new government could easily declare a one-party system if it wanted to do so, and end Mauritius's 96-year-old democratic tradition.

However, the leaders of the MMM hastened to issue

reassuring statements yesterday, saying they would entrench an unalterable constitutional guarantee of future elections.

They were also quick to reassure South African tourists that they would still be welcome to visit the charming little playground island in the tropics of the Indian Ocean.

More than 30 000 South Africans visit Mauritius every year. Southern Suns has its luxury Saint Geran resort hotel on the island.

Several months ago the MMM was threatening to cut all ties with South Africa if it won, but as the elections drew closer it put on a more moderate face. It pledged not to do anything to increase unemployment.

Tourism, the second most important industry after sugar, employs 15 000 people.

Mr Paul Berenger, the driving force behind the MMM, said yesterday: "Please tell South Africans they will be more welcome here than ever. We want them to come here so that the people of Mauritius can show them how all races and shades of colour can live together".

Mr Berenger said he would have an early meeting with

South African Airways to reassure it that the new government would not end its landing rights on Mauritius.

The MMM also wants to reduce trading ties with South Africa, its biggest trading partner, but will do so only gradually so as not to damage the island's economy, which is suffering from a world sugar slump.

The new government will almost certainly join the more militant critics of South Africa at the OAU and the United Nations.

It will have close ties with the Leftwing governments of Madagascar and the Seychelles, as well as with mainland Tanzania.

But Western diplomats agree that Sir Seewoosagur's claim that the MMM is communist is an exaggeration.

They expect it to adopt a strictly nonaligned policy in the Indian Ocean, where both the United States and Soviet navies are competing for supremacy.

The new government will also press its claim to the tiny atoll of Diego Garcia, 2 000km to the north, where the US has a major military base watching over Western interests in the Persian Gulf.

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the Superbike serie  
by Debbie F

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across the line nose to  
tail.

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**APARTHEID**  
"Those who take part  
in management commit-  
tee elections and those  
who have allowed their  
names to be put forward  
as candidates are helping  
to maintain apartheid,"  
the statement said.

"My message to any

# Mauritius still wants tourists from SA

Argus Africa News  
Service

PORT LOUIS. — The  
leftist dominated incom-  
ing Government of Mauri-  
tius has made a strong  
appeal to South African  
tourists not to let its  
staggering election vic-  
tory at the weekend scare  
them away from this trop-  
ical island.

In an interview the  
man mostly responsible  
for the election upset, Mr  
Paul Berenger, said:  
"South Africans will be  
welcome in Mauritius any  
time they come to our  
island where they learn  
about and see a truly  
cosmopolitan nation liv-  
ing in harmony and  
peace.

## HUMILIATING

But, in spite of this and  
other earnest concessions  
to economic pragmatism,  
diplomatic observers here  
see the humiliating defeat  
of the staunchly pro-  
Western Government of  
Sir Seewoosagur Ram-  
goolam as a blow to  
Western influence in the  
Indian Ocean.

The Government-elect  
is pledged to demand the  
dismantling of America's  
rapidly expanding mili-  
tary base on the tiny  
island of Diego Garcia  
and the return of the



Mr Paul Berenger

will be no opposition  
seats in Parliament.  
The result was a humil-  
iating defeat and personal  
blow to Sir Seewoosagur,  
the 82-year-old Hindu  
doctor who was one of  
the longest-serving and  
oldest heads of Govern-  
ment in the free world.

Serge Damseaux who  
used a two litre GTV and  
was outclassed.

# Saudi policy on oil will be unchanged

JEDDAH. — Saudi Ara-  
bia's new ruler, King  
Fahd, has swiftly moved  
to ensure continuity in  
the world's largest oil  
exporter following the  
death of his elder brother  
after seven years on the  
throne.

King Fahd, 59, pledged  
last night to adhere to the  
domestic, foreign and oil  
policies of the late King  
Khalid, who was buried  
without pomp only hours  
after he died of a heart  
attack at the age of 69.  
King Khalid had a long  
history of heart trouble.

The new monarch, who  
had been the day-to-day



King Fahd

President Reagan,  
bailed King Khalid's wife

# from S

Argus Africa News  
Service

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leftist dominated incom-  
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is pledged to demand the  
dismantling of America's  
rapidly expanding mili-  
tary base on the tiny  
island of Diego Garcia  
and the return of the  
atoll to Mauritius.

It will also bar war-  
ships from using any port  
facilities in Mauritius and  
join the radical Indian  
Ocean states of Seychelles  
and Madagascar in the  
campaign to make the  
area a zone of peace.

In spite of its interna-  
tional importance, Diego  
Garcia never featured as  
a significant issue in the  
election campaign which  
was dominated by the  
economically depressed  
islanders' desperate need  
for change

## ROMPED HOME

Exploiting this need for  
change, the left wing  
opposition Movement  
Militant Mauricien and its  
more moderate partner  
Parti Socialiste Mauri-  
cien, romped home win-  
ning all 60 of the island's  
elected parliamentary  
seats.

The two seats on the  
island of Rodrigues more  
than 500 km away from  
the Mauritian main island  
went to another MIMM  
ally, the Organisation du  
Peuple Rodriguais.

The eight "Best loser"  
seats in the 70-seat Parli-  
ament which are normally  
assigned in an attempt to  
redress racial imbalances  
may be left vacant if the  
High Court upholds an  
annulment of the elec-  
tion, but former by  
the Government elect

If this happens there

# 'Hijack' trial adjourned suddenly

Own Correspondent  
MARTZBURG. — Proceed-  
ings in the Air India "hijack"  
trial ended abruptly yester-  
day after a defence advocate  
had said he had information  
which should be heard in  
camera.

The Acting Judge Presi-  
dent of Natal, Mr Justice  
Neville James, adjourned the  
court for about 10 minutes to  
confer with defence and pros-  
ecution teams in chambers.

After the hearing had re-  
sumed, the judge said he had  
been given information  
which made it necessary for  
the court to be adjourned to  
10am today.

Mr William Dunlop Paul,  
46, was giving evidence when  
defence counsel Mr Piet  
Oosthuizen SC interrupted  
proceedings to say he had in-  
formation which should be  
heard in chambers.

Earlier, Mr Paul, a Japa-  
nese-graded fifth dan karate  
expert, had described his role  
in the aborted coup on the  
Seychelles.

He said he had been  
approached last year by one  
of the accused, Mr Tullio  
Moneta, and asked whether  
he knew of anyone who would  
be willing to make "R5 000 up-  
front and R5 000 completed".  
Mr Paul, a widower since

1980, told the court that a Ma-  
jor Willie Ward, commander  
of No 3 Parachute Battalion,  
was to have done the recruit-  
ing. Because Major Ward was  
"involved in special oper-  
ations" he felt they would be  
"looked after".

A number of meetings fol-  
lowed during which he first  
met Colonel Mike Hoare, who  
was to lead the operation. At  
one of the meetings, Colonel  
Hoare had said the operation  
had the support of the former  
president of the Seychelles,  
Mr James Mancham, and the  
United States Central Intelli-  
gence Agency (CIA). They  
were told that although the

CIA would not help them fi-  
nancially, it would give logis-  
tic support. They were also  
told that the Americans did  
not want damage done to  
their tracking installation on  
the island.

Mr Paul said Colonel Hoare  
had said the South African  
Government knew of the pro-  
posed coup and that he had  
been in touch with men  
"right on the top", including  
two brigadiers who operated  
from "the place on the hill".  
He would not elaborate on the  
"place" except to say it was  
outside Pretoria on the  
fringes of Voortrekkerhoogte  
and was staffed by military

and civilian personnel. It was  
called "Zanza".

During a mid-November  
meeting, Colonel Hoare had  
told a group of them that the  
National Intelligence Service  
(NIS) did not want too many  
South Africans involved.

Colonel Hoare described  
the Seychellois as "lovers and  
fishermen who had not  
fought for 400 years" and said  
"the whole island would cry  
if one of the natives was  
hurt". For that reason only  
AK-47 rifles without butts  
would be used. These weap-  
ons would arrive on the is-  
land before the main party  
landed.

Mr Paul said that at a later  
meeting, however, the colonel  
had disclosed "the best kept  
secret of the whole opera-  
tion", which was that the  
main party would be taking  
their weapons into Mahe Air-  
port in suitcases.

A shocked silence had en-  
sued, during which Colonel  
Hoare had taken a call from  
London, either from Mr  
Mancham himself or a repre-  
sentative. The colonel was  
told there had been a trans-  
port hitch. This had led to the  
date of the operation being  
brought forward.  
The hearing continues to-  
day.

# Malan gags hijack trial

ARGUS  
16/6/82

(1) ~~2~~

Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The Minister of Defence today clamped down at the hijack trial here on evidence of army personnel involved in the prelude to the Seychelles coup.

A hushed and expectant court heard Mr Justice James adjourn the trial until later today.

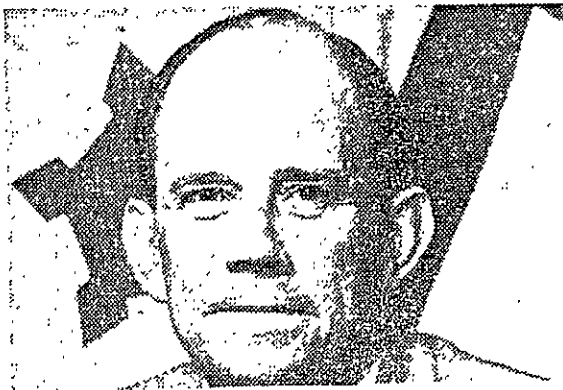
He said he received an affidavit yesterday from General Malan who invoked Section 29 of the General Law Amendment Act of 1969 in the interests of State security.

## Affidavit

This section provides that no person can be forced or permitted to give information if a Minister of State signs an affidavit saying that the release of the information would affect the security of the State.

The Minister's intervention clamps down on information relating to 23 of the accused, all said to be soldiers or former soldiers, and two commanding officers and two State witnesses up to the departure date of the main body for the Seychelles.

The commanding officers are Colonel Ewald Olckers and Commandant Danie van der Spuy and the two State witnesses are Dr Theodorus van Huyssteen and Dr Steyn de Wet.



General Magnus Malan

## Prohibited

The information now prohibited includes planning, instructions, aims, targets and methods of operation before November 24 last year.

General Malan says he regards the disclosure of this information as prejudicial to the interest of State security.

"I therefore ask that no one be forced, allowed or instructed while giving evidence during this trial to provide information on these facts, negotiations and occasions.

The Attorney-General Mr Cecil Rees, SC, said that the document, in Afrikaans only, raised a serious matter.

The very least that could be expected was for English copies to be supplied to the "unilingual" accused, he said.

Mr Justice James said the unilingual people defending themselves were Colonel Mike Hoare, Australian Mr Kenneth Kelly and German Mr Kurt Priefert.

## Activities

The document also prohibits the disclosure of information concerning the military activities before the Seychelles saga of: Mr Charles William Dukes, Mr Christo Hillebrand, Mr Bernhard de Vos, Mr Louis Anthony Boucher, Mr John Vincent Mackey, Mr Richard John Stannard, Mr Nicholas Wilson, Mr Kevin Trevor Beck, Mr Jochemus Louis Dekker, Mr Frederick Lourens Gouws.

Mr Barry Francis Gribbin; Mr Johannes Lodewicus Pretorius De Beer; Mr Patrick Glynn Barry Henrick; Mr Keith Macleod; Mr Desmond Walker; Mr Pieter Doorewaard; Mr Donald Peter Kenny; Mr Kenneth John Kelly; Mr Kurt George Horst Priefert; Mr Jaäbb Adriaan du Toit; Mr Alex Deacon; Mr William Duilop Paul; Mr Alan Ashton Mann,

Capl Times 17/6/82

# Ban put on trial<sup>(1)</sup> evidence

**Own Correspondent**  
MARITZBURG. — No information about certain South African Defence Force operations before November 24 last year can be given during the hearing of the Seychelles hijack case here.

The ban was put into force by the Acting Judge President, Mr Justice James, yesterday afternoon after an affidavit from the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, was placed before him in chambers on Tuesday afternoon.

General Malan said he felt it was in the interests of state security that evidence about military movements by 23 of the accused, many of them members and former members of the Defence Force, should not be divulged.

This should include the planning, orders, purpose, target, modus operandi and execution of such operations, General Malan said.

The ruling should also apply to any witness who is or was a member of the South African Defence Force and more particularly to Colonel Ewald Olckers, Commandant Danie van der Spuy, Theodorus van Huysteen and Steyn de Wet, the affidavit said.

Colonel Olckers and Commandant Van der Spuy are both officers with Recce Commando units and Mr Van Huysteen and Mr De Wet were at one stage involved as witnesses in the case. Mr De Wet testified in camera, and Mr Van Huysteen was never called.

General Malan then requested that "no person shall be permitted or ordered to give evidence or to furnish information in the said trial proceedings as to the said facts, matters or things"

Putting the order into action and adding that evidence on military matters heard before the affidavit was brought to court should still be of "full value and could not be ignored", Mr Justice James said the "inhibition of evidence may make the case more difficult at a later stage".

Mr Dunlop Paul, one of the accused, then continued with his evidence.

Further questioning of Mr Paul by defence counsel was then stopped because of the ministerial order.

Mr Piet Oosthuizen, SC, before questioning Mr Paul, asked the judge for his aid in helping to avoid questions which could fall within the ambit of the minister's affidavit.

Mr Justice James told Mr Oosthuizen he was not a policeman but a judge. If Mr Oosthuizen infringed a ministerial order he was responsible.

Mr Oosthuizen then asked for an adjournment to consider his position. After a short break he said that because of the minister's order he was unable to put questions to Mr Paul.

The men mentioned in General Malan's affidavit are: Mr Charles Dukes, Mr Christo Hillebrand, Mr Bernhard de Vos, Mr Louis Boucher, Mr John MacKay, Mr Richard Stannard, Mr Nicholas Wilson, Mr Kevin Beck, Mr Louis Dekker, Mr Frederick Gouws, Mr Barry Gribbin, Mr Johannes De Beer, Mr Patrick Henrick, Mr Keith Macloed, Mr Desmond Walker, Mr Pieter Dooreward, Mr Donald Kenny, Mr Kenneth Kelly, Mr Kurt Priefert, Mr Jacob A du Toit, Mr Alex Deacon, Mr Dunlop Paul and Mr Alan Mann.

● Seychelles coup trial objection, page 3



# Drought ravages southern Africa

# Self-sufficiency hope turns to dust

① Star 17/6/82

SIYAVONGA (Zambia) — Christopher Simon cast a short line on a pole into the waters of Lake Kariba, trying to catch "very small fish" to eat. At his side lay a crude catapult, designed to fire stones at small birds, also for the pot. He was, he said, a hungry man.

"This year, there has been no rain since February," he said, peering across the dappled, man-made waterway that forms Zambia's border with Zimbabwe. "It is the worst year ever. There will be nothing to eat."

His refrain is common these days in many parts of southern Africa and in the southern parts of Zambia, where a drought has yellowed bushlands that should be green and stunted the maize crop, the nation's staple food.

Cattle are also affected, trapped on barren land by an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease indirectly caused by the drought.

Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Zambia have all been affected this year by climatic conditions.

In the parched Zambezi Valley here, a traveller can see men stripped to the waist



Kaunda . . . incentives for farmers.

digging for water in dry riverbeds in scrublands scorched by bush fires. In Zambia's southern province, a farmer said he had two springs on his land that had not gone dry for 50 years until this year.

"The people around here should be harvesting at this time of

year," another farmer said. "This year, there's nothing to harvest."

The drought has provided a grim illustration of the vulnerability of most southern African countries to the weather at a time when the black-governed nations of the region are seeking to improve their food

output and lessen dependence on South Africa.

According to Mr Jim Woods, who runs the Commercial Farmers' Bureau in Lusaka, the Zambian capital 112 km north of here, the maize crop this year should have been around 950 000 tons, enough to break a six-year stretch of Zambian dependence on others, including South Africa, for supplies of the staple. But the drought has reduced the figure to 550 000 tons, Mr Woods said.

Some government officials say only 350 000 tons of maize will be marketed, leaving a shortfall of 400 000 tons to meet the nation's needs. Maize will be imported, initially from Zimbabwe

This is a grim illustration of the vulnerability of black states which are seeking to lessen their dependence on South Africa, says Alan Cowell.

and later probably from South Africa.

And with that, Zambia will confront a sad irony: For the first time last year, and at the insistence of the United States, President Kenneth Kaunda's socialist-inclined government offered the nation's 280 commercial farmers — mainly whites — incentive prices to grow more food.

The farmers, Mr Woods said, bought more seed and set aside record acreage for maize. But the drought turned the dream of self-sufficiency to dust.

Drought brought other unwelcome pests. Buffalo, lacking water on their traditional lands, invaded ranchland and brought with

them foot-and-mouth disease. Some of Zambia's herds are now isolated by the outbreak and will die for lack of water.

Botswana has declared a national emergency to cope with the ravages of the drought. Cattle and crops in Zimbabwe have also suffered.

"This year we will slaughter between 650 000 and 700 000 head of cattle because of the drought," said Mr Jim Sinclair, head of the Zimbabwe Commercial Farmers' Union. It will take 10 years, he said, for the national breeding herd to recover from the disaster.

The maize crop, Mr Sinclair said, is down from a record 2.2 million tons last year to

less than a million tons. But that is not too serious because Zimbabwe's commercial farmers — as in Zambia, mainly whites — provide the backbone of the region's agriculture and, with stocks left from last year, will have maize left for export this year.

Elsewhere, however, the situation is grim, according to an official of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation. The organisation draws a map each month that shows countries with "serious food shortages" marked in black. Of 24 such countries shown on a recent map as being short of food, 19 were in Africa, a group of them in southern Africa.

The FAO estimates that Mozambique alone will need 524 000 tons of food imports this year. The organisation has issued a special alert to the international community about the ravages of drought in southern Africa.

In Zimbabwe, travellers from Matabeleland in the south-west say there are children whose mouths are covered with sores and whose hair is turning rust-coloured because of malnutrition.

International relief teams cannot reach some of those children because the area is safe because of bandits. Neither are buyers willing to venture into some of these areas, and so the peasants have no market to sell their crops and will watch them die.

"If you want to see vultures and crows with their bones sticking through the skins," Mr Sinclair said, "go to Matabeleland." — New York Times

# 'Recruiting in bars for slapdash coup

ARGUS 17/6/82 (1) ~~Rees~~

Argus Correspondent  
MARITZBURG. — The Seychelles coup attempt was slapdash, with men recruited in bars by non-commissioned officers and on a "pally-pally basis," the Attorney-General of Natal, Mr Cecil Rees, SC, said in the hijack trial here today.

Cross-examining accused Mr Dunlop Paul, a Japanese-rated fifth dan karateka and member of 2 Reconnaissance Commando, Mr Rees asked why the operation was "not done properly and in a hurry."

Mr Paul said he could not explain why.

Mr Rees said that there was no training and most of the troops did not know one another — nor did they

know their commanding officer, apart from meeting Colonel Mike Hoare once or twice.

Asked if the men were adequately armed, Mr Paul replied that they were, but not to take on heavy weapons.

Mr Rees said the men had to take arms in suit cases through three sets of customs and did so with their weapons concealed in amateurish fashion.

Mr Paul said that from the outside the bags looked professional.

Mr Rees said that in the party were several who had Afrikaans accents. Many also had South African passports and travellers' cheques issued in South Africa.

(Proceeding)

**'Malan**  
ARG 23/1/6/22  
**move may**  
**imply SA**  
**involved'**

**Political Staff**

THE move by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, to prevent certain evidence being led would undoubtedly lead people to infer that the South African Government was involved in the abortive Seychelles coup, Mr Harry Pitman, MP, said today.

Mr Pitman (P.P., Pine-town), who is also an advocate, said South Africa could suffer internationally as a result of the move by the Minister.

"There's no doubt that people will draw inferences that the Government was involved in the coup attempt from this," he said.

"By executive action certain facts have been closed to the court."

# One accused in Seychelles freed

*ARGUS 17/6/82*

Argus Africa  
News Service

VICTORIA. — Mrs Susan Ingle, one of the seven accused of treason in the Seychelles coup attempt trial, was unexpectedly freed of all charges today.

Earlier today the Seychelles Chief Justice had ruled that all the accused could face treason charges for their alleged involvement in the attempted coup last November.

This means that the six accused remaining after Mrs Ingle's release face the death penalty if convicted.

The decision to drop all charges against Mrs Ingle was announced unexpectedly at the end of today's hearing by the Attorney General, Mr Bernard Rassool, who is prosecuting. He gave no reasons.

After the failure of his attempt to have the

treason charges withdrawn on the grounds that all the captured mercenaries were foreigners, defence counsel Mr Nicholas Fairbairn today made a fresh bid to have the trial stopped.

He submitted that no jury could be selected in the Seychelles that was not prejudiced by contemptuous Press reports and news broadcasts.

Mr Fairbairn then referred to numerous local accounts in which he alleged his clients had been prejudged.

The former Solicitor-General of Scotland said such reports had continued to appear up until the week of the trial.

He added that in his view an editorial in today's Government newspaper was contemptuous in terms of a ruling made by the judge yesterday

concerning local publications

Because of the numerous reported speeches of government Ministers and officials which clearly displayed the official attitude towards the accused it would be impossible for any jury not to be prejudiced.

Mr Justice Seaton said he would rule on the matter after lunch tomorrow.

The nine-man jury has yet to be chosen. About 73 names of possible jurors have been submitted to the defence.

According to legal authorities the Chief Justice has earlier, in ruling that foreigners may be charged with treason in the Seychelles, created a precedent not used before in any country and has thereby made law in the island republic.

# Mission a 'front for Govt'

ARGUS  
18/6/82

① 3/1/82

Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The large sum of money offered to Colonel Mike Hoare's men seemed to give a mercenary front to an operation covertly supported by the Government, the hijack trial was told here yesterday.

An accused, Mr Louis Anthony Boucher, 22, a former member of the elite 2-Reconnaissance Commando, said he would not have gone on the Seychelles mission if he had not believed it was a Government-sanctioned operation in mercenary disguise.

In case something went wrong, he said, the Government could deny it knew about or sanctioned the operation, saying that it was undertaken by mercenaries.

#### MINISTERS

Mr Boucher said several times that he could not reply to questions put to him by counsel because of an affidavit by the Minister of Defence forbidding the disclosure of information about military operations before November 24 last year.

He said that during the planning of the coup he intended to rejoin 2-Reconnaissance Commando and he regarded the Seychelles as a good prelude to rejoining.

"I thought that by joining this operation and reinstating a pro-West government, I was helping to do something for the West and for South Africa," he said.

#### DAUGHTER

Mr Boucher, who has been out of work for three months because of the trial, said the R10 000 reward offered by the would-be Seychelles government would have been a good start to his married life. He has a two-week-old daughter.

His belief that the South African Government knew about the venture was bolstered when the men's luggage was not examined at Matsapa Airport in Swaziland.

At the airport their hand luggage was examined with X-ray equipment but their large luggage, containing their weapons, was not, although equipment was available.

The trial continues today.

# Island police chief *CAPG TIMES* 'was *18/6/82* waiting'

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The Commissioner of Police for the Seychelles was aware that mercenaries were going to launch a coup before the men arrived in the islands, the hijack trial heard yesterday.

Cross-examining Mr Dunlop Paul, an accused, Mr Cecil Rees, SC, the Attorney-General of Natal, said the commissioner had received a tip-off about the operation and was waiting for the men.

Reacting, Mr Paul, a fifth-dan karate black belt, said the authorities could have known of the plot. Their prior knowledge would explain the quick reaction of the Seychellois and Tanzanian troops who had attacked the airport shortly after the discovery of the men by a customs official.

Mr Paul agreed with Mr Rees that the operation had been "slap-dash" with mercenaries being recruited by non-commissioned officers in bars "a on a pally-pally basis" for the coup.

## 'Amateurish'

The concealment of the firearms in the bags to be carried over three international borders had been amateurish, he said.

He denied that they had been "inadequately armed for the operation, but admitted that they could not have faced heavy armaments.

Mr Paul said he believed that if Colonel Hoare had not arranged a ceasefire with the Seychelles authorities the Air India jet would have been destroyed.

Shortly after Mr Paul completed his evidence, Mr Steve Janson, representing 30 of the accused, said he was closing his case for the defence on the understanding that he later be allowed to call an "avionics" expert to testify.

## Daughter

The first witness of Mr Piet Oosthuizen, SC, who is appearing for 10 of the accused, was accused Mr Louis Boucher, 23, a father of a two-week-old daughter, who refused to answer several questions because of a ruling handed down in court on Wednesday.

Mr Boucher, a former Permanent Force member of the Recce Commandoes, said he had joined the coup because he believed the government and Defence Force were involved, considered the coup a good prelude to rejoining the Defence Force and as he was contemplating marriage, the money would be useful.

He had boarded the plane at Mahé airport while following instructions and had not seen the crew being threatened in any way during the flight to Louis Both airport, he said.

The hearing continues today

# Seychelles judge bans coup report

①  
ROM  
19/6/82

By EUGENE HUGO

VICTORIA. — The Seychelles Supreme Court yesterday banned the controversial United Nations Special Commission report on last November's bungled coup.

At one stage Chief Justice Earl Seaton suggested that all available copies on the islands be impounded, until British barrister Mr Nicholas Fairbairn pointed out that he had no jurisdiction over foreign embassies.

The Chief Justice then ordered the Attorney-General, Mr Bernard Rassool, to advise embassies that no one should be allowed access to the document, which contains statements by mercenaries on trial for their lives in Victoria.

His action followed heavy censure of the UN Commission by Mr Fairbairn, a British MP, after the judge had rejected a defence application for a bar of trial on the grounds that the defendants could not receive a fair trial in the Seychelles.

Yesterday's decision to ban the report gives belated backing to the much-criticised South African insistence that the Commission should be bound by sub judice rules when it sought access to mercenaries now facing hijack charges in the Martizburg Supreme Court.

The Rand Daily Mail reported at the time that word had gone out to the 45 mercenaries that they should under no circumstances speak to the three-man commission, which subsequently left South Africa without seeing any of them.

In the Seychelles Supreme Court, Mr Fairbairn has criticised the way in which the UN team, with police co-operation, took statements from the seven accused without cau-

tion and when they had no legal representation.

He described it yesterday as an "unfortunate precedent".

"Accused would be extremely prejudiced in any country if a UN organisation should apparently be immune from the normal rules of court procedure," said Mr Fairbairn.

It was ironic that the UN Charter was intended to protect human rights, he added.

Chief Justice Seaton said he would be overstepping his authority if he commented on the UN action.

But he said that as the normal safeguards had not been followed, he should ask that all copies of the report in the Seychelles be handed over to the Attorney-General until the end of the trial.

Earlier, rejecting Mr Fairbairn's application for a bar of trial, the judge said that despite the difference in size between the United States, Britain and the Seychelles, all aspired to be democratic societies.

The need for news and radio broadcasts could not be stifled. Events at the time of the attempted coup had been sensational and dramatic. If some things had been written or said which prejudiced the accused, it could be understood without being condoned.

He had read the publicity surrounding the mercenaries and while certain written material was potentially prejudicial to the accused, it had been published before criminal proceedings against them.

The published statements from the UN report were likely to be highly prejudicial but the document was not widely available in the Seychelles.

The judge added that the defence had not yet shown it was impossible to select an unbiased jury.

## Sims' freedom hangs in balance

By EUGENE HUGO

VICTORIA. — The freedom of Durban race horse trainer Robert Sims hung in the balance last night as negotiations continued which could see him escape a possible death sentence in the Seychelles mercenaries trial.

Mr Sims is understood to be the key figure in a deal being thrashed out by prosecution and defence lawyers — a deal which has already secured the freedom of his common law wife, Mrs Susan Ingles.

Mrs Ingles is expected to return to South Africa today aboard British Airways flight after spending nearly seven months in a Seychelles prison.

But last night there was still no confirmation that she would be deported and escorted onto the first direct flight to Johannesburg since Chief Justice Earl Seaton ordered her release on Thursday.

Mrs Ingles' release was ordered after Attorney-General Mr Bernard Rassool suddenly announced in court on Thursday that he was withdrawing treason charges against her.

Sources say Mr Sims and Mrs Ingles are part of a deal which entails four of their colleagues on trial pleading guilty to treason and facing a possible death sentence, in exchange for the Durban couple's freedom.

The four are Mr Aubrey Brooks, Mr Roger England, Mr Bernard Carey and Mr Jeremiah Puren.

They are expected to plead guilty after a nine-man jury is selected on Monday.

Odd man out is former South African National Intelligence Service agent Mr Martin Dolincheck.

He has stubbornly refused any legal representation and is not part of any deal that may be struck between the defence and prosecution.

If the deal is sealed on Monday and Mr Dolincheck registers a plea of not guilty, there will almost certainly be a separation of trials while his colleagues enter their pleas in mitigation of sentence.

Mr Aubrey Brooks' wife, Di, was allowed a private visit to her husband on Thursday after obtaining special permission from Chief Justice Earl Seaton.

Mrs Brooks arrived in the Seychelles last Saturday to see him but then had to wait for five days after the Chief Justice ruled there should be no communication between the accused and public, even close relatives.



# Island support for ANC Swapo

PORT LOUIS — The new Foreign Minister of Mauritius, said yesterday that his country would pursue a policy of non-alignment and work to demilitarise the Indian Ocean.

Mr Jean-Claude de e'Estrac told diplomats that the left-wing Government which swept to power a week ago would work for independence for Namibia and majority rule in South Africa.

## NON-ALIGNED

He said Mauritius would be non-aligned and would strengthen ties with the Third World, especially in the context of global negotiations to establish a new international order.

He also said Mauritius would press its claim to the island of Diego Garcia, which Britain detached from Mauritius and leased to the United States as a naval base before it granted independence in 1968.

Mauritius would recognise the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) as the legitimate representatives of the South African and Namibian peoples, the Minister added.

Five  
C.A.K. Trials 22/6/82  
admit  
(1) (RCA)  
treason

VICTORIA, Seychelles. — The treason trial adjourned in confusion here yesterday as one of six mercenaries charged for their alleged part in the abortive Seychelles coup attempt last November sought to change his plea to guilty.

South African Martin Dolinchek, defending himself, first pleaded not guilty to a charge of treason, the only offence punishable by death here.

The former Scottish Solicitor-General, Mr Nicholas Fairbairn, who is defending the other five accused, later told the court that Mr Dolinchek had changed his plea to guilty. Mr Dolinchek confirmed this.

Four pleaded guilty, while Robert Sims pleaded not guilty to treason.

All six are also accused of importing arms, an offence carrying a maximum 20-year jail term.

The trial was adjourned to today while the court decided whether to accept Mr Dolinchek's change of plea.

In a brief resumption of the trial later, Mr Robert Sims admitted charges of importing arms but similar charges were dropped against Mr Brooks, Mr Puren, Mr England and Mr Carey, who had admitted treason. — Sapa-Reuter

JUST enter in each question which it has columns (2) and

# The Seychelles trials . . .

## 'I was paid by other states'

**Argus Correspondent**  
MARITZBURG. — Former Recce unit member Mr Frederick Gouws told the hijack trial today that the Seychelles operation was not the first time he had received payment from governments outside of South Africa.

Mr Gouws, 22, an apprentice instrument mechanic of Benoni, told the court he could not elaborate because of the ban on information concerning SADF operations before November 24.

He said the Seychelles coup was to be a counter to communism.

"The Western powers did not wish the Seychelles to become a second Cuba, he said.

His political feeling was the main reason for joining the group. He saw payment merely as a "bonus."

The presiding judge, Mr Justice James, commented: "That was a fairly substantial bonus for 11 or 12 days' work."

Mr Gouws: I would like to explain, but because of the Minister's ruling I can not. But it was not at all strange for me to receive so much money.

Mr Justice James: Have you ever received money from governments other than South Africa? Foreign governments like Mr Mancham's?

Mr Gouws: Yes, I have. Mr Gouws was previously a member of No 1 and No 5 Reconnaissance

units and is now on the reserve.

He was originally contacted for the Seychelles expedition by co-accused and former Recce member Mr Louis Boucher, who asked him if he wanted to go on a "hunting expedition."

Mr Gouws said he heard Colonel Mike Hoare say that co-accused Mr Kenneth "Blue" Kelly was given to us by security.

Under cross-examination by Mr Kelly, Mr Gouws asked why Mr Kelly's name had been included in the list on the Minister's order.

Mr Kelly replied: "I suggest you and your co-accused have concocted a story to involve me to help save yourselves."

Mr Gouws said he thought the Seychelles operation was the type of special operation in which Permanent Force men could not take part but which men on the reserve list could be called up for.

He thought he had been called for the operation because he was on the reserve list.

He said the call-up instructions used for the operations made him a "bit unhappy, I saw them in the same light as I saw the entire operation."

"The Defence Force did not support it openly and would not issue official call-up instructions, but I thought the Defence Force knew about the operation."

(Proceeding)

## 3 jurors suddenly recuse themselves

**Argus Africa News Service**  
VICTORIA. — Yet another delay has occurred in the Seychelles treason trial — three members of the jury sworn in early today suddenly recused themselves.

After the Seychelles Chief Justice, Mr Justice Earl Seaton, had emphasised the need for impar-

tiality on the part of the jurors, three stood up and asked to be excused because they felt they were prejudiced.

As this occurred after the jury had been sworn in, all the remaining 71 Seychellois from whom the jury had been selected had been told they could go home.

The judge was then forced to order an

adjournment while efforts were made to trace people eligible to sit.

The judge asked that immediate radio broadcasts be made in an attempt to get the rest of the potential jurors back to court later today.

By the time the three jurors recused themselves, a chairman had been selected. He is Mr

Christian Agathine, but no other details about him are known.

If Mr Justice Seaton follows the same procedure as he did earlier today, it appears he will have to repeat the lengthy warnings on impartiality he issued to all the original jurors. There could then be further recusals.

- question you are answering.
- Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
- Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
- Do not write in the left hand margin.

- or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
- Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
- No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
- All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

# 'Hijack' trial counsel for 30 withdraws

*App. Term 22/6/82*

*① 256 327*

Own Correspondent  
MARITZBURG.

Defence counsel for 30 of the mercenaries charged with hijacking an Air India airliner from the Seychelles has withdrawn temporarily from the case because the men have run out of money.

Mr Steve Janson, who took the place of Mr Mike Hannon, who was forced to withdraw because of a conflict of interest between clients, said it was a unanimous decision by the accused men.

He said it had been agreed that he should return to argue their case when the trial reached le-

gal argument — provisionally scheduled for July 12.

Mr Janson was given leave by the Acting Judge-President of Natal, Mr Justice Neville James, to withdraw since all Mr Janson's witnesses had given evidence.

Earlier, Mr Louis Dekker, a former artillery officer and member of the Recce Commando, said the thought of fighting for any country except South Africa was "abhorrent" to him.

Mr Dekker said he would never have partaken in the coup with his co-accused unless he was sure that the government and the South African Defence Force were involved.

He understood that the government did not want to be formally involved and had operated behind a mercenary front, he said.

Mr Dekker said he had several reasons for participating in the coup.

He had been recruited by Mr Alan Mann, also a Recce, whom he had no reason to mistrust as Mr Mann had saved his life on several occasions.

Several other members

◆◆◆◆  
To page 2



rate incidents during joint police-army-air force operations in central and east Ovambo at the weekend, a press release by the SWA Territory Force said

Two insurgents were killed in the Oshifutu area, another in a different incident in the same area one 25km east of Oshigambo, and five 25km east of Okankolo

All the guerillas were armed with automatic weapons of communist origin, the release said

Two incidents of sabotage were also reported. Ten telephone poles were damaged by explosives in the Miershoop area north-west of Oshivelo in Ovambo, while three base supports of a high-tension pylon were damaged by explosives about 65km south-west of Rundu in the Kavango

The electricity supply was not disrupted

The forces are also investigating two reports of suspicious tracks found in the Kamanjab and Otavi areas

has been trying to obtain help since his troubles began, but said yesterday that he had been told to go to the French for assistance as there were many "Afrikaans people" who needed help

Mr Magerstein said yesterday that on Saturday he went to Woodstock to look for a new home as he had been told to leave his old residence

He took with him his R350 savings and his final payments from his last place of employment, where he had worked as a fitter and turner. He said he had been working there for only a brief period

In all he had about R700

"I know it was dangerous, but if you don't pay a deposit, you lose the place. Sometimes they ask for three months' rent. I never thought I would be attacked," he said.

About 3.45pm he left the station and walked through the subway towards the main road. When he reached the top stair, a man grabbed him around the neck and started hitting him

Three others went behind him and started kicking him while they rifled his pockets. The men then made off back down the subway.

Yesterday a senior Railways Police spokesman said no-one had been arrested in connection with the attack.

Mr Magerstein and his wife, Janine, have four children, the youngest of whom, Vladimir jnr, is 16 and still at school

Mr Magerstein's family came to South Africa in 1964 and he became a South African citizen in 1974

objectives of the ANC

Mr Fine is alleged to have been an active supporter of Sactu and to have agreed to obtain information for the organization regarding labour and trade unions from 1977 to 1981 with the intent to endanger law and order

He is alleged to have communicated with a Sactu official, Mrs Jeanette Schoon, by means of "dead letter boxes" and to have learned a secret code to be used for communications - Sapa

complaints of ill-treatment and raised the possibility that Dr Aggett was further assaulted after he had made a complaint on February 4

Dr Aggett was found hanged in his cell at John Vorster Square in the early hours of February 5 - 14 hours after making the complaint

Mr Schabert said allegations of ill-treatment contained in the disputed affidavits were irrelevant to the medical finding that Dr Aggett died by hanging

He argued that the fact that detainees were reluctant to lodge complaints with the Inspector of Detainees was a collateral issue and there was no evidence to suggest that Dr Aggett was inhibited through fear from making a complaint

CAPE TIMES  
From page 22/6/82

of the Reces were going on the coup bid and he had been told the SA Government, the United States Central Intelligence Agency and the Kenyan Government were aware of the plans to overthrow President Rene of the Seychelles.

Colonel Hoare had given an impression of "strength and confidence" Mr Dekker said

Under cross-examination by Mr Hendrik Klem, SC, for the State, Mr Dekker admitted that Colonel Hoare had misled the men about "certain facts"

Mr Dekker denied that he had tried to turn State witness against his former fellow-mercenaries

He had merely telephoned the office of Natal's Attorney-General, Mr Cecil Rees, SC, to find out why two of the accused, Mr Steyn de Wet and Mr T van Huyssteen, had been selected as State witnesses

He felt it unfair that they should escape prosecution so simply, Mr Dekker said.

The hearing continues today

## 'Denationalization' of up to 1m SA blacks

Staff Reporter

THE absorption of Kangwane into Swaziland would denationalize up to a million black South Africans, bar their access to South African labour markets and subject them to even stricter influx-control measures, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

In a press statement on the cession of Kangwane and Ingwavuma to Swaziland, the institute said the South African Government would have the same powers to deport people as was done in August last year when Nyanga squatters were deported to Transkei under the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulations Act.

The statement said the cession of Kangwane would "have the effect of conferring international recognition on the South African homelands, since Kangwane will find itself not in international limbo like Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana, but recognized through the back door of Swaziland as part of the international community"

The institute said this would mean a "tacit endorsement of the South African Government's right to deprive black South Africans of their citizenship" and raised "an interesting precedent" where internationally-recognized borders were in dispute, such as Lesotho's claim to parts of South Africa.

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andbags, Jewellery etc.

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CAPL TIMES  
24/6/82 (1)

# Officer tells of misused forms

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Official South African Defence Force call-up instruction forms had been misused to secure the services of some mercenaries for the Seychelles coup, the hijack court trial was told yesterday.

Mr Johannes de Beer, a lieutenant with the elite Recce commandos, admitted that he had given several accused call-up papers after they had said they were experiencing difficulty in obtaining leave to go on the coup to the Seychelles in November last year.

## Issued the papers

Mr De Beer said he had "taken it on myself" to issue the papers and had given them to several other members of the Recce commandos.

He admitted under cross-examination by Mr Cecil Rees, SC, the Attorney General for Natal, that he had told the men not to hand in the forms if possible.

The counterfoil asking members to acknowledge receipt of the instructions had been removed, he admitted.

He also said that all members who had been given the papers had been told they were not official.

## Become official

When asked why he had not consulted the general and two brigadiers, who Colonel Hoare said, had approved his Seychelles coup plan for their assistance in obtaining the men's services, Mr De Beer said the matter would then have become official if the senior officers had issued call-up papers.

He had filled in the papers himself because he believed the SADF was giving covert support to the coup, he said.

Earlier, the call-up matter was disputed between the defence and State after Mr De Beer refused to answer questions on the issue for fear he might incriminate himself on the matter.

The hearing continues today.

# Dolinchek's diary censored

CAPL. TIMES  
24/6/82  
D  
S.A.

From EUGENE HUGO

**VICTORIA, Seychelles.** — Seychelles Chief Justice Earl Seaton ruled yesterday that certain passages of a diary kept by a South African spy, Mr Martin Dolinchek, should be censored.

The ruling came after Mr Dolinchek told the court during his treason trial that "a page or two" of the diary might embarrass his family.

Before the diary was put on the court record the Chief Justice ordered that any passages not relevant to the case should be "blacked out" or "clipped out" to remove them from the notice of the jury.

The diary was kept by the self-confessed National Intelligence Service (NIS) agent while he was allegedly doing intelligence work here for Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare in preparation for the bungled coup in November last year.

## Death sentence

Mr Dolinchek and four of his mercenary colleagues — Mr Aubrey Brooks, Mr Roger England, Mr Jeremiah Puren and Mr Bernard Carey — face the death sentence if convicted of treason.

The intelligence agent is being tried separately after the judge ruled that his plea of guilty could not be accepted along with the guilty pleas of his four colleagues.

Earlier a series of statements made by Mr Dolinchek to the police were read out in court. He claimed:

● Colonel Hoare had "crossed" him by getting him to carry a cricket bag into the country without telling him there would be an AK47 assault rifle in it.

● The mercenary leader told him the coup attempt would have to be launched on a Thursday, the day after the main mercenary force arrived in an Air Swazi jet, because his men were "a bunch of drunkards" and would not last until the Friday.

● He had an altercation with Mr Carey and Mr Sims, who were with him

in the Seychelles as part of the advance party, because they were drinking too much.

● Before he left for the Seychelles on November 14 last year he had told Colonel Hoare that the mercenary leader could not use an "old Congo renegade" like Mr Puren to deal with local politicians and had been surprised when Mr Puren arrived on the island.

In the statements to the police, taken between December 5 and January 11, Mr Dolinchek said he had met Colonel Hoare in 1974, when the mercenary leader had been recruiting an international brigade to fight for the Smith government in Rhodesia.

## 'Van den Bergh'

Mr Dolinchek said his intelligence chief, General Hendrik van den Bergh, had told him not to have anything to do with it and to instruct Colonel Hoare not to interfere in Rhodesia. In spite of this he had joined the coup plans as an intelligence agent.

At one stage he had helped test the 80 AK47 assault rifles later be used for the coup attempt with Mr Sims and Colonel Hoare's two sons.

Throughout his statements Mr Dolinchek claimed that Colonel Hoare had misled him about Seychelles politics. He had been led to believe the islands were controlled by the Soviet Union, Lybia, and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The NIS agent repeated earlier claims about the involvement of the Kenyan Government, saying that it was planned that in a follow-up operation two aircraft would fly Kenyan army and police contingents to the Seychelles to maintain law and order.

The trial will continue today.

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# No island war, says Mauritian

①  
Hewson  
24/6/82

## Political Reporter

SOUTH Africans can relax — there shouldn't be a Falklands-type war in the Indian Ocean over Mauritian claims for the return of Diego Garcia Island.

Mr France Vallet, a candidate in the recent Mauritian general election, said in Durban yesterday that the new Government under Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth was seeking the return of the island, sold to Britain in a secret deal shortly before Mauritius took independence in 1968.

The tiny island, about 1 100 km from Mauritius, was now being used by the Americans as a naval base.

Mr Vallet, a former judge in the Mauritian Supreme Court and now a practising barrister, rejected the view that the new Government was of communist orientation. The Government had already made it clear that no warships from countries such as the Soviet Union, the United States or Britain would be allowed to dock at the island's harbour, Port Louis.

'The Government sees the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The picture painted by the outgoing Government of Sir Seewoosagur Ramjoolam that the new Government would allow the Russians to set up a base in Mauritius is not true.

'We are a peaceful people. We have no navy and no army. The new Prime Minister has said he has no means of starting an operation like the Falklands one to reclaim Diego Garcia.'

And Mr Vallet brought good news for hundreds of South Africans who holiday in Mauritius every year.

South African tourists were as welcome as ever and would likely notice a change in the local population. There was a more relaxed atmosphere now that people had been able to voice their grievances through the vote.

He said the new Government was seeking to become a majority shareholder in the larger Mauritian hotels, but he did not expect this move to affect the service offered to tourists. Tourism was the largest earner of foreign exchange after sugar.

Mr Vallet, who stood for the minority Central Party, said the Government had given notice it would nationalise two sugar mills and the public transport system. It was unlikely that these 'socialist' moves would have much effect on the poor performance of the Mauritian economy.

He said the ruling Mauritius Militant Movement party, in alliance with the Mauritius Socialist Party, had won all 60 seats in the General Assembly to sound the death knell for 'communalism' on

which the previous ruling party had based its policies.

'The irony is that the Government was ousted by the majority of the same people — the Hindus — for whom the party based its policies.'

Mr Vallet said that although the new Government had said already it would work towards becoming less dependent on trade with South Africa, there was unlikely to be any noticeable effect on relations between the two countries.

AA chief

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They showed a 1.7-metre wide hole in the wire and another opening of two metres. Next to one of the holes was a "No entry" signboard.  
According to evidence, Marius and three friends climbed through an opening in the pool enclosure.  
A nine-year-old boy said Marius was standing on the edge of the pool and was blown into the water by a strong gust of wind.  
"I jumped in to help him, but could not find him when he sank deeper into the

J Kleynhans, said he rushed to the pool and then called the police when he failed to find his brother in the dirty water. They recovered the body later.  
The swimming pool had not been used since 1980, but there was still about a metre of water in it.  
Mr T Maritz, municipal superintendent of parks, testified that the wire fence around the pool was often vandalised. Regular inspections were held and the fence was repaired about once a month. — Sapa

# states NINE BLACK STATES meet in Luanda

25/6/82  
LUANDA — Nine black African countries today begin two days of talks on ways to win greater economic independence from the region's industrial giant — South Africa.

The ministerial-level meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference will consider various proposals on transport, communications, energy and industry.  
A chief goal of the regional body, formed in 1979, is to co-ordinate industrial development to avoid wasteful duplication, and to increase trade and shipment of goods.

An example of the problem faced was last year's sale of 10 000 cattle by Botswana to nearby Angola. The livestock was shipped the most efficient way — via South Africa, said Mr C W Blackbeard, Botswana's Minister of Transport.

Moreover, South Africa remains a major trading partner of Zambia and Zimbabwe.

"Except for communications, we are still trying to find our way," said Mr Basil Mramba, 42, Tanzania's Minister of Industry.

It was going to take a lifetime for the region to be economically free of South Africa, he said. "What we will say here is that we have to adopt a basic needs approach, leading to regional self-reliance."

The regional body, known by its initials SADCC, was formed by the countries supporting the independence movement in SWA/Namibia, Swapo. Later four other nations joined.

The grouping is composed of Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Lesotho, which is the only member state not represented in Luanda by a Cabinet Minister.

One SADCC-related project already completed is the repair of the main highway linking Zambia and Zimbabwe, which was underwritten by a \$1 million (R1.1 million) grant from the United States. — Sapa-AP

# a democracy

BUENOS AIRES — Argentine political leaders say President-designate Reynaldo Bignone has personally promised them democracy will return to the country in 1984 and a ban on political activity will be lifted immediately after his inauguration on July 1.  
Major-General Bignone is reported to have made the pledge at a meeting with representatives of 13 of the country's parties which ended shortly before midnight last night.  
It was the first direct contact between the Argentine military leadership and politicians since the overthrow of President Maria Estela Peron in 1976.  
"I believe we are finally heading for democracy," the Radical Party leader, Mr Carlos Contin, told reporters.  
General Bignone, who was appointed to replace General Leopoldo Galtieri

after Argentina's victory in the Falklands war, has said it will be a "democracy of production" that will be designed to boost the country's economy.  
Yesterday a military spokesman said the son of the late Navy Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Emilio Anaya was one of the Argentine officers who had been retained by the military forces after the end of the South Atlantic war.  
The source, quoted by independent press agency Dyn, said the son of the late Admiral Anaya, Guillermo Anaya, had already been repatriated to Argentina. The officers found on the ship were the Navy Commander-in-Chief.  
The British Government has said it will not accept a form of hostilities in the South Atlantic. — Sapa

# EP schools soccer team captain had no idea he was in line

Post Reporter  
THE newly elected captain of the Eastern Primary School soccer XI, Theodor Herzl head boy David had no idea he was in line for selection to the team for the last match of the term.  
The first hint he had was after his last game when his coach told him the selectors had been making the side.  
"I did not think much of my chances and then a friend of mine phoned to congratulate me. I was talking about and he told me the tea was on the table. It was one of the biggest surprises of my life."  
David has been playing soccer for only a few years but has developed into a fine utility back.  
A keen and active all-round sportsman, David has been playing rugby for his school's first team, although he says "soccer is my first love".  
Ironically, he won the Best Rugby Player trophy at his school last year.

# Inquiry into dairy industry order

PRETORIA — The Dairy Control Board has told the Housewives' League that the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, Mr Piet du Plessis, has ordered an in-depth investigation of the dairy industry, SABC radio news reported yesterday.  
The investigation will concentrate on the costs of producers and distributors of dairy products.  
The president of the Housewives League, Mrs

## News briefs

### 300 000 expected at rally

ROME — Thousands of workers from all over Italy converged on the centre of Rome today at the start of Italy's biggest labour rally for more than 10 years. Police said busloads of demonstrators started to arrive before dawn and union sources said at least 300 000 were expected to join the show against employers and the Government.

### Chair hurts magistrate

BULAWAYO — A magistrate was attacked in court after a trial in Zvishavane (Shabani) yesterday. Mr Peter Finch was taken to hospital bleeding from the forehead. Seconds after sentencing Ortwell Makulumo to 31 months in jail for housebreaking, Mr Finch was hit by a chair thrown by Makulumo.

### Iscor death toll up to 5

PRETORIA — Two more victims of last Friday's accident at Iscor's Pretoria West works have died in hospital. They were Mr Paulus Mahlangu, 21, and Mr Philemon Moshima, 34, who died in the Kalafong hospital. This brings the death toll to five.

### Curfew might be lifted

WARSAW — Martial law authorities in Warsaw have decided conditions exist to allow the overnight curfew in the capital to be lifted from July 1, reports the official news agency, Pap. The wording of the report implied that it would do so, provided there were no serious breaches in the next week.

### Progeria victims to meet

DURBAN — A trio suffering from the rare disease, progeria, which ages a person many times faster than normal, will meet in Durban on Sunday. They are nine-year-old Mickey Hayes, of Texas, nine-year-old Fransie Geringer, of Orkney, and 20-year-old Babsi Nxumalo, of Inanda.

### Co-op record turnover

PRETORIA — The Central West Co-operative, responsible for a third of South Africa's maize, wheat, grain sorghum, sunflower and groundnut production, had a record turnover of R1 002,6 million in the past financial year, the chairman of the co-operative, Mr Tobie Loubser, announced. This was 25% up on the previous year's figure.

### New Wits Chancellor

JOHANNESBURG — The University of the Witwatersrand has announced that Dr Mike Rosholt had been elected as its new Chancellor. Other nominees for election were veteran MP Mrs Helen Suzman and the jailed African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

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# Africa and its leaders

THE pictures show the effective leaders of Africa and the population figures are based on the best available information - often estimates carried out by the country's governments. In the case of South West Africa and Cabinda, the leadership is in dispute. Mauritius will shortly hold elections and is expected to face a change of leadership.

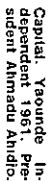
## Cabinda

Population (1970) 81,265

Disputed territory controlled by Angola.

## Cameroon

Population (1980) 3,434 million.



Capital: Yaounde. Independent July 1961. President Ahmadou Ahidjo.

## Comoros

Population (1979) 400,000.



Capital: Moroni. Independent July 1975. Ali Said Abdallah is head of ruling council.

## Gambia

Population (1980) 610,000.



Capital: Banjul. Independent February 1965. Leader: Sir Dawda Jawara.

## Malawi

Population (1979) 5,917-million.



Capital: Lilongwe. Independent July 1964. President Hastings Banda.

## Benin

Population (1979) 3,368 million.



Capital: Porto Novo. Independent August 1960. President Sani Abacha.

## Cape Verde

Population (1980) 296,100.



Capital: Praia. Independent July 1975. President: Aristide Pereira.

## Congo

Population (1980) 1,577-million.



Capital: Brazzaville. Independent 1960. Colonel Denis Sassou Nguesso is head of state.

## Ghana

Population (1980) 11.4-million.



Capital: Accra. Independent March 1967. Military leader Jerry Rawlings is head of state.

## Mali

Population (1980) 6,646-million.



Capital: Bamako. Independent September 1960. President Moussa Traore.

## Botswana

Population (1981) 980,000.



Capital: Gaborone. Independent September 1966. President Quett Masire.

## C.A.R.

Population (1980) 2,182-million.



Capital: Bangui. Independent 1960. Colonel Andre Kolingba is head of ruling military committee.

## Dibouti

Population (1980) 375,000.



Capital: Djibouti. Independent June 1977. President Hassan Gouled.

## Guinea

Population (1980) 5,014-million.



Capital: Conakry. Independent October 1958. President Ahmed Sekou Toure.

## Mauritania

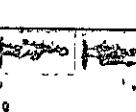
Population (1980) 1,634-million.



Capital: Nouakchott. Independent November 1960. President Ould Hadadja.

## Guinea Bissau

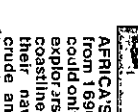
Population 770,000.



Capital: Bissau. Independent September 1973. General Nino Vieira is head of military council.

## Mauritius

Population 995,000.



Capital: Port Louis. Independent March 1968. President Sir Seewoosagur Ramgobind.

## Egypt

Population 112 million plus.



Capital: Cairo. Independent 1922. President Hosni Mubarak.

## Equatorial Guinea

Population 330,000.



Capital: Malabo. Independent 1968. Leader: Colonel Teodoro Mbongo.

## Ivory Coast

Population 8,245-million.



Capital: Abidjan. Independent August 1970. President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

## Morocco

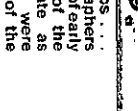
Population 19,470-million.



Capital: Rabat. Independent March 1956. King Hassan II.

## Mozambique

Population 12,375-million.



Capital: Maputo. Independent June 1975. President Samora Machel.

## Niger

Population 1,309-million.



Capital: Niamey. Independent August 1960. President Ali Saibou.

## Lesotho

Population 1,863-million.



Capital: Maseru. Independent October 1966. Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan.

## Liberia

Population (1979) 1,007,500.



Capital: Monrovia. Independent July 1967. Master Sergeant Samuel Doe is head of the military council.

## Nigeria

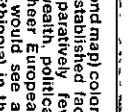
Population (1980) 5,134-million.



Capital: Lagos. Independent October 1960. General Jufferu Habib is head of military council.

## Libya

Population (1980) 3-million.



Capital: Tripoli. Independent September 1951. Colonel Muammar Gaddafi is head of military council.

## Rwanda

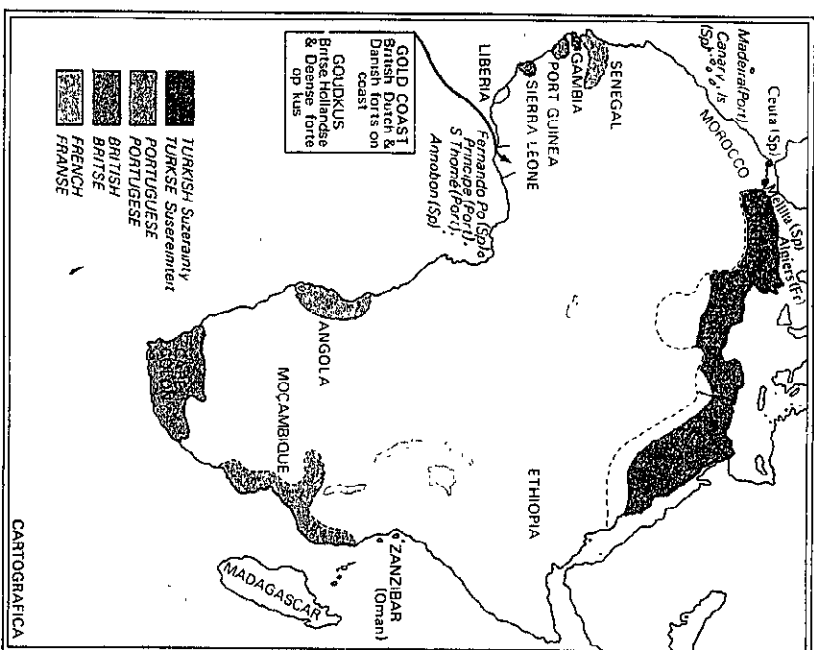
Population (1980) 5,134-million.



Capital: Kigali. Independent July 1962. General Juvenal Habyarimana is head of military council.



AFRICA'S history in maps... From 1650 when cartographers could only take the word of sailors' explorers whose idea of the coastline was inaccurate, to their navigational aids of the crude and whimsical ideas of the interior was based on magic and imagination, sometimes their own... By 1830 (second map) colonialism was an established fact and in a comparatively few years, mineral wealth, political ambition and sheer European acquisitiveness would see all Africa (except Ethiopia) in the hands of European powers.



CARTOGRAFICA

Staw  
25/6/82

# a today

Maps and technical assistance by the Africa Institute of South Africa

## AFRICA AFRIKA

**Sao Tome**  
Population 82 000  
Capital Sao Tome in dependent July 1975  
President Manuel Pinto Costa

**Senegal**  
Population 5.661 million  
Capital Dakar Independent August 1960  
President Abdou Diouf

**Reunion**  
Population (1980) 63 000  
Port Victoria  
Capital June 1961  
President Rene

**Cape Verde**  
Population (1980) 3 474 million  
Freetown Independent April 1961  
Dr Siaka Ste

**Madagascar**  
Population (1980) 3 845 million  
Mogadishu Independent July 1960  
Mohammed Carre

**South Africa**  
Population (1980) 21 774 million  
Pretoria Independent 1910  
Prime P. W. Botha

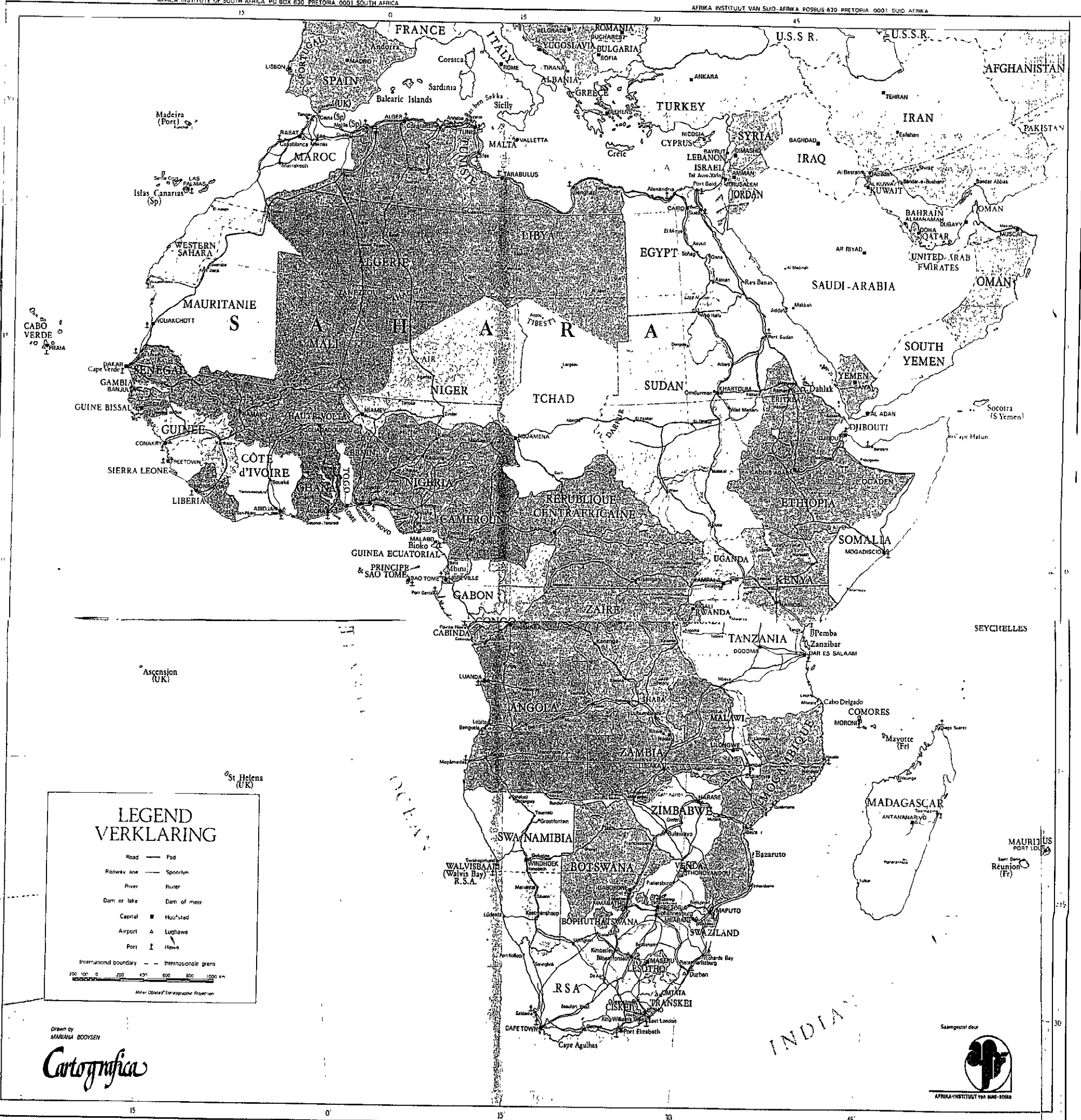
**Swaziland**  
Population (1978) 1.272 million  
Mbabatho Independent December  
President Chief Mangoshe

**Lesotho**  
Population (1981) 635 631  
Zvelitsha Independent December  
President Chief Sibe

**Botswana**  
Population (1979) 2.484 million  
Umtata Independent October 1976  
Paramount Kalzer Matanzhi

**Madagascar**  
Population (1979) 358 000  
Thohoyandou Independent September 1979  
President Mphahlele

**Swaziland**  
Population (1979) 530 000  
Mbabatho Independent December 1961  
President Chief Mangoshe



**FIRST** some points about our map: Some of the names may be unfamiliar - that is because in each case, the spelling of the name is that officially used by the country concerned.

The main purpose of the map is to show the continent's communications - road and rail and in a few cases rivers.

In many ways, Africa is a continent whose riches have been barely tapped and one day will have a far more important role in the world than it has now.

Colossal mineral wealth still lies unmined and the agricultural potential could, with stable rule, make Africa a world granary. But, except in the extreme south, communi-

cations are still scanty and hamper the full opening up of the continent. Even in neighbouring Botswana, vast coal deposits must wait for a rail link to the coast before they can be exploited.

From the days when Arab dhows were Africa's principal trading medium, the sea routes along the coast have had their influences.

This had a great effect on African development even in pre-colonial days with cities and cultures springing up along the coastline, but little if any development happening in the interior.

The only significant land trading route of those days was the caravan route which linked West Africa, already prosperous and highly

civilised, with the Arab nations of the north-east.

This route still exists, although the caravans are dying out fast.

Aircraft - and air routes are too numerous to draw on the map - have had a major impact on Africa, often providing the only viable link between major trading countries.

South Africa does much of its trading with black Africa by this means - but the costs are prohibitive when compared with rail or road costs.

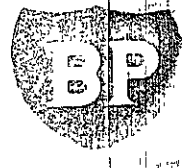
Seventeen African countries are in fact completely landlocked, or in the case of Transkei and Ciskei, have no port of their own.

The African countries to the immediate north of us are especially conscious of their fragile communications and are working hard to produce new ones.

Part of the reason is political - they do not like being dependent on South Africa for much of their export-import capacity - but they are also worried because even South Africa's communications are at times stretched to near breaking-point.

In other parts of Africa, new mining developments are bringing improved communications in their wake and, as the roads and rail links improve, so Africa's ability to get its riches to market improve.

<p><b>Zimbabwe</b> Population (1979) 530 000 Mbabatho Independent December 1961 President Chief Mangoshe</p>	<p><b>Tanzania</b> Population (1979) 17.982 million Capital Dar es Salaam Independent December 1961 President Julius Nyerere</p>	<p><b>Togo</b> Population (1980) 2.669 million Capital Lome Independent April 1960 President General Etienne Eyadema</p>	<p><b>Tunisia</b> Population (1980) 6.367 million Capital Tunis Independent March 1956 President Habib Bourguiba</p>	<p><b>Uganda</b> Population (1980) 12.6 million Capital Kampala Independent October 1962 President Milton Obote</p>	<p><b>Upper Volta</b> Population (1980) 6.908 million Capital Ouagadougou Independent August 1960 Colonial Seye Zerkho head of military council</p>	<p><b>Zaire</b> Population (1979) 25.561 million Capital Kinshasa Independent June 1960 President General Mobutu Sese-seko</p>	<p><b>Zambia</b> Population (1980) 6.027 million Capital Lusaka Independent October 1964 President Kenneth Kaunda</p>	<p><b>Zimbabwe</b> Population (1980) 7.360 million Capital Harare (former Salisbury) Prime Minister Robert Mugabe Independent April 1980</p>
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# States' moves for closer trade links

Mall Correspondent

LUSAKA — The first meeting of the inter-government commission of experts has worked out a R1 530 000 budget for the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) for next year.

According to the commission's final draft report prepared during their meeting from June 14 to 19 in Lusaka, each member country of the PTA will be required to contribute a certain amount of money to the PTA secretariat.

Only the 12 PTA member countries who have ratified the treaty are expected to send in 50% of their contributions to its headquarters in Lusaka by December.

The report, submitted to the Council of Ministers of the PTA who have been meeting in Lusaka since Tuesday, was expected to be adopted by yesterday.

Contributions would depend on the coun-

try's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and its per capita income.

According to the report, the Comoros will contribute R34 400, Djibouti R55 800, Ethiopia R115 200, Kenya R346 500, Lesotho R40 500, Malawi R113 400 and Mauritius R91 800.

Others are Somalia R59 400, Swaziland R142 200, Uganda R155 700, Zambia R120 500 and Zimbabwe R286 200.

The report also includes job descriptions for the PTA staff starting with the secretary-general, who should take up his post next January.

There will also be a director of trade, monetary and customs division, a senior trade expert, a statistician, a financial expert and a director of transport and communications division.

The PTA will, among other things, monitor and provide support services for member countries on trade, monetary co-operation and customs co-operation.

Star 26/6/82

## Mauritius to become a republic

①

### The Star's Africa News Service

PORT LOUIS — Mauritius will become a republic within the Commonwealth, the Governor-General, Sir Dayendranath Burrenchobay, announced in opening the National Assembly under the island's new leftist government.

He said Mauritius would work

towards the gradual reduction of links with South Africa. It would also recognise the African National Congress and Swapo.

The Governor-General confirmed Mauritius would press its claim to Diego Garcia, the island on which Britain and America have a major military base.

● See also Page 5.

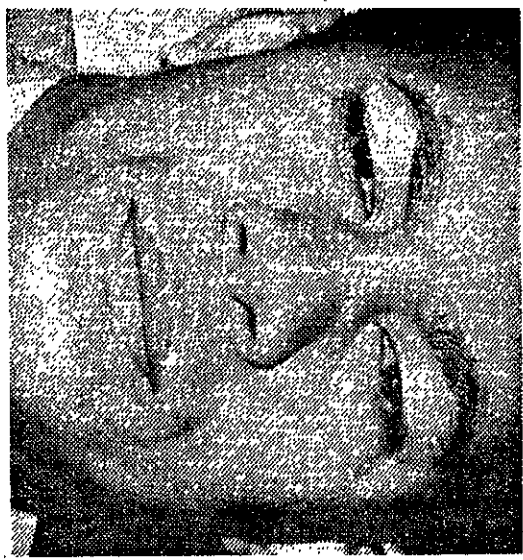


# End of Love affair

## With Socialism

① Star 29/6/82

The Government of Madagascar is being forced to take a new look at its economic policies, says Henry Reuter of The Star's Africa News Service.



Ratsiraka... afraid of South Africa.

TANANARIVE — By November, if in a while he is not struck by a bolt of lightning, President Didier Ratsiraka of Madagascar will have completed his first seven-year term of office and will almost certainly have been re-elected for a second term.

He has announced his candidature for this year's presidential elections, demanded by the country's constitution. And, having startled his nine million countrymen by alleging that sorcerers had been hired to arrange for lightning he is taking care not to stand under trees during rainstorms.

Ratsiraka's presidency has also been marked by his paranoid conviction that South Africa seeks to overthrow him.

There hasn't been much evidence. At one time he claimed South African aircraft had overflown the island socialist republic. Last year, a small arms cache found in a Tananarive soap factory was alleged by Ratsiraka to be part of a South African coup plot and by others to be the property of the President's enemies within his own Avema party. Nothing came of the investigation.

Then last January a pastor alleged against strong public scepticism, that some army officers, civilians and a Catholic priest had been plotting to kill the President. He was championed instantly by Ratsiraka who added, for good measure, that the plotters had links with South African mercenaries involved in last

year's abortive coup attempt in the Seychelles. No evidence of this emerged, either. Everybody who knows anything in this uniquely isolated, superstitious island is convinced that the President is convinced that his fears are genuine and justified.

They are also generally agreed that he is intelligent and sensible, that he remains widely popular, that none of the five other political parties can produce any serious opposition to him for the presidency and that his Avema (Avant-Garde de la Revolution Malgache) will continue to guide the country's destinies.

"His thinking about South Africa," explained one official, "stems from a basic conviction that all the great powers covet Ma-

agascar's northern port of Diego-Suarez, the former French naval and air base, which has been kept neutral since the ousting of the French colonialists.

"If South Africa can stir up trouble on the island, forcing the President to call for help from our Soviet friends, South Africa, and particularly Simonstown, will become of vital strategic importance to the West."

Such reasoning is no more laboured than the painful process by which Madagascar, after a seven-year honeymoon with socialism, is now beginning to change its political orientation, dashing Soviet hopes of turning it into "the Cuba of the Indian Ocean."

Washington. The US has just shipped in 20 000 tons of free rice. In May after vigorous Tanzanian-type resistance the Malagasy government reached a compromise with the IMF on a rescue aid package, devaluing its currency by another 15 percent against the 30 percent demanded.

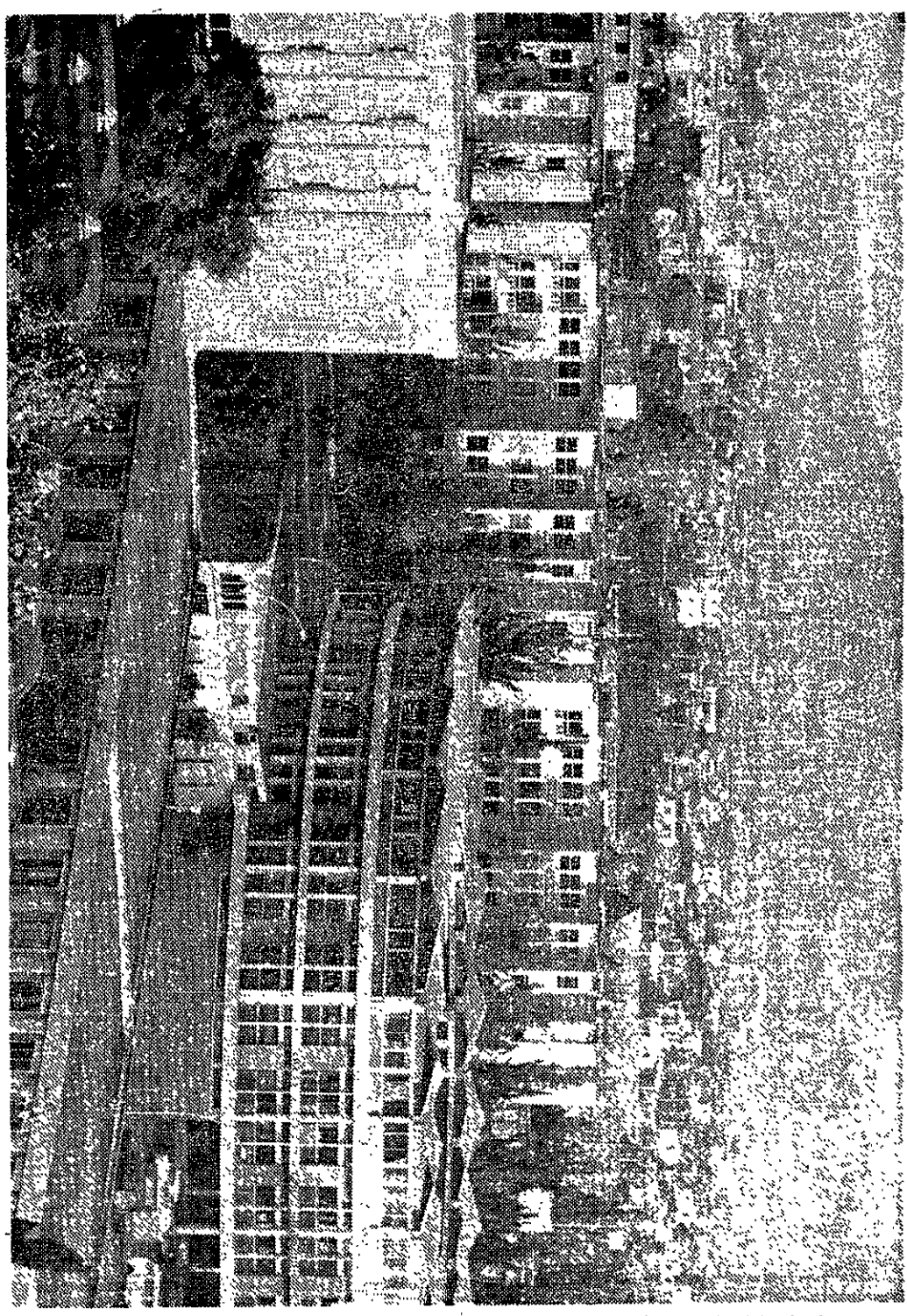
Private enterprise is being invited back to sort out the transportation and distribution mass made by the parastatals, alongside which it will, in future, be allowed to co-exist.

The government has also launched a mass drive to boost agriculture, two-thirds of its land area being potentially arable and much of it underdeveloped. But this is being frustrated by inefficiency and mass corruption in public bodies.

Nobody here expects Madagascar's external politics to take a sharp turn to the right. Ratsiraka is still campaigning for the demilitarisation of the Indian Ocean.

One diplomatic observer summed up: "The Malagasy people like to take their time about their politics. What's happening now is that socialism has reached its peak. The government is now moving into the middle of the world alignment position, correcting its earlier move to the left."

Two years ago the United States was allowed to re-establish its embassy in Tananarive. Ratsiraka is planning to open a Malagasy embassy in



Tananarive, capital of Madagascar.

## A day out for the dead

President Ratsiraka's conviction and repeated insistence that enemies have hired a sorcerer to arrange for him to be struck by a bolt of lightning is not so odd as it might appear. Descended from Malagasy and Polynesian voyagers, cut off for centuries from Africa and the rest of the world, the Malagasy people are deeply superstitious, speak their own language, worship their ancestors, respect many taboos and kowtow to four kinds of sorcerers or witchdoctors. These include the "bad" Mpanorika who can reputedly arrange for such things as buildings and people to be struck by lightning. Of a milder strain are the Mpanosavy, who are reputed to be able to predict such tragedies as being struck by lightning and the Mpanaoody who sell charms which will prevent the wearer being struck by lightning. One of the most weird Malagasy customs is that of exhuming the dead. The bodies of ancestors are from time to time taken out of the family tombs, New, brightly-coloured shrouds are wrapped around the bodies and they are taken home to a family tea party. Family members nurse the corpses and dangle them on their knees to show they are not forgotten. Sometimes the corpse is tossed in the air on a mat "to give it a good time" and bars are hired to provide music. The government not only tolerates this widespread custom, but encourages it, charging a special tax for each corpse disinterred.



# No progress on SWA — claim

From JOHN MATISONN  
 WASHINGTON — Negotiations over SWA/Namibia have not progressed since President Ronald Reagan assumed office according to Trans Africa the Washington-based anti-apartheid organization representing black Americans

Assessing President Reagan's Africa policy, Trans Africa reported that the Reagan administration spent its first year in office dealing almost exclusively with South African concerns about the special protection of white minority privileges after independence and the future constitutional structure of an independent SWA/Namibia

## Swap

Only the people of the territory should determine the structure of the state, the Trans-Africa report said. However, Swapo had been consulted last throughout the administration's diplomacy on SWA/Namibia.

South Africa had benefited in numerous ways from the new attitude in Washington, without reciprocating by making concessions in the SWA/Namibia talks. Benefits had included defence of the Republic in the United Nations, an increase in the number of South African defence attaches in its embassy in Washington, an increase in the number of consulates, an offer to renew nuclear co-operation, the lifting of sanctions against the South African Defence Force and police, and tolerance of South African "stalling tactics" in the SWA/Namibia negotiations

# Dolinchek found guilty of treason

CAPL TIMES 6/7/82 (1) 327



Martin Dolinchek

From EUGENE HUGO  
 VICTORIA, Seychelles. — Justice moved swiftly for South African "spy" Martin Dolinchek yesterday as a nine-member Seychelles jury took less than 30 minutes to convict him of treason.

A hushed Supreme Court watched Dolinchek turn pale and bite nervously at his bottom lip as the jury foreman pronounced the verdict of "guilty as charged".

The jury's verdict came so swiftly that court officials had to scurry around looking for the Attorney-General, Mr Bernard Rassool, and his junior counsel.

## Long day

Chief Justice Edward Earl Seaton indicated that the 43-year-old National Intelligence Service (NIS) agent will not have to wait long to discover his fate.

But he explained he could not sentence him until pleas in mitigation had been heard for all five of the mercenaries who face the death penalty.

Today Dolinchek will be allowed his final plea in mitigation before Mr Justice Seaton pronounces the death sentence or sends him to jail.

With Dolinchek in the dock at 1.45 pm will be Roger England, Aubrey

Brooks, Jeremiah Puren, Bernard Carey, and Robert Sims, who faces sentence for the lesser crime of illegally importing weapons of war

England, Brooks, Puren and Carey have already been convicted on charges of treason

## Admissions

The jury was asked to consider its verdict after a long day in court during which the Chief Justice summed up the evidence against Mr Dolinchek and directed the six Seychellois men and three women to convict or acquit him on the evidence alone.

Earlier, Mr Justice Seaton had traced the background to the case from early planning stages in 1980 when Dolinchek had informed his NIS chief and General Charles Lloyd of Colonel Mike Hoare's moves to stage a coup

He sketched, from evidence, how Dolinchek had tested AK-47 assault rifles for the coup after these and other weaponry had been delivered to the home of Colonel Hoare by the South African Defence Force.

The judge described how Dolinchek had arrived in the Seychelles 10 days before the abortive coup and launched himself into an intelligence-

gathering exercise which included detail about the Russian, communist Chinese, Libyan and Tanzanian presences on the islands

Then Mr Justice Seaton described the events at the airport after Colonel Hoare's strike force of 45 had hauled out their concealed weapons and fought their way to safety aboard an Air India Boeing which took them to Durban

## Fate

The judge emphasized that Dolinchek had made certain admissions, but pointed out that he had not admitted "levying war against the Seychelles" by aiding and abetting persons unknown to attack the Mahe airport.

He pointed out that much of what Dolinchek had admitted took place in South Africa — actions for which he could not be charged under the local treason laws.

He repeated, however, that an alien could be charged with treason in the Seychelles if he enjoyed the protection of the Seychelles Government while on the islands

Describing Mrs Susan Ingles as the "wife or concubine" of Robert Sims, the judge outlined Dolinchek's dealings with the couple, including the

receipt of money from a bank account set up with funds from Colonel Hoare's Swiss bank

He also outlined how Dolinchek had admitted being prepared to accept a weapon and use it if circumstances dictated. He said the jury might accept that Dolinchek "had been party" to the events leading up to and on November 25 last year

Mr Justice Earl Seaton said the accused had agreed that:

- There was a plan or conspiracy to overthrow the Rene government and replace it with one run by James Mancham.

- Colonel Hoare had organized with the Seychelles Liberation Army or resistance movement a task force of mercenaries to attack the islands

- Dolinchek was an NIS officer and intelligence adviser to Colonel Hoare

- Dolinchek had played an essential role because the mercenaries were strangers to the Seychelles

- There had been a contingency plan to secure control of the airport which raised the "irresistible inference" that there would be violence in which people's lives would be endangered and damage would be caused

107 312 A CAPL TIMES 6/7/82 From page 1

State President's first proclamation was turned down by Mr Justice Shearer in the Durban Supreme Court.

It was therefore ordered that Proclamation 121 — deemed illegal by Mr Justice Milne, the Deputy Judge President, last week — should be again declared null and void and not be suspended by the noting of an appeal.

The costs of two counsel for each of the applicants should be paid by the State, the judge ordered.

## 'Unique case'

Immediately after judgment was given, Mr W De Villiers asked for leave to appeal against the decision, stating that another court could take another view.

Mr De Villiers said that the consequences of yesterday's order could be "grave and irreversible".

# Major union changes likely

CAPL TIMES 6/7/82

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A major realignment of emerging, mainly black, trade unions may be on the cards after the breakdown of union unity moves over the weekend.

It could see three of the biggest emerging union groupings — the Federation of SA Trade Unions, (Fosatu), the General Workers' Union (GWU) and the Food and Canning Workers' Union — continuing unity efforts, union sources said yesterday.

This could weld the groups into one of the most powerful mainly black union alliances in decades.

At the same time, a group of newer, unregistered unions has been exploring a federation in opposition to this group, unionists added.

Efforts to launch a more permanent union alliance collapsed at the weekend when a unity meeting in Port Elizabeth ended in failure.

No unions would comment officially and a brief joint statement said there was "no basis for the formation of a federation at this stage. No further meeting is planned". Sources said two camps had emerged.

A group led by the Port Elizabeth-based Motor Assembly and Components Workers' Union (Macwusa) and its sister union, Gwusa, had attacked unions who opted for government registration or membership of industrial councils.

B From page 1  
 far afield as Montagu, Worcester, Eerste River and Wellington, attended a dance following a day of inter-town rugby.

The dance was held at the hall of the SA Preserving Company about a kilometre outside the town.

Shortly after 11pm a fight broke out and five policemen under Warrant-Officer I P Burger were called in to help.

Of the 20 men who were arrested, 14 paid R10 admission of guilt fines while six were fined R15 (or 30 days) for riotous behaviour.

The six men also face charges of assault and are being held by police in Tulbagh.

Two other men, Michael and David Christians both of Nuwedorp, Tulbagh, were treated for knife cuts by a local doctor, the spokesman said.

Too late for classification

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**ROOM BARGAINS ARE SELLING WELL**  
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# Mother's plea for clemency

ARGUS 7/7/82 (1) *WJG*

Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Mrs Peg Carey today made a heartbroken plea of clemency for her mercenary son, Bernard Carey, 39, who was sentenced to death by the Seychelles High Court yesterday for his part in Colonel Mike Hoare's abortive coup bid last November.

"My God, anything is better than this sentence," she said.

"It is so final — it is the end

"A 20 year term of imprisonment is so much better. Somewhere along the line there may be some remission, like so many prisoners get for good behaviour," she said.

"I plead with all my heart for President Albert Rene to commute the sentence to 20 years imprisonment if only he could show some clemency for a heartbroken mother and a wife

"We knew nothing about Bernard's plans to join Colonel Hoare's mer-

cenary group. Bernard never told us anything about it.

"If we were aware of the plan we would never have allowed him to join," she said.

"Sandra, Bernard Carey's wife, is on the verge of a nervous breakdown. Now that the news of Bernie's sentence has sunk in she is in a terrible state."

Mrs Carey said that she and Sandra had had very little communication with Bernard

She had one letter from

her son and Sandra had received two letters.

"We have written many letters and sent magazines but we don't know whether he ever received them."

She said that she and Sandra had intended to go to the Seychelles for the trial but Bernard told them that it would be better for them to come after the court had pronounced the verdict

Colonel Mike Hoare said today: "I am very distressed and I don't want to talk about it."

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The death sentences imposed by Seychelles Chief Justice Earl Seaton on four mercenaries on charges of treason were not unexpected.

It is equally predictable that President Albert Rene will, if he is in a position to do so, keep his tacit promise to commute the death sentences imposed by the court.

For four of the men this will probably mean effective life sentences. They are Briton Bernard Carey, Zimbabweans Aubrey Brooks and Roger England and South African Jeremiah Puren.

**PREDICTABLE**

The fifth man facing the death penalty, self-confessed South African spy Martin Dolinckek, predictably was dealt with more lightly because of his act of contrition in confessing to his sins and condemning apartheid.

He was sentenced to 20 years in jail.

The only thing which may hamper President

**Hopes that Rene will show mercy**

*ARGUS 7/7/82* (1)

Rene in commuting the death sentences imposed on the four is the possibility of a military revolt against such a move.

During the trial, when charges of treason were withdrawn against Mrs Susan Ingle and her common law husband, Robert Sims, who is now facing a 20-year jail sentence, there was open talk in the capital Victoria, that the public, and more importantly the army, were angry that the charges against the couple had been dropped.

As one official put it: "The people and the military are angry. It is inconceivable that it could have been done without the express approval of the President."

**LEAKED OUT**

The only indication that President Rene would commute death sentences against the mercenaries was in the form of a deliberate Government leak to the foreign Press in which he was reported to have hinted that he could

commute any death sentences imposed at the country's first treason trial if the South African Government commuted the death sentences facing three convicted ANC members.

President Rene has never publicly committed himself to this course of action, in spite of the fact that South Africa lifted the death penalty against the three ANC men.

The case of Dolinckek was different from the start.

The whole mercenary plot was unfolded through Dolinckek, whose evidence went even further to include a condemnation of apartheid and a vow to fight against it in future.

In short, Dolinckek's trial was used as a public purgative and gave the Seychelles its only chance of unburdening to the world the whole sorry tale of what happened when Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare and his mercenary band arrived at Mahe International Airport last November.

# Noose for Seychelles four 'political' - claim

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Political pressures — not the law — placed the noose around the necks of the four mercenaries condemned to death in the Seychelles, it was claimed in Durban today.

From a purely judicial perspective, the death sentences meted out to the four for treason yesterday were misplaced, a spokesman for the mercenaries' defence team said today.

However, the death sentences were "completely predictable" considering the enormous political pressure on President Albert Rene, said Mr Jerry Ridl, who is assisting the mercenaries' in-

ARGUS 7/7/82  
structuring attorney, Mr Graham Fowles.

Mr Ridl, who has recently returned to South Africa after working on the defence team during the treason trial, said there were people in the Seychelles Government who were unhappy with the plea bargaining resulting in the release of Mrs Susan Ingles, a colleague of the mercenaries.

"You could say the verdict was not unconnected to the strong political feelings on the island," Mr Ridl said.

The appeal will be heard on September 20, and Mr Ridl said it would focus on the question of whether non-nationals were capable of committing treason.

# Extradition fear for mercenaries

Argus Africa News Service

VICTORIA. — The mercenaries who escaped from the Seychelles after last November's abortive coup attempt could have the shadow of extradition hanging over them for the rest of their lives.

The Seychelles authorities have the names of more than 50 men involved in the coup attempt who completed immigration formalities before they were discovered to be carrying arms through the Mahe Airport.

Those who escaped in the Air India Boeing could be brought back to the Seychelles for trial on treason charges if they set foot in a country with an extradition treaty with the Seychelles, according to official sources.

One official said he understood the "red alert" under which the Victoria government asked Interpol to track

ARGUS 7/7/82  
down the men who had not been withdrawn.

One official said he understood the "red alert" under which the Victoria government asked Interpol to track down the men had not been withdrawn.

Four mercenaries who were left behind in Seychelles were yesterday sentenced to hang for treason. A fifth accused, Martin Dolincheck, was jailed for 20 years as an accomplice.

Today the last of the six men, Robert Sims, was jailed for 10 years for importing arms of war into the Seychelles.

Sims, brother-in-law of Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare, the leader of the coup attempt, had pleaded guilty in a deal that is believed to have led to the release of his common law wife, Mrs Susan Ingle, and her repatriation to South Africa.

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CAPL TIMES 7/7/82

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External
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From EUGENE HUGO

VICTORIA, Seychelles. — Four of Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare's mercenaries were yesterday sentenced to death for treason after Chief Justice Edward Earl Seaton had taken only 45 minutes to think about it.

## Crying wife: 'I am all right'

Own Correspondent  
 SEYCHELLES. — Mrs Di Brooks, wife of condemned mercenary Aubrey Brooks, asked a Seychelles policewoman to hold her hand as Mr Justice Edward Earl Seaton prepared to sentence her husband to death.

She kept saying to her attorney: "I am all right, I am all right." but then col-

lapsed in tears. Aubrey Vincent Brooks, 38, was the first mercenary to be told he should die by hanging for joining Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare's attempt to overthrow the government.

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They are Aubrey Brooks, Roger England, Jeremiah Puren and Bernard Carey who pleaded guilty to save the lives of two of their colleagues — Mrs Susan Ingles and Mr Robert Sims.

South African spy Martin Dolinchek was sentenced to 20 years for "aiding and abetting" the bungled coup of November 25 last year.

The sixth mercenary, Mr Sims, has still to be sentenced for importing weapons of war. This carries up to 20 years.

British barrister Mr Nicholas Fairbairn said yesterday that, on behalf of the mercenaries sentenced to death, he had put in motion machinery for an Appeal Court sitting on September 20.

While the other mercenaries made only simple statements of contrition, National Intelligence Service agent Dolinchek startled the court with a request that, if sentenced to death, he should die before a firing squad "like an officer and a gentleman".

### Mock executions

The mercenaries had spent seven months in solitary confinement.

Before sentence, Mr Fairbairn stated that:

• His clients had been subjected to torture at the Pointe Larue army barracks which included at least ten mock executions, beating with rifle

precedent by taking statements from the accused while in custody

• If the Supreme Court did not condemn what had happened then that "barbarity" would be accepted as the normal conduct of the Seychelles nation.

• Treason was the only crime in which failure was more heinous and heavily punishable than success because the successful could exercise their will in terms of the constitution

• The present Seychelles Government had achieved power by force and treason.

• The Attorney-General had called for the supreme sentence which if pronounced would be in the name of the Seychelles Government and would signal that it was uncertain of its right to rule.

"Those who gain power with tainted hands must show mercy to those who try to regain it," said Mr Fairbairn.

But a packed courtroom heard Judge Earl Seaton say the five accused had become involved in levying war against a small country when they had reason to know that the lives of hundreds would be at risk.

He believed this type of crime called for a deterrent sentence — particularly if people engaged in it because it was lucrative.

CAPL TIMES 7/7/82  
 B ① \*\*\*\*

From page  
 nard Carey, 38, were next. Each had said he was "truly sorry". Colonel Puren, former chief of Moise Tshombe's Congo air force, added simply: "I am contrite, m'lud."

But it was to no avail and the four men accepted their death sentences in stunned silence.

Their defence counsel's eloquence must have given them some courage as the Scottish barrister said they had never broken any country's laws before.

He painted a picture of four men totally misled by Colonel Hoare into believing they were participating in a simple, bloodless operation to overthrow a vicious, communist-controlled regime.

Brooks, a printer, had been the youngest foreman at 23 and the youngest works manager at 27 when employed in Zimbabwe but bad times had befallen him and he had needed the R10 000 he was offered.

A devout Christian he had served society by coaching paraplegic sports teams, was a serving member of Lions International raised money for charity and worked for Medical Alert.

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• The United Nations had set an abhorrent

precedent by taking statements from the accused while in custody.

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He believed this type of crime called for a deterrent sentence — particularly if people engaged in it because it was lucrative.

He would impose the heaviest sentences allowed — telling Brooks, England, Puren and Carey they were to die on the gallows.

The judge said Dolincheck was being convicted as an accomplice and had shown a spirit of contrition.

Making his plea in mitigation, Dolincheck reminded the court he had already told the jury he was ready to fight apartheid and extend the hand of "brotherly friendship" to the Seychelles.

He repeated earlier statements that what the mercenaries had done was a "shameful, evil and misguided deed" and that his mind had been "bewildered" by the realities of geopolitics and the divide between East and West.

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To page 2



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# REPRIEVE LIKELY FOR MERCENARIES

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**VICTORIA.** — The lives of four of Colonel Mike Hoare's mercenaries, condemned to death in the Seychelles, may ultimately lie in the hands of the young socialist head of state they came to depose.

If their appeal against conviction and sentence fails on September 22, only the personal intervention of President France Albert Rene will save them from the gallows.

President Rene is known to abhor the death penalty and he has privately expressed the view that the men should not be executed.

The likelihood of a merciful decision on his part was increased when South African Prime Minister Mr P W Botha responded positively to Mr Rene's request for clemency on behalf of three ANC members sentenced to death in South Africa.

## REPRIEVE

Observers in the Seychelles say the men's subsequent reprieve cleared the way for Mr Rene to respond in similar fashion.

The death sentences handed out to the four captured mercenaries held a sombre warning for their 43 comrades in arms who made it safely back to South Africa aboard an Air India Boeing.

Weekend Argus London Bureau reports that legal experts say it would be technically possible for the Seychelles to extradite any of the Maritzburg hijack trialists if they travelled to some African and European countries.

Because the Seychelles is a member of the Commonwealth it has extradition agreements with all other Commonwealth countries in the form of the Fugitive Offender's act of 1897.

## Argus Africa News Service

Some member countries have ratified separate agreements to extradite offenders, but legal experts say the Fugitive Offenders Act has been used with such effect over the years that it has not been necessary for many countries to draw up new extradition treaties.

The Seychelles government has indicated that it would seek to have any of the Maritzburg trialists extradited if they ventured outside South Africa.

The countries to which the mercenaries are most likely to travel unwittingly and which have the facility to detain and extradite them to the Seychelles are Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana and Malawi—all of them full Commonwealth member states.

It would be possible for the Seychelles govern-

ment to apply to all the countries for extradition of the men — even if they were not in the country — on a standby request.

# SA silent on food exports

July 1982

## to black states

Argus Bureau

NEW YORK. — South Africa's food exports to black Africa have joined energy and defence among areas the South African Government is disclosing less and less information about in public, the Christian Science Monitor reports.

The newspaper quotes South African diplomatic sources as saying the reluctance to spell out where maize and other exports are destined is linked to Pretoria's "growing awareness" of diplomatic leverage food gives the Republic over black African states on the receiving end.

"The gains South Africa makes by refusing to disclose this information is unclear, but the Government evidently believes that secrecy is worth the price," says the Monitor in an article by its South Africa correspondent, Paul van Slambrouck.

Most of South Africa's maize export, which came to near five million metric tons in the 1981-82 year, goes to Japan. But the second place belongs to a "destinations unknown" category, and it is 30 percent of South Africa's maize exports.

"Sales to African states are lumped under that heading to avoid disclosing the names of the importers."

The newspaper quotes an expert on South Africa's farming industry as saying that there is more movement of food to black Africa than is generally suspected.

### NEEDS

Making deductions from known needs of African states and available supply from other exporters, Professor Jan Groenewald of the University of Pretoria reckons Botswana, Lesotho, Zambia, Zaire, Mozambique and Kenya have bought South African maize in recent years.

He suspects Tanzania, Ivory Coast, and Senegal have imported from South Africa as well.

The newspaper says a maize industry official concedes: "We sell maize to people who have taken a political posture against us. If we publicly say who we are selling to, it puts them in a rather embarrassing position while we're keeping their populations alive."

However, says the Monitor, South Africa's motive is not principally humanitarian.

### STRATEGIC

A high Government source says the strategic value of food is increasingly recognised in Pretoria. The prevailing view, says the source, is not to use food "aggressively as a weapon" to extract short-term political concessions from black African states.

"The real potential is long-term. If you have an on-going programme like this, it tends to undermine efforts to fragment the sub-continent," the source says referring to the efforts of Southern African states to reduce their dependence on South Africa.



# Coup: Queen to hear of 'barbarism'

## 'barbarism'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Queen Elizabeth II — through a British parliamentary chain that will include the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs — will in the next few days "be made aware of the barbaric treatment that was received ... and is still being received ... by the condemned mercenaries at the hands of the Seychelles Government". These were the words

yesterday of defence team leader Mr Nicholas Fairbairn, QC, shortly before he boarded an airliner here bound for Britain

"The Seychelles is a member of the Commonwealth ... the Queen is head of the Commonwealth ... and I am a British MP," Mr Fairbairn said.

"When I arrive in London I intend going directly to Parliament where I shall inform the Prime Minister and the Secretary

of State for Foreign Affairs of the unchallenged evidence of brutality."

He would not suggest any course of action to the British government — "for fear of compromising its position".

He would not go into detail, but said his allegations dealt with the physical handling of the mercenaries, the "degrading and humiliating" manner in which they were paraded before the Seychelles public and

news media, the methods of interrogation and circumstances under which they were questioned, and their continued solitary confinement.

His information would also be passed on to the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, and he would present a report to the United Nations committee that went to the Seychelles to investigate the coup attempt and published a report.

"The validity of the UN

committee's findings would be entirely compromised if it did not include and report to the world my unchallenged evidence of brutality and the fact that nothing has been done about it" he said

"I find it extraordinary that a nation that pretends, or rather claims, to be a democracy should have these allegations put to the highest court in its land, and after making no attempt to challenge them, makes no effort whatso-

ever to bring to justice those who committed ... and who continue to commit ... acts of brutality."

The four mercenaries condemned to hang — Aubrey Brooks, Jerry Puren, Roger England and Bernard Carey — will have the appeal against their sentences heard on September 22, by which time Mr Fairbairn will have returned to the Seychelles

He said yesterday that he was confident an appeal could be won on the point of law involving foreign

nationals being found guilty of treason in a country they did not belong to.

Seychelles law requires that President Albert Rene confirm death sentences. South Africa's Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, recently commuted the death sentences of three ANC terrorists — as requested by President Rene.

Although the offices of both leaders have refused to comment on that move being "a deal in advance", it is seen in many circles

as "a ray of hope that President Rene will reach a merciful decision".

According to a Johannesburg correspondent, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, confirmed last night that he had appealed to President Rene to spare the men's lives.

Bishop Tutu said his appeal, by telegram, was in keeping with the SACC's opposition to the death penalty. He had received no reply yet.

# Evidence of hijack accused 'concocted'

ARGUS 12/7/82 (1) 27/11

Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Most of the evidence given by the accused during the hijack trial here was concocted, Attorney-General Mr Cecil Rees SC claimed during argument today.

Addressing a packed courtroom at the resumption of the trial, he also branded as unmitigated liars all those who testified that they had heard the pilot of the Air India Boeing, Captain Umesh Saxena, say: "You saved me. I will save you."

He accused the group's leader, Colonel Mike Hoare, of being "not only untruthful, but also a selective liar with a very smooth and persuasive tongue."

"As a group, the men have been untruthful about the so-called agreement with the pilot," Mr Rees said.

"Every accused who claimed that all the weapons were made safe for the flight out of the Seychelles is being untruthful.

"Twelve of them were ready to fire. The safety catches were off and the magazines were in the weapons.

"Twenty-nine took weapons on board.

## RESPONSIBLE

"There was much discussion among the accused and the largest part of their story is a concocted version."

Mr Rees submitted that the accused were all jointly responsible. The men originally formed a common purpose to execute a coup in the Seychelles. The use of the Air India jet was the only way of evacuating the island once things went wrong.

Asked by Mr Justice James, the Acting Judge President, how men who did not know the Air India aircraft was landing at the Mahe Airport could take part in its seizure, Mr Rees submitted that they foresaw this possibility when they signed on for the coup attempt.

They had joined a mercenary operation and knew that they might have to fly out.

One group of men was occupying the perimeter of the airport and made it possible for the "headquarters" group to seize the aircraft.

These men also made it possible for the headquarters to arrange with the pilot to fly them out.

Mr Rees said that whether or not the Air India pilot had agreed to fly the men out was relevant only to count one. On this count the accused are alleged to have seized the jet through threat of force or intimidation.

The Natal Attorney-General said the Air India Boeing had arrived at Mahe "as a solution to their problems."

"They realised their best course of action was to get out. If they had launched an attack the next day they could have suffered 20 percent casualties and would be left with a total force of 30 men against a lot of little people all over the world."

There was no reason for Captain Saxena to believe he had been doing any kind of favour to make him depart from his scheduled flight, Mr Rees said.

"The claim: 'You saved me, I'll save you' is patently false."

(Proceeding)

"On counts two and three it doesn't matter whether the pilot agreed or not. If he agreed, he was equally guilty with the accused."

## JEOPARDISING

On count two, the men are charged with jeopardising the safety of Mahe airport and the aircraft and passengers.

Count three relates to the safety of the aircraft and passengers and Louis Botha Airport.

Mr Rees said the accused jeopardised the safety of the Boeing "by the mere fact of boarding the aircraft, because they were in a state of war with the Seychelles and would most certainly elicit counter-action."

They had boarded with their weapons and exposed the aircraft and its passengers to cross-fire, he said.

# SA 'keeping mum' on food sales to black Africa

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**The Star Bureau**  
NEW YORK — South Africa's food exports to black Africa had joined energy and defence as areas in which the South African Government was disclosing less and less information, the Christian Science Monitor said yesterday.  
The newspaper quotes South African diplomatic sources as saying the reluctance to spell out where maize and other exports were destined, was linked to Pretoria's growing awareness of the diplomatic leverage food gave South Africa over black African states on the receiving end.  
"The gains South Africa makes by refusing to disclose this data are unclear, but the Government

evidently believes that secrecy is worth the price," said the Monitor in an article by its South Africa correspondent, Paul van Slambrouck.

Most of South Africa's maize exports, which came to nearly five million metric tons in 1981-82, went to Japan, he said. But second place belonged to a "destinations unknown" category, and amounted to 30 percent of South Africa's maize exports.

### LUMPED

"Sales to African states are lumped under that heading to avoid disclosing the names of the importers," the paper said.

It quoted an expert on South Africa's farming industry as saying that there was more movement of food to black Africa than was generally suspected.

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The newspaper said a maize industry official had conceded: "We sell maize to people who have taken a political posture against us. If we publicly say to whom we are selling, it puts them in a rather embarrassing position while we're keeping their populations alive."

### MOTIVES

But, said the Monitor, South Africa's motives were not principally humanitarian.

A "high government source" said the strategic value of food was increasingly recognised in Pretoria. The prevailing view, said the source, was not to use food "aggressively as a weapon" to extract short-term political concessions from black African states.

"The real potential is long-term. If you have an on-going programme like this, it tends to undermine efforts to fragment the subcontinent," the source said, referring to the efforts of Southern African states to reduce their dependence on South Africa.


SECTION F  
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pieces of paper or other material into the examination room unless instructed.  
Do not communicate with other any person except the invigilator. Every book is to be torn out.  
It must be handed to the commissioner before leaving the exam-

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

# Interference 'means five-year jail term'

ARGUS  
13/7/82  
(1) 

Argus Correspondent  
PRESIDING judge Mr Justice James said during the hijack trial here today that any interference with an aircraft crew carried a minimum sentence of five years.

At the close of the prosecution team's argument the judge said: "It is no defence to say there wasn't a hijack because nobody had a gun pointed in his stomach, or that it wasn't done for money or political advantage. That is irrelevant."

Any kind of interference with aircraft crew fell under the ambit of the term "hijacking" and fell under the Civil Aviation Offences Act.

## MINIMUM

"It doesn't matter what kind of interference it was. The minimum sentence is five years," he said.

Natal's Attorney General, Mr Cecil Rees SC, leading the prosecution, earlier said the 43 men had to prove they were acting under a lawful order to claim innocence on the first count of contravening the Civil Aviation Offences Act.

To do this they would have had to bring evidence to show that the State President and the Minister of Defence had given authority for the Seychelles mission.

"The matter of invading foreign soil requires authority from the highest organs of State, not just a general and two brigadiers. It must be an act of State because it has far-reaching consequences for us all," he said.

The attempted coup could have been lawful only if, in the opinion of the State President, "it was an operation for the prevention of suppression of any armed conflict outside the Republic, which was a threat to the security of the Republic."

"They have to prove objectively that this was a lawful command and they have not done so.

was a common purpose between all the accused. But he submitted that this was wrong as some of his clients did not know that an agreement had been struck between Colonel Mike Hoare and Captain Saxena and they did not know where they were going when they boarded the aircraft.

(Proceeding)

"Their belief that they were operating under lawful order is not enough."

Mr Rees summed up by saying there would be differences of blameworthiness for each of the accused.

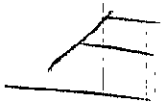
Opening the case for the defence, Mr Steve Janson, who is defending 30 men, asked that the court make an adverse finding on the failure of the State to call co-pilot Captain S N Misra to testify on commission in the Seychelles during April.

Mr Janson said Captain Misra was available to testify after the pilot, Captain Umesh Saxena, had given evidence on commission.

Mr Janson said the State alleged that there

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# SACC

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16/7/82

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**By STAN MHLONGO**

the mercenaries was not some new practise which the SACC was embarking on.

First Name

THE South African Council of Churches is not doing the Government a favour by appealing to the Seychelles President Albert Rene to commute the death sentence imposed on four of the mercenaries who were involved in the abortive Seychelles coup.

"We did the same for the three African National Congress members when the South African Government wanted to hang them."

Date.....

Degree/level you are

He said the SACC even asked the Frontline States to write to the Government and ask it to give clemency to the ANC men who were going to be executed.

Subject... (to be)

Bishop Desmond Tutu, the SACC secretary said that because Martin Dolinchek, the self alleged South African National Intelligence Service agent was involved, he was not doing the local Government good by appealing for a reprieve of the death sentence imposed on four other mercenaries.

The Bishop denied he had asked President Rene to reprieve the four mercenaries from the gallows merely because he (Rene) had asked the SA Government to commute the ANC men from being executed.

Paper No (to be)

### NOTE C

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2. Enter the blue ink on the blue paper.
3. Blue ink must be used. The use of green ink will be penalized.
4. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

Dolinchek escaped the hangman and received a 20 year sentence. Bishop Tutu said: "I don't even know Dolinchek and his friends who were involved in the abortive coup." He said it should be noted that the SACC is opposed to capital punishment.

Bishop Tutu said critics did not bother him as the SACC was merely sticking to principle and would not be deterred by criticism from doing so.

Bishop Tutu said the appeal for clemency for

The four mercenaries who have been sentenced to death are: South African Aubrey Brooks, former Natal Provincial Council candidate Jerry Puren, former British paratrooper Robert England and Bernard Carey.

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### WARNING

No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed. Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator. No part of an answer book is to be torn out. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University



# Pilot lied on hijack, court told

CAPE TIMES 16/7/82

(1) (3/7)

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — The Air India pilot whose aircraft was allegedly hijacked in the Seychelles last year had flown voluntarily to South Africa but had changed his story to avoid trouble, the Supreme Court here was told yesterday.

Mr Piet Oosthuizen, SC, arguing for 10 of the accused, also contended that a ministerial order prohibiting the disclosure of military matters by certain of the accused had led to the court operating under a "grave irregularity".

Mr Oosthuizen claimed that Captain Umesh Saxena, pilot of the jet that was allegedly hijacked on November 25 last year, had lied about his aircraft's arrival in the islands.

## 'Tricked'

He had claimed that he "had been tricked" into landing by Colonel Mike Hoare's men, but at a later stage, while giving evidence before a commission, he had said he did not have enough fuel when he landed to "go anywhere".

It was only after the aircraft had been flying for three hours that Captain Saxena had alerted Bombay that he was being hijacked. He had then pressed the hijack transponder to give Jan Smuts ground control the impression that he was being hijacked.

Captain Saxena had claimed that Colonel

Hoare had threatened to destroy his aircraft or kill one of the pilots if he did not co-operate with the mercenaries.

If this had been so, Saxena would have had an indelible mental picture of where the threat had been made. However, he had been vague when asked where it had occurred, Mr Oosthuizen said.

During the entire episode, the captain had never mentioned his concern for the safety of his passengers.

## 'Ludicrous'

During the flight to South Africa some of the cabin crew had posed for pictures with the mercenaries and some of them had given their addresses in India to the men.

It was ludicrous to claim that these acts were performed under duress, Mr Oosthuizen claimed.

The men could also not be found guilty of possessing arms at Louis Botha Airport as the guns had been piled together under a blanket, with nobody near them. It could not be ascertained when they had passed from the mercenaries' control.

Mr Oosthuizen said the State had failed to prove the men had acted together with common purpose to hijack the jet and he submitted that if the court discarded Captain Saxena's evidence, the men should be acquitted on all charges.

Colonel Mike Hoare will present his argument in defence today.

Indian  
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Star  
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The Star's Africa  
News Service

PORT LOUIS — President Albert Rene of the Seychelles today began an official visit to Mauritius that is expected to mark a new era of co-operation between the leftist governments of the western Indian Ocean islands.

President Didier Ratsiraka of Madagascar has accepted an invitation to visit Mauritius and this is expected to be followed by a summit meeting between him, President Rene and Prime Minister Aneurood Jugnauth of Mauritius.

President Rene's visit marks the start of economic and technical co-operation between Mauritius and the Seychelles.

**"NEW ERA"**

It follows the left-wing Mauritian Militant Movement's landslide victory in the recent general election in which the Labour Party was crushed.

President Rene said he believed his visit marked the beginning of a new era and was important, not only for Mauritius and the Seychelles, but for the whole Indian Ocean.

"I believe that for the first time the door is now open for us to co-operate politically, socially, culturally, economically and, in fact, in every possible field," he said.

Page 2 — Second

**RECRUITING**

The Seychelles President is accompanied by his Foreign Minister, Mr Jacques Houdoul.

Another delegation from the Seychelles will arrive soon to recruit 15 teachers. The Seychelles is also hoping to recruit doctors, lawyers and other professionals as well as technicians.

Technical and financial assistance in establishing small industries is also being sought.

# Ge ra insurance

By Gavan O'Connor

Car insurance premiums rise at least twice a year—sometimes by as much as 40 percent—and there is no relief in sight for the motorist.

Mr John Little, chairman of the South African Insurance Association, said in an interview that because of increased repair costs, costs of parts, labour charges and inflation the South African motorist could expect regular rises in insurance premiums.

**LAGGED**

During the period of fewer accidents during the fuel crisis insurance premiums had lagged while inflation had galloped ahead. Premiums were now catching up again.

Mr Little said the insurance industry was cyclical. As soon as results and statistics were received adjustments were made, so premiums were likely to increase continually.

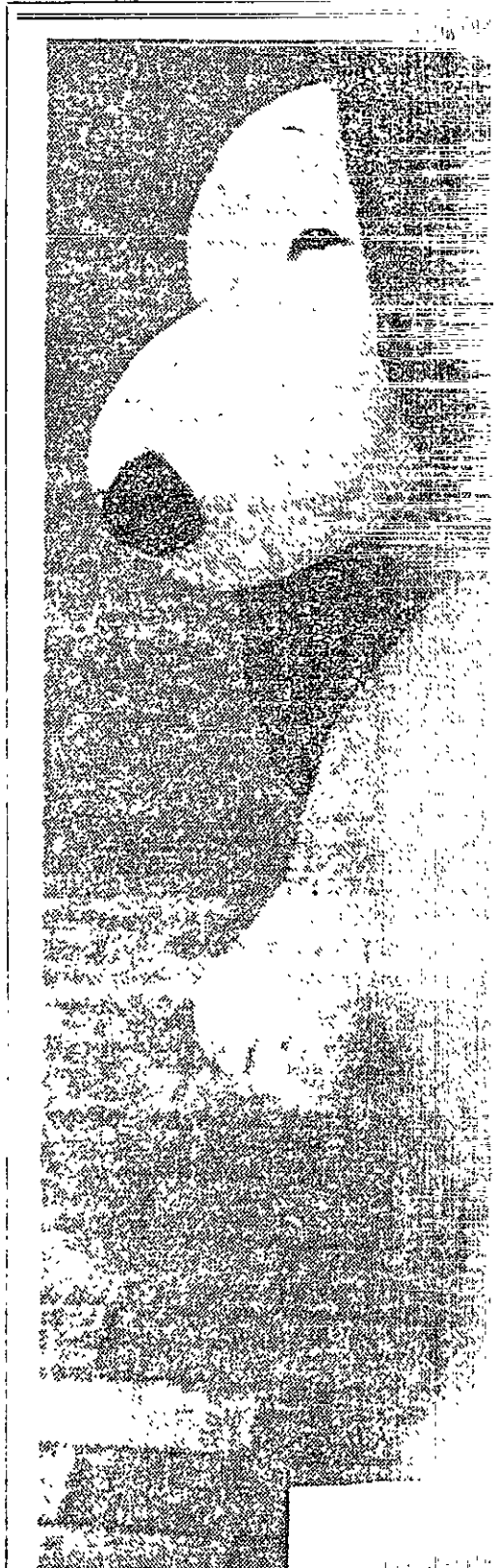
General Accident has put up its premiums by 40 percent this year—two jumps of 20 percent each in February and April. No further rise is expected this year.

**REPAIRS**

Mutual and Federal's motor premiums have just risen by 15 percent and a letter sent to policy holders says the cost of repairs is a major reason for the increase.

Commercial Union raised premiums by 30 percent in January but does not expect them to rise again this year.

A spokesman for AA Mutual said premiums had increased on April 1 but he did not know by how much. He said proposed increases were considered care-







From left:  
 ● Aubrey Brooks  
 ● Jerry Puren  
 ● Bernard Carey  
 ● Roger England



# RENNE SWOP

AKG45

# PLAN

1977/82

# FOR DOOMED

# WOMEN

**PORT LOUIS: — President Albert Rene is considering swopping four mercenaries condemned to death in Seychelles for African National Congress prisoners in South Africa.**

Argus Africa News Service



President Albert Rene.

Addressing a Press conference on his weekend visit to Mauritius, the Seychelles President said the mercenaries might have their death sentences commuted on appeal.

"An exchange for African National Congress prisoners in South Africa may be contemplated, but the problem is how to negotiate with South Africa," he said.

**Treason**

Mercenaries Jerry Puren (South African), Aubrey Brooks (ex Rhodesian), Roger England (ex Rhodesian) and Bernard Carey (British) were convicted of treason in the Seychelles Supreme Court and sentenced to death two weeks ago.

Their assistants, South African National Intelligence Service agent Martin Dolinchek and Durban horse-trainer Robert Sims, were respectively jailed for 20 years for treason and 10 years for illegally importing arms of war.

**Opposed**

Although President Rene is known to be privately opposed to the death penalty, this is the first time he has stated publicly that he is seeking ways of avoiding the men's executions.

The leader of the mercenaries' coup bid, Colonel Mike Hoare, said he was shocked by the death sentences. Colonel Hoare is awaiting judgment in the Maritzburg hijack trial.

The advocate for the four condemned men, Mr Nicholas Fairbairn, had told the court the extent of his clients' involvement in the coup attempt did not justify their receiving the maximum penalty.

mer Commander-in-chief of its military wing Umkhonto We Sizewe, Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhamba, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi and Dennis Goldberg, a white member now in Pretoria Prison.

The men constitute a major portion of the leadership in the 1960s jailed in the Revonia trial for plotting to overthrow the Government.

But President Rene may try to bargain for the lives of three more ANC (Contd on Page 3, col 4)

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**'Tainted hands'**

He also reminded Mr Justice Earl Seaton that President Rene had himself taken power by force. Those with "tainted hands" said Mr Fairbairn, should be merciful to others.

At the start of the trial Mr Fairbairn opposed the charge of treason on the grounds that the accused were not Seychelles citizens. The judge ruled the charge was permissible as the Seychelles penal code had been extended to apply to non-citizens "levying war" on the country.

**Request**

Earlier this year President Rene publicly asked South Africa to commute the death sentences of three ANC men who had been convicted in a Terrorism Act trial.

Subsequently the State President did commute their sentences. It was widely speculated at the time that this reprieve was partly motivated by the chance that President Rene might spare the lives of the mercenaries who were likely to be condemned to death.

People the ANC would most like to be released include Nelson Mandela, one of the organisation's vice-presidents and for-



ARGUS 19/7/82  
**SWOP plan**

(Continued from Page 1)

guerillas now facing the death penalty.

They are Anthony Tsotsoba, Johannes Shabangu and David Mose who were condemned to death for guerrilla activity in South Africa on August 19, last year, after being convicted on charges of high treason in Pretoria.

Their appeal against the death penalty has

They were sentenced of treason for their armed attack on the Soekme-kaar police station on January 4 1980.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, told President Rene that his appeal for clemency would be considered by the State President-in-Council.

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## President Rene hint of Death Row swop

*Stu*  
*19/7/82*  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

PORT LOUIS — President Albert Rene of the Seychelles is considering offering the four mercenaries condemned to death in the Seychelles in exchange for African National Congress prisoners in South Africa.

The President told a Press conference on his weekend visit to Mauritius that the mercenaries might have their death sentences commuted on appeal.

"An exchange for African National Congress prisoners in South Africa may be contemplated, but the problem is how to negotiate with South Africa," he said.

Two weeks ago mercenaries Jerry Puren (South African), Aubrey Brooks (ex-Rhodesian), Roger England (ex-Rhodesian) and Bernard Carey (British) were convicted of treason in the Seychelles Supreme Court and sentenced to death.

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### REPRIEVE

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Among those the ANC would like to be released are Nelson Mandela, one of the organisation's vice-presidents and former commander-in-chief of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe; Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general; Govan Mbeki; Raymond Mhlaba; Andrew Mlangeni; Elias Mokoaleli and Dennis Goldberg, a white member.

But President Rene may try to bargain for the lives of three other ANC guerillas now facing the death penalty.



# Africa's Nine plans own constellation

Staw 19/7/82

**HARARE** — Leaders and planners from nine African countries gather in Botswana this week to review a troubled strategy for economic independence.

Their meeting is billed in Gaborone as the practical launch of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), a fledgling economic community, after two years spent drawing blueprints and raising funds.

### DIFFICULTIES

Considerable success has been achieved in that time, but the countries — Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Malawi, Lesotho and Swaziland — now face a long and difficult struggle to translate intentions into results in the midst of recession and military and political unrest.

Ministerial meetings began today to prepare for the third annual SADCC summit meet-

ing on Thursday. Officially, the agenda covers a review of progress since the organisation was formed in 1980 and the installation of the organisation's first executive secretary, Arthur Blumeris of Zimbabwe.

Mr Blumeris, currently ambassador to Belgium and the European community, and his small secretariat based in Gaborone, will be charged with co-ordinating development plans for the nine, whose 60 million people cover five million square km of impoverished sub-Saharan Africa.

Four heads of government have so far said they will attend the summit — Presidents Quett Masire of Botswana, Samora Machel of Mozambique, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe.

Regional security is expected to figure highly in the leaders' informal discussion.

The nine accuse South Africa, the economic giant of the region, of pursuing a campaign of destabilising its neighbours in order to strangle SADCC in its infancy and keep its members dependent on South Africa's factories, roads,

railways and ports.

South Africa's own idea of a regional Constellation of States, aimed, like SADCC, at promoting co-operation in trade, transport, energy and investment, has been spurned by the nine.

Given its huge problems, officials say SADCC has got off to an impressive start.

### MODERNISATION

A total of 1300 million dollars has been raised to rebuild and modernise roads, railways, ports, airports and telecommunications. That is about half the amount SADCC judges it needs to develop properly into the 21st century.

Money firmly committed to projects has more than doubled since last November to 870 million dollars, including 698 million from foreign governments and international agencies. The rest has come from within the region. — Reuter

### Pipeline plan

**NAIROBI** — The London-based conglomerate Lonrho is holding talks in Kampala, the Ugandan capital, on the proposed construction of an oil pipeline linking Uganda and Kenya. — AP.

## Zimbabwe mines are boarded up

**HARARE** — Nearly 2000 of Zimbabwe's mineworkers have lost their jobs because the current world recession has forced mines to close. The Minister of Mines Mr Maurice Nyagumbo, said in Harare at the weekend.

He told the opening session of a conference of Mining Affairs Board members in Harare that the situation

**Pretoria Bureau**  
Trade profits are plummeting — and there is no end in sight. The Central Statistical Services reports that average wholesale profits last March increased by 5 percent on March 1981 at current prices. However, taken at

## Trading

March 1981 prices, bringing 16 percent inflation into account — average profits were down by 10 percent. The averages hide some significant setbacks in industries usually regarded as indicators of economic trends. Clothing and footwear

## Dunlop's 29% improvement

By David Braun

Dunlop reported a 29 percent increase on trading profit for the half year ended June.

This reflects sustained activity together with improved productivity and cost efficiency, the directors say.

Trading profit plus financing income produced a profit before tax of R17.7 million, compared with R13.5 million in the comparable period last year. Taxation was up 50 percent to R7.8 million, leaving attributable profit at R9.9 million (1981: R8.3 million).

Earnings a share were 63.8c (55.1c) of which a dividend of 29c (26c) was declared.

Financing income increased because of tight control of working capital and the benefits of higher interest rates, the directors reported.

The half year increase is based on the expected rate for the full year, but includes a prior year's deferred tax rate adjustment of R0.4 million, which is charged to reserves, would increase earnings in the half year to 66.4c a share, an increase of 20 percent.

The directors expect that earnings in the second half of the year will, as in the past, be larger than those in the first half, although the rate of increase will probably decline.

### HOPEFUL

However, the group's earnings a share should show some improvement on last year.

The board hopes to maintain at least last year's dividend of 72c a share.

## Petrochemical demand grows

**CARACAS** — World demand for petrochemical products will hit 307.88 million tons by the year 1990, says a Ministry of Energy and Mines report.

Demand for petrochemicals in Third World Nations will grow from 15.43 million tons in 1979 to 70.64 million tons 20 years later. — AP.

## THE WEEK AHEAD

**TODAY:** Ex-dividend: Monks Fatts 17.5c; Malbak 22c; Chubb 21c; Adonis 2c; Charter 7.25pence; Otis 13c; Putco 3.5c; Russell 13c; Currie Motors 45c; Currie Finance 17c; Metcash 12c; Coki Corp 6c;

(Ord) 9.15 am Corner Main and Janie sts Jhb  
FRIDAY: Last Day to Register for Dividend: LTA 35c.



# SADCC in 'struggle for survival'

CAPR-TNIS 19/7/82 (1)

**HARARE.**—Leaders and planners from nine African countries gather in Botswana this week to review a troubled strategy for economic independence.

Their meeting is billed in Gaborone as the practical launch of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), a fledgling economic community, after two years spent drawing blueprints and raising funds.

Considerable success has been achieved in that time, but the countries—Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambi-

que, Tanzania, Malawi, Lesotho and Swaziland—now face a long and difficult struggle to translate intentions into results in the midst of recession and military and political unrest.

Ministerial meetings begin today to prepare for the third annual SADCC summit on Thursday. Officially the agenda covers a review of progress since the organization was formed in 1980 and the installation of the organization's first executive secretary, Mr Arthur Blumentis of Zimbabwe.

Mr Blumentis, currently Ambassador to Belgium

and the European Economic Community, and his small secretariat based in Gaborone, will be charged with co-ordinating development plans for the nine, whose 60-million people cover five-million square kilometres of impoverished sub-Saharan Africa.

Four heads of government have so far said they will attend the summit—Presidents Quett Masire of Botswana, Samora Machel of Mozambique, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. Firm word of still awaited from the

other capitals. Regional security is expected to figure highly in the leaders' informal discussions.

The nine accuse South Africa, the economic giant of the region, of pursuing a campaign of destabilization against its neighbours to strangle SADCC in its infancy and keep its members dependent on the Republic's factories, roads, railways and ports.

Guerillas, said by the nine to be sponsored by the last while strongholds in Africa, are fighting the governments of Angola and Mozambique, disrupting key SADCC trade routes.

An independence war in SWA/Namibia—SADCC's 10th member—waiting ruled by South Africa in defiance of most of the world—unsettles the entire area.

South Africa's own idea of a regional "constellation of States" aimed, like SADCC, at promoting co-operation in trade, transport, energy and investment, has been spurned by the nine, who find the Republic's apartheid policies repellent.

Given its huge problems, officials say SADCC has got off to an impressive start.

A total of R1.5 billion has been raised to re-

build and modernize roads, railways, ports, airports and telecommunications. That is about half the amount SADCC judges it needs to develop properly into the 21st century.

Money firmly committed to projects has more than doubled since last November to R1000-million, including R802-million from foreign governments and international agencies. The rest has come from within the region.

SADCC members admit they are poor now—all but the 900 000 people of Botswana are reported by the World Bank to have per capita incomes of less than R874 a year—but insist their potential is enormous.

Their territory covers large deposits of oil, coal, uranium, gold, diamonds and many other minerals. Mozambique, Angola and Tanzania have some of Africa's best natural harbours.

Almost 12 000km of railways run through the nine, forming the biggest homogenous network on the continent.

SADCC plans a trans-continental network of highways reaching south from Tanzania through Zambia to Botswana and from Angola across to Mozambique, with a great

coast road linking the eastern seaboard ports of Dar es Salaam, Nacala, Beira and Maputo.

For now, SADCC's transport networks are in a sorry state, beset by inefficiency and lack of maintenance. Officials estimate that railways carry only a tiny fraction of the traffic they are capable of handling and say a lack of skills is the region's main handicap.

This week's summit and ministerial sessions should breathe life into the planners' reports.

Progress is unlikely to be rapid. The world recession has wounded the economies of all SADCC governments. Marxist and conservative alike. Drought has turned vast tracts of the region into dust bowls, leaving millions dependent on food aid.

All SADCC members look longingly for a SWA/Namibian settlement. Peace could open up the Atlantic for membership, rejuvenating Angola's ports and railways and bringing closer the creation of a Trans-Kalahari railway through Botswana to Walvis Bay.

"The problems of development are inseparable from peace," the Angolan Planning Minister, Mr Lopo do Nascimento, told SADCC ministers in Luanda last month.

He characterized SADCC essentially as part of a struggle for survival.

—Sapa-Reuter  
● US no to SWA internal plan, page 9

# ANC can observe at talks

The Star's Africa News Service  
**GABORONE** — Representatives of three black political movements have been granted observer status at the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference meeting which opens in Gaborone on Thursday.  
 They are the president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma; the president of African National Congress, Mr Oliver

Tambo, and the chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Nyati Pokela

An SADCC official said last night 1000 million dollars had been pledged to the organisation, of which 800 million had been committed to 106

projects.

Three of these had been completed and 48 were being implemented, he said.

In Gaborone preparations are complete for the arrival on Thursday of President Kenneth Kaunda, President Julius Nyerere, Pre-

sident Samora Machel and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.

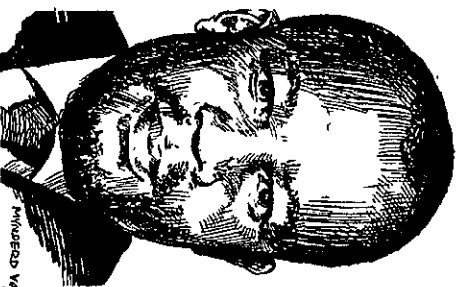
Botswana's President Quett Masire, and Zimbabwe's Mr Mugabe will address the public on Thursday morning.

From next month the SADCC secretariat will be set up in temporary offices in the Botswana Christian Council building in Gaborone.

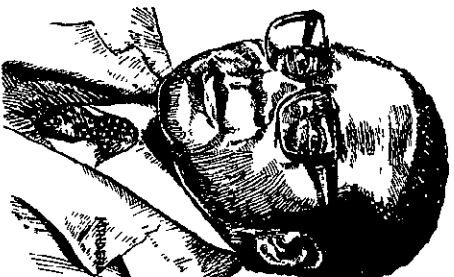
*Star*  
*20/7/82*



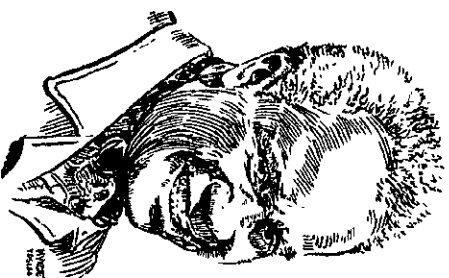
# Leaders will gather to plan freedom



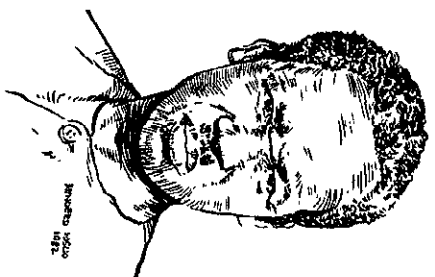
**BOTSWANA:** President Quett Masire.



**ZIMBABWE:** Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.



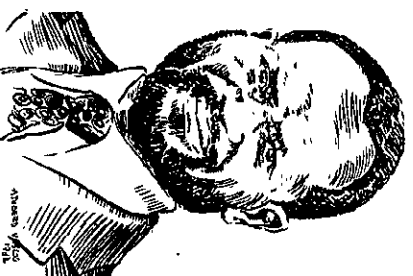
**ZAMBIA:** President Kenneth Kaunda.



**TANZANIA:** President Julius Nyerere.



**LESOTHO:** Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan.



**MOZAMBIQUE:** President Samora Machel.



**SWAZILAND:** King Sobhuza II.

## from SA's economic strangleshold

**GABORONE** — A summit meeting of nine presidents and prime ministers taking place here on Thursday will highlight the determination of black-ruled Southern African States to be freed of South Africa's economic strangleshold.

The heads of state and government represent the nine-member Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which was born three years ago to end a colonial legacy of dependence on South Africa, especially in trade and transport.

This dependency will be especially highlighted by the venue of this year's summit, virtually next door to Pretoria.

The road and rail routes passing through this placid capital of 60 000 form only part of the network of lifelines stretching from Johannesburg, four hours drive away, right through the nine SADCC States (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe).

The one-day summit should also help to illustrate how tightly-bound to South Africa are its fellow-members of the Southern Af-

rica Customs Union — Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Almost everything that will be either consumed or used at the summit — ranging from wines to stationery and transport — will have come from the apartheid republic.

The SADCC members have put together 2 000 million dollars' worth of priority projects, mostly in the transport sector. But so far only 850 million dollars has been committed by international donors.

The Gaborone summit will mainly be to review the progress of the SADCC since its last summit in the Zimbabwe capital in June 1981. The first summit was in Lusaka, Zambia, in 1980.

Giving details of the summit's agenda, Botswana's Minister of Finance and Development Planning Peter Mmusi said the African leaders would be examining transport and communications, food security, manpower development, industrial development, control of animal diseases, research on crops in semi-arid areas and energy conservation.

Each SADCC member has been given responsibility for working out the best way of tackling each question.

Botswana's President Quett Masire, who is chairman of SADCC for the next two years, will open the summit with a public open air ceremony in front of Botswana's National Assembly on Thursday.

The conference will have been preceded by meetings of SADCC's standing committee of officials and its council of ministers. A small permanent secretariat has also been formed.

The summit, the biggest local event since Botswana's tenth anniversary of independence in 1976, is expected to draw hundreds of journalists from the region and overseas.

The main priority on the agenda is still transport and communications, which were disrupted first by independence struggles in the region and lately by guerrillas who SADCC members say are financed, supplied and actively supported by South Africa. Transport and trade routes to Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi continue to be regularly hit.

Pretoria denies involvement but Western diplomats and African leaders agree that it is making efforts to prevent the SADCC group from ending economic dependence on South Africa.

Trade and transport problems are not the only challenge facing the SADCC. All nine members are suffering from the ravages of drought that has swept through the region this year.

Botswana has declared a national emergency to cope with the problem. Zambia will have to import grain. Zimbabwe's crop is down from a record 2.2 million tons last year to less than a million tons, and Mozambique, according to United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization estimates, will need 524 000 tons of food imports financed by foreign donors this year.

Of the nine SADCC States, predict Western sources, only Malawi and Zimbabwe will be able to feed themselves this year.

Mr Mmusi disclosed that the SADCC Ministers of Agriculture will be meeting later this year to speed up the programme on food security, for which Zimbabwe is responsible.

Mr Mmusi also said that the SADCC is to hold a pledging conference in Maseru, Lesotho, around November this year. The conference will focus on the rationalisation of industry, a responsibility allocated to Tanzania. — A 73

# SADCC may reject Zaire's application

GABORONE. — Leaders of nine Southern African countries were likely to turn down an application from Zaire to join their fledgling economic community when they gathered here this week, conference sources said yesterday.

Zaire formally requested membership of the Southern African Development Conference (SADCC) earlier this year.

The sources said none of the existing SADCC members was enthusiastic over Zaire's application.

Zaire has a long-standing territorial dispute with Zambia, it failed to back Angola's ruling MPLA during its independence civil war and President Mobutu Sese Seko and President Julius

Nyerere of Tanzania are far apart politically.

President Nyerere, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, President Samora Machel of Mozambique and President Quett Masire of Botswana and the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, will attend the summit.

Their main purpose is to review SADCC's progress, to approve the appointment of a nine-member permanent secretariat headed by a Zimbabwe diplomat, Mr Arthur Blumeris, and to consider applying to the United Nations for formal recognition.

SWA/Namibia has already been designated as SADCC's 10th member after its independence. — Sapa-Reuter

# Mugabe: SADCC is no threat

By Jasper Mortimer  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

GABORONE — The Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Council poses no threat to anybody, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe, said at the opening of the nine-nation summit in Gaborone today.

"The only countries who need fear us are the champions of oppression and exploitation of man by man, particularly South Africa," President Quett Masire of Botswana said. The SADCC had a "firm commitment to reduce our dependence on South Africa but that this was not its primary goal."

"We must reduce the temptation to absorb these kinds of projects into the programme of action," he said.

Mr Mugabe said: "While under-development may be the legacy bequeathed to us by an uncaring colonialism, it need not be, our future not be, our future."

"The SADCC will happily welcome South Africa and a liberated Namibia to its ranks," he said.

Mr Arthur Blumeris, Zimbabwe's ambassador to Belgium and to the EEC, was appointed executive secretary today.

President Masire said the reason for the SADCC's emphasis on improving joint transport and communications in its first two years was obvious to any landlocked state. The SADCC has six such members.

The next priorities, said President Masire, would be industrial and agricultural development.

President Samora Machel of Mozambique was the only leader to break the tedium of yesterday's prolonged welcoming ceremonies with a spontaneous banter with all people, the Press corps.

Dressed in grey military fatigues Mr Machel stopped at the Press pen, and spoke in Zulu. "How are the Boers still playing?" Mr Machel asked amid guffaws.

# SADCC not a threat — Mugabe <sup>ARGUS</sup> 22/7/82

Argus Africa News Service

GABORONE. — The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) "does not pose a threat to anyone," Mr Robert Mugabe said at the opening today of its nine-nation summit.

The Zimbabwe Prime Minister said: "The only

countries who need to fear us are the champions of oppression and exploitation of man by man, particularly South Africa."

Botswana's President Quett Masire said that while the SADCC had a "firm commitment to reduce our dependence on South Africa," this was not its primary goal.

"We must reduce the

temptation to absorb these kinds of projects into the programme of action."

The remark was seen as a significant reinforcement of the Lusaka declaration on the founding of the SADCC in April 1980. This defined as an objective the reduction of economic dependence "particularly, but not only, on South Africa."

Mr Mugabe said: "While interdevelopment may be the legacy bequeathed to us by an uncaring colonialism it need not be, nay should not be, our future."

The SADCC would happily welcome "a democratic South Africa and a liberated Namibia" to its ranks he said.

The SADCC Secretariat was launched today. The executive secretary is Mr Arthur Blumeris, Zimbabwe's Ambassador to Belgium and the EEC.

President Masire said SADCC had concentrated on improving joint transport and communications.

The next priorities would be industrial and agricultural development.

"Hopefully next year the leader of Namibia will take his rightful place among us.

"When that happens we will finally be able to say colonialism has ended in Africa.

"Other struggles will continue," he said.



# Zaire's SADCC bid is quietly shelved

By Jasper Mortimer,  
The Star's Africa News  
Service

GABORONE — Zaire's formal attempt to join the nine-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference has all but been publicly rejected.

Zaire's application was "being processed," the President of Botswana, Dr Quett Masire, said when the nine Heads of State and senior Cabinet Ministers held a Press conference at the end of yesterday's summit.

Asked if the application was being positively considered, the President replied forcefully. "I repeat my answer. It is being processed."

His comment was widely interpreted as diplomatic veto.

"They don't want to offend Zaire," said an observer. "They'll just shelve the application."

President Masire avoided controversy as he fielded questions.

Beside him sat Mozambique's President Samora Machel, Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, Zimbabwean Premier Mr Robert Mugabe and Cabinet Ministers from Angola, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi.

On the SADCC's view of South Africa's "destabilisation," Dr Masire said: "We confine ourselves to economic problems."

The reply seemed to conflict with Mr Mugabe's bringing to Gaborone his Minister for Security, Mr Emerson Mundaŋgwa, and the

fact that the Angolan delegation was led by a lieutenant-colonel.

Dr Masire did, however, disclose that the Frontline states were confident that the latest initiative on Namibia would succeed.

"We definitely think in fact we have told you, that we hope to be with Namibia next year

"We have no doubts we will all be better for it. The more the merrier.

Namibia riches would contribute to the region's development and prosperity.

Most of the R1 000 million raised for SADCC projects had come as a direct result of the founding of the SADCC, rather than a pooling of aid.

"If there are any strings attached (to the aid) they are invisible," Dr Masire said.

● The summit announced the appointment of Mr Arthur Blumeris (42), as executive secretary of the SADCC. He is Zimbabwe's Ambassador to Belgium and to the EEC. He goes to Gaborone in two months to set up a central coordinating office for numerous SADCC projects.

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# Call for less dependence on Republic

CAPE TIMES 23/7/82

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**GABORONE.** — The President of Botswana, Dr Quett Masire, yesterday said the transport system of Southern Africa needed a major overhaul to reduce "our unhealthy dependence" on South Africa.

In a speech welcoming the four heads of state attending the summit of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference being held in Gaborone, Dr Masire said the aim of the SADCC was economic expansion through improvement of regional co-operation, transport and communication.



Dr Quett Masire

The four heads of state — Mr. Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe), Mr Julius Nyerere (Tanzania), Mr Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia) and Mr Samora Machel (Mozambique) — heard Dr Masire say: "We have decided to co-operate for our development and to free ourselves from the crippling bondage which has been our inheritance."

A number of interrelated studies were being focused on food security because the combination of recurring diseases, crop failures and shortages of fertilizer, farm implements and vehicles caused a serious food crisis in the region.

Important advances had already been made in the development of the programme for co-ordinated industrial development, Dr Masire said.

"These, together with transport and agriculture, are the core of the SADCC programme for achieving economic expansion"

Dr Masire said the formation of SADCC did not mean that the leaders of the independent countries were turning their backs on economic co-

operation, but that a united approach was necessary because of the bleak economic and political situation of the region and the world.

He said the SADCC was not conceived as a platform for rhetoric or as a plaything for those who desired a large canvas on which to experiment with solutions for Africa's problems.

Joint programmes of regional co-operation, transport and communications were given high priority

● The African National Congress leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, left for Mozambique yesterday from Gaborone for high-level talks with Swaziland on a controversial land deal with South Africa, ANC sources said.

The head of the banned South African guerilla organization flew with President Samora Machel of Mozambique from a one-day summit of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

SECTION 15  
QUESTION 3 (a) + b

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

	Internal	External
(1)	(2)	(3)
	67	
Examiners' Initials		

Surname.....

First Name(s)

Date .....

Degree/Diploma you are registered

Subject.....  
(to be copied)

Paper No.....  
(to be copied)

### NOTE CAREFULLY

1. Enter at the top of the question paper the number of the question.
2. Blue or black ink for answers. Red ink for underlining. Pencil which pencil may also be used.
3. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
4. Do not write in the left hand margin.

### WARNING

No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.

Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.

- No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
- All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

**Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University**

# Black states renew their drive for economic independence

23/7/82  
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GABORONE. — Leaders of nine southern African countries yesterday met for a summit to review their troubled progress towards economic independence.

They included Presidents Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Samora Machel of Mozambique and Quett Masire of Botswana, and Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe.

They were joined by senior Ministers from Malawi, Angola, Swaziland and Lesotho for the third annual summit of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC).

Also attending are the heads of the two main South African nationalist organisations, Mr Oliver Tambo of the African National Congress and Mr John Pokela of the Pan-Africanist Congress.

The two groups and the South West African People's Organisation have been granted observer status for the talks.

Mr Mugabe, speaking at an opening ceremony on the lawn of the Botswana National Assembly, said South Africa and an indepen-

dent Namibia would be welcome in the organisation if they abandoned white minority rule.

"Indeed, our organisation is only partially realised without the membership of a liberated Namibia and a democratic South Africa," Mr Mugabe said.

The summit was expected to approve Mr Arthur Blumeris as the first secretary-general of the permanent secretariat for the organisation. He is Zimbabwe's ambassador to the European Economic Community.

The secretariat, to be based in Gaborone, will co-ordinate the development projects largely funded by Western donor countries.

President Masire said aid worth almost R1 000-million had been committed by Western countries and donor agencies to finance rehabilitation of transport and communication in the region.

The SADCC accuses South Africa of actively trying to destabilise its black neighbours to keep them economically controlled and tied to its ports, railways, roads and factories. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

# Liberation in SA essential for growth - Mugabe

① Somewhere  
23/7/82

must continue. The success of this struggle will immeasurably enhance our progress in SADC... Botswana President Quett Masire also addressed the official opening of the summit, attended by five heads of State or Government — Mr Masire, Mr Mugabe and Presidents Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Samora Machel of Mozambique.

The other four SADC members — Angola, Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland — are represented by Ministers.

Three black nationalist movements — the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa and the South West Africa Peoples Organization of Namibia — have been granted observer status. ANC president Oliver Tambo and PAC President John Nyati Pokela are in Gaborone for the summit.

In his speech, host President Masire — whose country is one of the most dependent on South Africa in the SADC — echoed Mr Mugabe's hope that independent Namibia would be represented at the 1983 summit.

"When that happens we can say that colonialism is finally ended in Africa. Other struggles will continue... Mr Masire said.

After the official opening, the SADC leaders went into closed session to discuss progress made by the regional body, which has obtained 850 million US dollars in commitments for regional projects — mainly in transportation and communications — from other nations and international organizations.

Mr Masire, speaking of the need for regional co-operation, said the SADC nations had to "free ourselves from the crippling economic bondage which has been our inheritance".

He also touched on the difficult security situation in several SADC members, which in the cases of Angola and Mozambique notably is blamed on South African "destabilization".

"Our common borders are too long and our peoples too closely related to hope that the security problems of one country can be isolated from having a broader impact", the Botswana president said.

Mr Masire also mentioned SADC's programs for food security and industrial development, which he said were at the core of the organization's activity along with transport. Specific industrial projects would be presented to donors at the next meeting in Maseru, Lesotho, in January 1983, Mr Masire said.

The one-day summit was expected to end this afternoon with a joint communique. — AFT.

## How are the Boers across the border?!

GABORONE — "How are the boers across the border?" teased Mozambique President Samora Machel on landing here for today's nine-nation SADC conference.

The third Head of State to arrive (Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe and Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda preceded him, and Tanzania's Julius Nyerere followed), Machel was the only one to break the tedium of yesterday's prolonged welcoming ceremonies with a bit of spontaneous banter with, of all people, the Press corps.

Confined to a side enclosure on the airport tarmac, some 15 reporters and photographers had by then sweltered in the Botswana sun for several hours through repeated national anthems, tribal dances, ululating choirs, and inspections of guards of honour.

Dressed in grey military fatigues, the charismatic Machel stunned



BROKE BOREDOM: Samora Machel of Mozambique.

and then delighted the Press by stopping at their pen and breaking into Zulu!

The man he had recognised was Elias Ntloedibe, a member of the Pan African Congress who said he knew Machel in Dar-es-Salaam in the late 1960s.

"How are you getting on, where do you stay?" the President asked Mr

Ntloedibe who now lives in Gaborone and writes for the PAC journal, Azania News.

"How are the boers across the border, are they still playing?" Machel shot out, sparking guffaws of laughter from his escort, Botswana President Quett Masire, and the Pressmen who understood Zulu. — SANS.

GABORONE — Black Southern African leaders, meeting in their annual economic summit, were told yesterday that the independence of Namibia and emancipation of South Africa's black majority were essential for development in the region.

Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, addressing the meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), accused Pretoria of "Foreign domination" in Namibia and "national oppression" of its own black people.

Mr Mugabe said SADCC, formed in 1979 by nine black states "does not pose any threat to anyone.

"The only ones who need harbour any fears concerning our collaboration are the enemies of peace and liberation... to them, including the regime in South Africa, we say "let the people you oppress and dominate, particularly the people of Namibia, go forward immediately to their national independence".

Once Namibia was independent and South Africa ruled "democratically", Mr Mugabe said, "we shall happily welcome these two countries into our organization".

Mr Mugabe said the "struggle against foreign domination and national oppression in our region



# UNIVERSITY EXAMINATION

All answer books must be numbered

Number of books handed in	4
Number of this book	3

## AFRICAN TRADE Served by Silence

FM 23/7/82

There will be more cause for sobriety than celebration this week when the nine members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) gather in Gaborone (See *Current Affairs*). As they review their two-year-old programme for decreasing their economic dependence on

SA, they may find some small satisfaction in the reduction of northbound trade across the Limpopo River over the past 18 months. They will more probably be concerned, however, that SA's falling African exports are due to the deepening distress of the frontline economies rather than to any successes in SADCC's concerted efforts.

The sub-Saharan economies continue to be troubled by burgeoning foreign debt, low commodity prices, droughts and transport inefficiencies. Yet despite their political objections to SA's racial policies, they continue to trade actively with SA whenever need demands and finances permit.

Determining the precise scope and depth of that trade, however, is difficult because of its political sensitivity. Exporters and government officials alike are reluctant to detail trading arrangements with African nations for fear of embarrassing the politically outspoken. Maize Board director Hendrik Nel says, "Silence serves us all very well, indeed, thank you." They do report, though, that SA is currently trading with all the sub-Saharan nations.

Recently released trade statistics indicate that SA exports to Africa during the first five months of 1982 were R371m, a decrease of nearly 8% from 1981. Exporters and government officials agree that these figures accurately reveal the trend, but understate the size of the trade by one third. "These figures account only for di-

rect trade," says one Safto official, "and do not include trans-shipped exports. Of this total trade 80% is with the sub-Saharan countries, and this includes all the boycotting countries."

With these adjustments, the estimated value of SA exports to African nations below the Equator is R395m for the first five months of 1982. Annualised, it suggests that this year's exports to sub-Saharan nations should total R948m. By contrast, estimated exports to the region were R1.1 billion, or about 11% of SA's total exports excluding gold. Using these estimates, SA exports to southern Africa could fall as much as 14%. Adjusted for inflation, however, the real projected decrease is more striking: Real exports could fall by 29%.

Exporters report that any decrease in northbound trade is the result of a diminishing ability to pay rather than a reduction in need. Foreign currency is in short supply, as are import licences, because of the chronic balance of payments deficits of African economies. "Africa has been burning up its net worth," says one trade official, "ever since the oil price increases of 1973. If anyone is to blame for the economic disasters around Africa, it's OPEC."

Safto's MD, Wim Holtes, is not hopeful about future SA-African trade. "It's of no benefit to SA to have poor neighbours, yet even though SA could help through more open trading, I don't see potential for in-

creasing trade."

It is, however, beneficial to African nations to have a wealthy neighbour. Despite SA's current economic slowdown, imports from Africa increased in the first five months by 9%, following a 10% increase in 1981.

Whatever the changing fortunes of trade may be, the SADCC's continuing campaign to reduce its reliance on SA stands in increasing opposition to Pretoria's Africa policy. Pretoria is striving to knit together the countries of the sub-continent into a pattern of interdependent trade relationships. Sasol reports that it is prepared to export its coal mining expertise and hopes to develop markets for its oil products to reduce excess capacity in its fuel refineries. And Dr Kit le Clus, head of the National Maize Producer's Organisation's Development Foundation, says he is eager "to continue expanding exports in politically sensitive areas, given that it's SA's natural trading area, but only so long as the money and the prices are right."

SADCC, however, is not eager to align itself to the orbits of PW Botha's constellation of states. The frontline states appear determined to establish their own community of mutual co-operation. Since its establishment in 1979, SADCC has detailed over one hundred programmes designed to create alternatives to the trade opportunities and transport facilities provided by SA. Its



Holtes ... not hopeful

chief concerns are communications, transport, manpower training, food, energy and industry.

SADCC's major difficulty, however, is funding. Its transport and telecommunica-

tion programmes alone are projected to cost R2.2 billion. At last reckoning, it has secured less than half its needs. However, whether or not SADCC can approach lenders and aid agencies as a stable community possessed with a potential for wealth, rather than a collection of cash poor and debt burdened nations, however, remains to be seen.

With plans so grand and needs so vast, SADCC cautions that their goal of independence from SA's economic dominance in Africa is years away. Looking 30 years ahead, though, the SADCC's nine members envision themselves as an economic community with a total population of 150m and a gross community product of perhaps R100 billion. With the success of SADCC's programmes, each member individually could enjoy better trained labour forces along with greater freedom of choice in trade strategies.

Observers in SA, however, wonder whether SADCC's ambitious programmes might lead to a socialisation of enduring poverty rather than a community of growing prosperity. "Thirty years ago these countries had surplus crops," says one exporter. "Now they're importing South African maize. Only when they're able to feed themselves will they be able to begin thinking about how well off they could be. But I can't see this happening in the next 30 years."

University



# SADCC will admit reformed S Africa

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — There are two vacant seats in the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), said that group's newly appointed executive secretary, Mr Arthur Blumeris, "one for an independent Namibia and the other for a democratic South Africa."

The five heads of state who gathered in Gaborone this week confidently expected the first seat to be filled next year. The second, it was assumed, would take a little longer but there was no doubt that the SADCC will want the old arch-enemy to join once

South Africa has restructured itself.

Indeed, "arch enemy" is no longer an entirely valid term for South Africa.

When SADCC was founded in Lusaka in April 1980 it was only a few months after the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, launched the much-vaunted Constellation of Southern African states.

No doubt some states feared that South Africa would use its considerable economic leverage in the region to lure members into this "constellation". To this extent SADCC was a counter-constellation. By drawing-up

projects in the past two years. SADCC has articulated goals far bigger than outmanoeuvring Pretoria

This week President Masire opened the summit with a 2300-word speech that mentioned South Africa only three times.

He concentrated on the economic problems of falling commodity prices, drought, the drop in aid and general underdevelopment.

But the current emphasis is clearly not on scoring points off South Africa. SADCC seems to be emphasizing joint development because development and economic independence are the right goals and co-operation is the right method.

106



# 'Seat for SA held open in SADCC'

ARGUS  
27/7/82

①

Argus Africa News Service

GABORONE. — There were two open seats in the SADCC, said the group's newly-appointed executive secretary, Arthur Blumeris: "One for an independent Namibia and the other for a democratic South Africa."

The five heads of state who gathered here last week confidently expected the first seat to be filled next year. The second, it was assumed, would take a little longer.

But what made the southern offers of membership significant, was that at the same time the SADCC (Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference) seemed to be fighting off an application to join from its northern neighbour Zaire.

While Saded (as the SADCC is called) has all but thrown out Zaire's application, for political, economic and geographical reasons it has no doubts it will want the old arch enemy to join once South Africa has restructured itself.

## CONSTELLATION

"Arch enemy" is no longer an entirely valid term for South Africa. When Saded was founded in Lusaka in April 1980, it was only a few months after the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, launched the much vaunted constellation of Southern African states.

No doubt some states feared South Africa using its considerable economic leverage in the region to lure members into this "constellation." To this extent Saded was a counter constellation.

The danger has passed, the constellation was still-born. Even if Swaziland does annex Kangwane-Ingwavuma it will claim this as merely repossession of historic land and not to be reciprocated by severing its Saded ties in favour of Pretoria.

Through the drawing up of 106 projects in the past two years, Saded has articulated goals far bigger than out-manoeuvring Pretoria.

At the Salisbury (Harare) summit this time last year, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere said: "We must reduce our dependence on South Africa as much as possible as soon as possible."

Last week President Masire of Botswana opened the summit with a 2300-word speech that mentioned South Africa only three times. In arguing for Saded, he concentrated on the economic problems of falling commodity prices, drought, the drop in aid and general underdevelopment.

No Saded head of state — Mozambique's Samora Machel, Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe and Nyerere himself were in Gaborone — would last week have contradicted the Salisbury statement of a year ago.

## EMPHASIS

But the current emphasis is clearly not on scoring points off South Africa. Rather, Saded seems to be emphasising joint development because development and economic independence are the right goals and co-operation is the right method.

This does not mean that Saded's repugnance of apartheid has in any way mellowed, but only that member states have bigger jobs at hand than vigorously condemning South Africa.

**T**HE annual summit of the Southern African Development Co-operation Conference (SADCC) revealed the significant progress the organisation has made in its two-year existence — and how far it still has to go.

SADCC was established in 1980 to co-ordinate development programmes with the specific aim of lessening the dependence of the nine member-states on South Africa. The organisation planned 97 projects — now increased to 106 — in the priority areas of transport and communications.

Opening the summit meeting on Thursday morning, the host president and current chairman of SADCC, Dr Quett Masire, set the tone with an optimistic report on these projects.

He said donor nations had already committed over R870-million of the R2 300-million SADCC needed for its 106 projects. Only three minor projects had been finished, he said, but another 48 were under way and 20 more were being considered by donor agencies.

Those under way included the rehabilitation of the Swaziland-Mozambique road, the Angola-Zambia road, the Zimbabwe-Malawi road and some of Mozambique's troubled ports. All of these projects would allow the member countries to make less use of South African roads, railways and ports.

Perhaps the most significant step forward was the establishment of a permanent secretariat to be based in Gaborone and headed by a Zimbabwean, Mr Arthur Blumert.

As Mr Robert Mugabe, prime minister of Zimbabwe, said: "This means SADCC is not just a nebulous idea. SADCC is an idea-half-way fulfilled, a living organism."

This optimism was echoed during the day by the other heads of state who attended the summit meeting — Mr Samora Machel of Mozambique, Dr Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Dr Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Dr Quett Masire of Botswana — and by the representatives of Malawi, Swaziland, Lesotho and Angola.

In the progress report released after the summit the leaders said they had fulfilled the prediction at their 1981 summit that concrete programmes would be in operation before this summit.

"The SADCC is now fully recognised within the international community as a permanent and effective institution which can represent the member states," the report said.

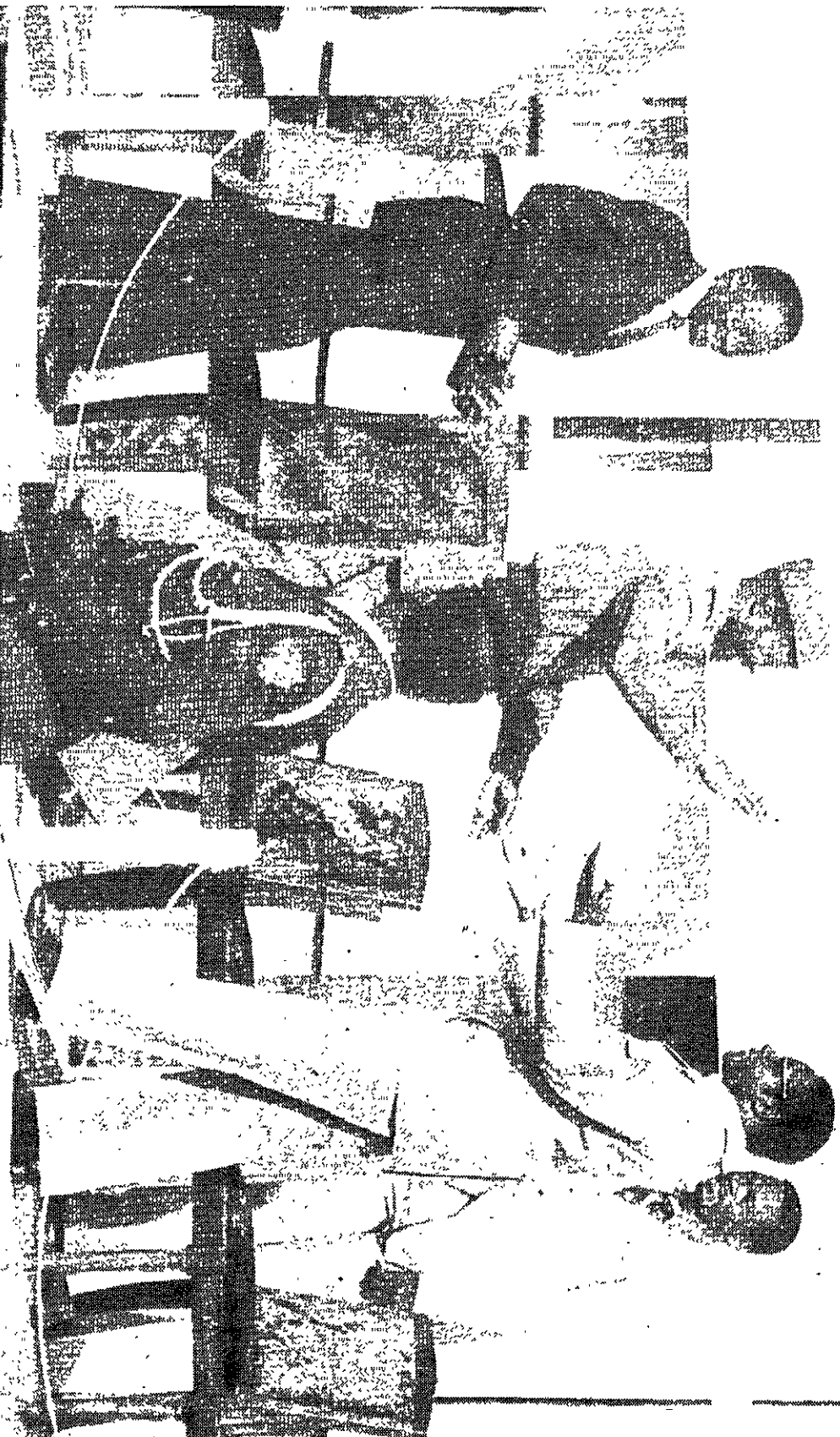
On the other hand, the conference also displayed just how dependent on South Africa most of these countries are and how long and difficult their road to development will be.

Many of the most crucial projects, such as the improvement of Zambia's airports and the building of an international telephone exchange in Beira, are still in the early stages and are a long way to completion.

- For example, only 29% of the funds for the improvement of the Maputo port transport system has been raised.
1. which pencil may also be used.
  2. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
  3. Do not write in the left hand margin

# In sight of a distant goal

FIVE Southern African heads of state met in Gaborone recently to discuss the progress they had made in their attempts to lessen their dependence on South Africa. ANTON HARBBER reports.



**President Samora Machel of Mocambique greets Mr Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, during the summit of the Southern African Development Co-operation conference in Gaborone last week.**

The conference treaded noticeably carefully when dealing with the delicate problem of its relationship with South Africa. Although South Africa was briefly condemned for destabilising member-states and sabotaging development efforts, it was repeatedly stated that the conference did not stand in opposition or as a threat to any other country.

"Indeed our organisation is only partially realised without the membership of a liberated Namibia and a democratic

South Africa," Mr Mugabe told the conference.

The president of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mr Oliver Tambo, attended the conference and received much attention from journalists. Representatives of Swazo and the Pan Africanist Congress also attended as observers.

The relationship with South Africa was most strongly underlined by the fact that delegates even had to eat, drink and use

stationery and equipment brought from South Africa.

The recognition of transport and communications as a priority is a recognition of the member-states' most pressing problem — dependence on South African road, rail, telephone and shipping links.

But the SADCC members feel they have progressed far enough in the fields of transport and communication to be able to look further. Next year, SADCC will

direct its attention to the development of industry and agriculture while planning for future work in the fields of health, food, manpower, energy and mining.

The picture that emerged through the fanfare of the meeting was of an organisation moving slowly but steadily towards an extremely distant goal, determined to end dependence on South Africa but aware of how far away they were from achieving this.

4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

**Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University**

# Hoare guilty of air piracy

Cape Times  
28/7/82



Peter Duffy, left, and Colonel Mike Hoare outside the court yesterday. They were both convicted under the Civil Aviation Act.

## Own Correspondent

**MARITZBURG.** — Colonel Mike Hoare, leader of the Seychelles coup attempt last year, was found guilty in the Supreme Court here yesterday on three counts of air piracy.

The veteran of the Congo conflict was found by Mr Justice Neville James, Acting Judge-President of Natal, to have been responsible for the seizing of Air India flight 224 when it stopped at Mahe Airport en route to Bombay on November 25 last year.

Hoare had also endangered the lives of the passengers and crew on board the jet when he and his men boarded the flight, as there was a possibility that the Seychellois forces would have fired at the craft had they known the men were escaping.

His "unlawful control" of the aircraft had extended to ordering Peter Duffy to negotiate with the authorities about the fate of the mercenaries, Mr Justice James found.

Durban photographer Duffy, who negotiated with the authorities after the airliner had landed at Durban, was found guilty on three of four counts under the Civil Aviation Act.

Tullio Moneta, Hoare's second-in-command and right-hand man, and Peter Goatley, Vernon Prinsloo, Piet Dooreward, Ken Dagleish and Mike Webb were all found guilty on two counts under the Act.

The remaining 34 men were found guilty only of endangering the aircraft.

Mr Justice James ruled that they could not be held liable for seizing the jet at the airport as they were under the impression that Hoare had reached an agreement with the captain of the aircraft.

All the men were found not guilty on count four — the possession of weapons on the aircraft without legal permission — as the weapons had been stored out of reach of the majority of the hijackers.

## Minimum sentence

Members of the public in the crowded gallery burst into spontaneous applause when the American Charles Dukes was acquitted on all charges.

The court ruled that Mr Dukes, who was seriously wounded while in action on the islands had not been fully aware of what had happened in the airliner.

The minimum sentence for each of the charges under the Act is five years' imprisonment.

The court rejected evidence that Captain Umesh Saxena, pilot of the aircraft, had agreed to

fly the men out.

Mr Justice James found that Hoare had shown "a cavalier attitude" towards the truth and had, by using pressure, forced the captain to fly him and his men out.

Captain Saxena had impressed the court as being "a level-headed, competent person who had acted with considerable courage".

It was also understandable that Captain Saxena had failed to refer to a hijack after his arrival at Louis Botha Airport on November 26.

## 'Justified'

"He was fully justified in acting as he did," Mr Justice James said, adding that Captain Saxena's statement that he feared being handed back to the hijackers should be treated with some doubt.

The court was happy, however, that his fear stemmed "from a lack of confidence in the South African authorities".

"He wanted to get his aircraft and his passengers out."

The taking over of the airliner was unusual in that it had been spontaneous. It had not been necessary to molest or threaten the passengers once the pilot had agreed to fly them to Durban.

Turning to the alleged involvement of the National Intelligence Service and the Defence Force, Mr Justice James said it would be "naive" to suggest that the NIS was not aware of the planned coup.

Martin Dolincheck, recently jailed for 20 years in the Seychelles, had been an agent and must have informed his employers.

The fact that AK-47 assault rifles and ammunition had been delivered

C.T. 28/7/82  
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page 1

to Hoare's home indicated that somebody in the Defence Force had been sympathetic to the mercenaries.

However, Hoare had failed to produce evidence that two brigadiers and a general had been aware of or actively assisted with the plans.

There was also no proof that the cabinet and the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, had known of the coup.

The accused, some of whom claimed the plan had the covert support of the South African Government, had failed to prove that the coup was a military action as envisaged in the Defence Act, the judge ruled.

Sentence is expected to be passed to day after pleas in mitigation.

# PW told to come clean on coup bid

CAPK files 29/7/82

Staff Reporter

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, was urged yesterday to explain why the National Intelligence Service (NIS) and senior Defence Force officers failed to inform the government of Colonel Mike Hoare's plans to stage a coup in the Seychelles.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and the New Republic Party leader, Mr Vause Raw, slammed the "breakdown in communication" between the NIS, the Defence Force and the cabinet and called for an immediate investigation.

In his judgment in the



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert



Mr Vause Raw

Martizburg mercenary trial this week, Mr Justice James found that NIS and senior SADF officers were aware of Hoare's plans but evidence of cabinet awareness was hearsay.

The Prime Minister is responsible for the NIS and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, is in charge of the SADF.

The government was protected from opposition questions on the abortive coup earlier this year by a strict application of the *sub judice* rule while the Maritzburg trial was in progress.

However, when the next parliamentary session gets under way the government will find itself at the receiving end of an exhaustive opposition probe.

Dr Slabbert said yesterday the involvement of senior civil servants in the coup was "most disturbing".

"One hopes that there will be speedy action on the part of the government to clear up this unsatisfactory state of affairs."

## 'Breakdown'

A number of questions had arisen from the judgment which needed clarification, he said.

"How is it possible that the NIS could be aware of the intended coup and not advise the government about it and enable it to take preventative action and protect South Africa's interest?" he asked.

Mr Raw urged the Prime Minister to "come clean" and explain how NIS and SADF personnel knew of the coup but did not tell the cabinet.

There were indications of a serious breakdown in communication between South Africa's two security services whose task it was to keep the Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence informed.

## 'On leave'

A spokesman for the Prime Minister's office said because the judicial process was still under way the issue was *sub judice* and could not be the subject of comment.

The Director-General of the NIS, Dr Neil Barnard, was on leave yesterday according to an official at his office in Pretoria. No other spokesmen were available.

● Hoare and men face up to 30 years in jail, page 2

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# Hoare and men face up to 30 years in jail

**Own Correspondent**  
MARITZBURG. — Sentences ranging from five to 30 years could be passed on Colonel Mike Hoare and his 41 men in the Supreme Court here today.

The acting Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice Neville James, adjourned the "hijack" trial here yesterday afternoon until this morning after hearing counsel for the men and the State.

Colonel Hoare and his men have been convicted on three counts of contravening the Civil Aviation Offences Act in connection with the "hijacking" of an Air India jet from Mahe airport in the Seychelles to Durban last November

### Harder line

Although defence counsel for the men, Mr Steve Janson and Mr Piet Oosthuizen, SC, emphasized that the crime was unique in the annals of aviation history and there was little chance of a repetition of the events at the islands and Louis Botha Airport, the Attorney-General of Natal, Mr Cecil Rees, SC, adopted a harder line  
"The defence has made

great play on the fact that it was difficult for people in their position — most had served as full-time professional soldiers — to resist the siren call to arms, that people of the nature of the accused can be easily misled," he said.

### 'Temptation'

"The court must show them where the line is drawn. They must resist the temptation."

The crimes were regarded as serious by the legislature which had laid down sentences of between five and 30 years for each transgression of the Act.

Earlier, Hoare told the court in mitigation of sentence: "I did my duty as I saw it. I brought my men back safely and I am proud of that."

Mr Steve Janson, appearing for 29 of the men, said the hijacking had been unusual without "loss of blood and violence" or the destruction of aircraft by the hijackers.

### 'Impeccable'

"Until they became part of the coup, all led blameless and impeccable lives, all were worthwhile citi-

zens especially with regard to their roles in the military forces.

"They are first offenders whose acts were born of foolish irresponsibility and not criminality, they had no predilection to commit the offences.

"There is no possibility or likelihood of an offence of this nature being repeated in so bizarre a fashion," he said.

Mr Piet Oosthuizen, SC, asked for the minimum sentence of five years to be passed on the accused.

### 'Stupidity'

"Through stupidity they found themselves in a position. They are people of quality who are prepared to risk their lives without flinching," he said.

None of the accused would have gone on the expedition if he had known they were doing something unlawful, Mr Oosthuizen said.

They all had thought they had the backing of the South African Government and the Defence Force, he said.

The court should pass sentences which would allow the men — many of them young and on the threshold of life — to re-enter society, he said.

# Warning to Nats on conflict

**Political Correspondent**  
AN opposition politician warned last night that the exclusion of black people from constitutional reform could precipitate unprecedented black-white conflict in South Africa.

Mr Jan van Eck, PFP provincial councillor for Groote Schuur, said Nationalist proposals to be released in Bloemfontein this weekend would determine the future attitude of black nationalism.

In a speech prepared for a meeting in East London, he noted that simultaneous meetings were being held at the weekend by Afrikaner nationalism, as represented by the National Party, and black nationalism, as represented by Inkatha.

This was a reference to the federal Nationalist congress in Bloemfontein to decide on constitutional proposals and the Zulu meeting in Ulundi to discuss the proposed hand-over of Kangwane and Ingwavuma to Swaziland.

"What Afrikaner nationalism decides in Bloemfontein will determine whether the black laager which is being drawn at Ulundi will grow and solidify, become permanent, become hostile, become aggressive," he said.

Afrikaner nationalism might decide finally on Saturday to exclude the black man from a new constitutional dispensation, that all blacks would be turned into foreigners and to gang up with coloureds and Indians against blacks.

"Should the NP decide to do this, then it will herald a period of unprecedented conflict in South Africa"

**MEMBER!  
...EPENER  
...FORD FORD**



## Sheene breaks legs

**SILVERSTONE, England.** — Former world 500cc motorcycle champion Barry Sheene broke both legs and his left hand in a 240km/h crash at the Silverstone track yesterday.

Sheene, 32, was taking part in an unofficial practice session for Sunday's British Grand Prix.

He was involved in a collision with Jack Middelburg of Holland and Frenchman Patrick

## Changes at the Rotunda

**Staff Reporter**  
THE City Council has bought the Rotunda Hotel in Camps Bay and will develop the site for recreational purposes

However, the historic Rotunda building, built in 1904, will be preserved as part of the redevelopment scheme.

This was announced yesterday by the City Engineer, Mr J G Brand.

The council proposes to demolish the hotel wing and other buildings added to the Rotunda after 1904 and to construct an additional sportsfield.

A portion of A D Keen Drive is to be closed and the land used to enlarge the undersized bowling green and tennis courts adjacent to the Rotunda.

The rest of the land will be used for 170 additional parking bays.

The cost envisaged for

## Divers given abalone rights

**By MARK VAN DER VELDEN**  
FIFTY-ONE perlemoen divers along the southern Cape coast were yesterday given a corner of the prosperous perlemoen — or abalone — packing and canning market with the announcement yesterday by the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, Mr Pietie du Plessis, that they had been granted a quota of 11 240kg.

This quantity of perlemoen, worth about R250 000, was taken from one of the existing quota holders earlier this year following export irregularities, Mr Du Plessis said.

"Instead of being the slaves in the industry, the minister has done us a hell of a favour by letting us get a foot in the door," Mr Eugene le Roux, secretary of the Abalone Divers' Association of South Africa, said last night.

"We knew last week already, but it has been in effect since Monday. The announcement has come a bit late in the season and although we're still rather disorganized, we'll make a plan."

### Newly-granted quota

Mr Le Roux said the 51 divers who belonged to the association would probably form a private company — although nothing was certain yet — to process the newly-granted quota, the first allowed to the actual producer, or diver.

Most of the total quota for this year (163 296kg) was divided between four large canning and packing factories; Blue Continental (19 085kg), Walker Bay Canning Company (37 500kg), Tuna Marine (56 200kg), and Sea Plant Products (50 611kg).

Tuna Marine has lost about 20 percent of its 56 200kg quota, which is now under the control of the ADA.

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Contemned

four pin hopes on plea to Rene

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG.

The four mercenaries condemned to hang in the Seychelles have with-drawn their appeals against the sentence and instead are pinning their hopes on an appeal for clemency to President Albert Rene.

The Seychelles Minister of Information and head of the Defence Force, Mr James Michel, said by telephone today the men had stated their intention of publicly denying the claims made by their Scottish advocate, Mr George Fairbairn, that some of them had been badly beaten by their captors.

**LINKED**  
This public statement would be linked to their appeal for clemency, Mr Michel said.

Although Mr Michel would not comment on the likelihood of a reprieve being granted, it is considered unlikely the men would have taken such a step without an assurance to that effect.

President Rene is opposed to the death penalty and has privately stated that the mercenaries, left behind after the bungled coup attempt last year, are unlikely to hang.

# SADF COUP LINK: Heads must roll!

Argus 30/7/82

Political Staff

**OPPOSITION** leaders today expressed shock and amazement that South Africa's defence and security officers could act without the knowledge of the Government.

If officers could act in something as serious as the armed intervention in the Seychelles without informing the Government, they could be acting illicitly in other ventures, Mr Vause Raw, the leader of the New Republic Party, suggested.

**DEFENCE CHIEF**

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition, said it was extraordinary that senior officials of the Defence Force and the National Intelligence Service could assist an attempted coup without the Government knowing of it.

He said in normal circumstances the heads of the departments concerned would resign.



Mr Vause Raw

Dr Slabbert asked why the Defence Force chief, General Constand Viljoen, and the head of the NIS, Dr Niel Barnard, had not resigned.

Mr Dave Dalling, the Opposition spokesman for justice, demanded that the head of Mr Louis le Grange, the Minister of Law and Order, should roll for his much-publicised statement that the mercenaries had merely

run around the bush and shot out a few windows.

Mr Dalling said the sentences of up to 10 years passed on the mercenaries yesterday showed up "the incompetence of the Minister".

**STATEMENT**

The Opposition spokesmen were reacting to last night's statement by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, who disclosed that NIS and SADF officials knew in advance about the attempted coup.



Dr van Zyl Slabbert

Mr Botha emphasised that the attempted coup was carried out without the knowledge of the Government, the Cabinet or the State Security Council and no authorisation was given.

He also said no officials other than those who look part directly were aware of the operation.

He announced that Departmental steps would be taken against those officials whose exceeded their authority;

(Continued from Page 1)  
the mercenaries involved in the Seychelles episode is being referred to the Attorney-General concerned.

Mr Raw asked that the Government disclose clearly all steps it would employ in order to allay public disquiet.

But a spokesman for the SADF said it was not the policy of the SADF to disclose internal departmental actions and there was no reason to deviate from the policy now.

**PROFESSOR** Marinus Wiechers, professor of constitutional law at the University of South Africa, interpreted the Prime Minister's statement as making provision for a court-martial for officers who supplied a court-martial for arm, and ammunition to the mercenaries.

He said that as the NIS fell directly under the control of the Prime Minister, it was essential for Mr Botha to exercise discipline in the service.

Various spokesmen praised the planned law banning mercenary activity by South Africans who had been suspected of destabilising various other countries.

It has already been reported that General Loots who was head of special operations in the SADF at the time of the attempted coup, has resigned from the force.

His former section is being re-organised.

Heads must roll! Argus 30/7/82

roll

NIS officials, who knew of the coup attempt, should be tried in a criminal court if they committed any offences and expelled from the service, he said.





...be concerned by... it was sug-  
...withdrawal.

...South Africa mean-  
...while, was no longer de-  
...manding total Cuban  
...pullout as a pre-condi-  
...tion, well informed  
...sources insisted.  
...top officials, including  
...the UN commander-designate  
...for the independence  
...operation.  
...Firing Swapo's ire were  
...Mr Pik Botha's accusa-  
...tions in Windhoek that its  
...leader, Mr Sam Nujoma,  
...had ordered the elimina-  
...tion of all his internal  
...opponents.

**Outstanding issues**  
These were "unfounded  
charges we simply reject  
with the contempt they  
deserve", said Mr Theo-  
Ben Gurirab. Swapo's  
permanent UN observer  
and chief negotiator in  
talks here with the West-  
ern contact group.  
"It's a characteristic  
smokescreen to create the  
pretext for another mass  
invasion of Angola," he  
said.  
"I don't think it's possi-  
ble," Mr Gurirab said of a  
mid-August ceasefire. "It  
is certainly not true that  
all parties have agreed."  
The necessary Security  
Council go-ahead to the  
UN operation was at least  
a month away and "there  
will be no going to the  
Security Council until we  
have settled all the out-  
standing issues".  
Western officials sug-  
gested that subtle  
finessing of the settle-  
ment formula could ac-  
commodate all sides, stop  
the shooting sometime in  
August and even provide  
a face-saving way around  
the "parallel" issue of the  
Cuban presence in  
Angola.

According to the settle-  
ment procedure said to  
be accepted by South  
Africa, following the  
ceasefire Cuban forces  
would not cross the 14th  
latitude — about 250km  
north of the border —  
while Swapo would be  
confined to bases no clos-  
er than 350km from the  
border.  
Since most Cubans are  
based well to the north,  
the relatively minor  
redeployment need not



Convicted mercenary Peter Rohwein, 43, and his daughter, Leonora, outside the Maritzburg Supreme Court. Rohwein, an Australian, was one of 34 men sentenced to six months (with a further 54 months suspended conditionally for five years) by Mr Justice Neville James yesterday.

# Hoare gets 10 years

**Own Correspondent**  
**MARITZBURG.** — Colonel Mike Hoare was yesterday sentenced to an effective 10 years for leading the take-over of an Air India jet in the Seychelles last year.  
The 63-year-old mercenary leader stood in the dock with his arms folded while the Acting Judge-President of Natal, Mr Justice Neville James, sentenced him to 10 years for bringing down the aircraft at Mabe and controlling it on the ground, five years for endangering it and the passengers and crew while en route to Durban, and a further five years for endangering the jet on the ground at Louis Botha Airport.  
The sentences would, however, run concurrently, leaving him with an effective 10-year sentence.  
Seven men who played significant roles in the hijacking received effective five years.  
Durban hotelier Kenneth Dalgleish, who recruited men for the coup, received 10 years on two counts. Most was

**COUP bid: PWT tells of GOVT action**  
*Cape Times 30/7/82*  
**PRETORIA.** — Action would be taken against Defence Force officials who had supplied arms, ammunition and radios to Colonel Mike Hoare for the Seychelles coup attempt, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said last night.  
Colonel Hoare and 41 of his men were sentenced in the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday under the Civil Aviation Offences Act.  
In a statement issued in Pretoria last night, the Prime Minister emphasized that neither the South African Government nor the cabinet had known of the coup attempt.  
"The statement said: 'During the just-completed trial in the Pretoria Maritzburg Supreme Court of the hijackers of an Air India Boeing during the abortive coup attempt in the Seychelles, several allegations about (South African) State involvement were made in evidence.'  
"During the trial the government had to respect the *sub-judice* rule and could not comment. Now that justice has taken its course and the case has been completed, I want to comment as follows."  
"Departmental inquiries were instituted to investigate the allegations of involvement. In the light of the inquiries' results I can say: Colonel Hoare approached officials of National Intelligence for limited logistical support for a coup in the Seychelles."  
"The request was referred by officials of the SA Defence Force. Defence Force personnel provided Colonel Hoare with hand-arms, ammunition and radios."  
"However, I wish to emphasize unequivocally that neither the SA Government, the cabinet



Martin Dolinchek



Mike Hoare

nor the State Security Council were aware of the coup. No authorization was therefore given for any action. No money was used by officials for this purpose.  
"The involvement in the attempted coup of Mr Dolinchek and others was unauthorized. The attempted coup was executed without the knowledge or approval of officials or departments concerned with the exception of those who took part directly."  
"As the government regards the unauthorized assistance in a serious light, the following steps are being taken:  
"Departmental action will be taken against those officials who exceeded their authority."  
"Suitable control measures have been instituted to prevent a similar situation occurring in future."  
"Draft legislation will be introduced by the Minister of Defence during the next session of Parliament to make the use and recruitment of South African citizens as mercenaries, or the instigation thereof, punishable offences."  
"The issuing and use of call-up instructions to some of the mercenaries (involved in the Seychelles attempt) are being referred to the Attorney-General concerned."  
● Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition, last night dismissed the Prime Minister's explanation as inadequate and repeated his call for a systematic inquiry into the attempted coup.

# 'Observation' for murder accused

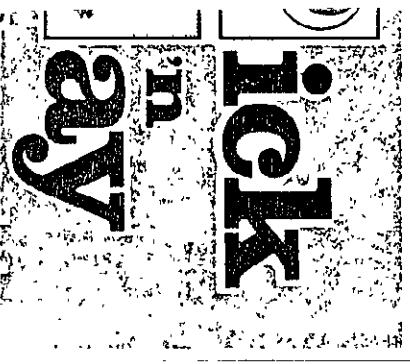
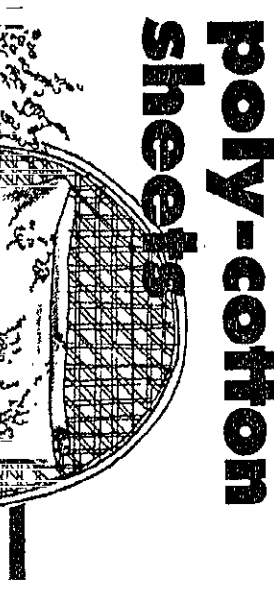
**Staff Reporter**  
**A WYNBERG** magistrate ordered yesterday that a man who allegedly murdered his foster parents was to be detained at Pollsmoor Prison for 30 days' observation.  
Mr Arthur Phillip Solomon, 21, of Chudleigh Road, Plumstead, was not

his actions at the time of the commission of the offence.  
Dr Michael Quail, a consultant psychiatrist, said he had consulted with Mr Solomon on Tuesday at the Wynberg police cells. He had concluded that Mr Solomon should be observed at Valkenberg

# Hout Bay man jailed for R380 000 fraud

**Staff Reporter**  
**A 29-YEAR-OLD** Hout Bay man who defrauded several finance companies of about R380 000 "Keep up with his friends" was yesterday sentenced to an effective six years on 41 counts of

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Cap Times 30/7/82

(A) From page 1

sentenced to a total of 10 years, but will serve an effective 30-month term.

One of Hoare's officers, Mike Webb, will serve an effective 30-month term after being sentenced to 10 years on two counts.

Piet Dooreward, the only Recce member of the group, will also serve an effective five years. He was sentenced to 10 years on two counts.

Summing up Hoare's role in the Seychelles debacle, the judge said he took into consideration that Hoare was "an avowed anti-Marxist" who wanted to fight communism where he could.

### Efforts

Hoare was not a "knight in armour", as he expected to be paid handsomely for his efforts.

Mr Justice James sentenced the remaining 34 men to six months, with a further 54 months suspended conditionally for five years.

He said he found them to be "basically decent people who have fallen for the lure of easy money, adventure and comradeship" who should be given a chance to redeem themselves.

All the men, including Hoare, asked the judge for leave to appeal.

The judge said he would take time to consider the request and adjourned the court to a date still to be announced. However, the men will begin serving their sentences.

Mr Piet Oosthuizen, SC, who appeared for 10 of the men, said any application for leave to appeal would be handled by Durban advocate Mr Steve Janson who appeared for most of the men. Mr Janson would probably be informed of the date decided by the judge.

### Names

The following 34 mercenaries were sentenced to an effective six months:

Patrick Eurelle, 32; Christo Hillebrand, 27; Bernhard de Vos, 27; Louis Boucher, 22; Jan Sydow, 41; Peter Hean, 30; Kevin Beck, 27; Jochemus Dekker, 27; Frederick Gouws, 22; Johannes de Beer, 25; Patrick Henrick, 25; Ernst Deetlefs, 24; Keith McLeod, 26; Desmond Walker, 27; Desmond Botes, 52; Alex Deacon, 25; William Paul, 46. Alan Mann, 30. (All South African).

Andrew Standish-White, 22; Stephen Biddlecombe, 23; Richard Stannard, 28; David Greenhalgh, 22; Jacob du Toit, 22. (All Zimbabwean).

Robert Jones-Davies, 23; John MacKay, 25; Nicholas Wilson, 23; Kevin Barnes, 23; Donald Kenny, 45; Simon Willar, 25. (All British).

Sven Forsell, 38. (Austrian); Barry Gribbin, 26. (American); Kenneth Kelly, 33; Kurt Priefert, 38; Peter Rohwein, 43. (All Australian).

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# Internal SWA parties critical

From KOOS COETZEE

WINDHOEK. — Internal political parties with widely divergent views — Swanu and the DTA — last night criticized the high-powered diplomatic mission in Windhoek after talks in the city.

But representatives of the Damara Raad and the Labour Party described the talks as "the most positive so far" with the Western five

Representatives of Swanu described the mission as a waste of time and money, while the DTA said in a statement it was "shocking" that certain matters were secret.

Swanu representatives also said they were told by the Western five that certain matters were too delicate and too sensitive to discuss

## 'Cosmetic' mission

The mission — described as "cosmetic" — gave Swanu no information on the composition of Untag, although South Africa told them this week that Untag membership would be finalized in a matter of days, representatives said

The DTA said no information could be obtained from the Western Five on the ceasefire before implementation.

If that was regarded as consultation, it would be better if no consultation took place, the DTA said.

Representatives of political parties said they were given copies of two widely-publicized documents — one of an advertisement for Untag personnel and the other of the phase one document given to the UN Security Council by the Western five.

Mr Justus Garoeb and Mr Barney Barnes, leaders of the Damara Raad and the Labour Party, said they received satisfactory answers on

issues like impartiality.

They were told a UN resolution was being drawn up to guarantee impartiality and that the West did not regard the Cuban issue as part of Resolution 435.

Dr Kenny Abrahams, a delegate for the Namibia Independence Party, said internal parties were made to understand the West regarded them as little more than spectators.

The leader of the Aktur delegation, Mr Kosie Pretorius, said he told diplomats the Western five would not be able to persuade Aktur supporters to take part in a one man, one vote election voluntarily.

In a press statement released after the arrival of the diplomats in Windhoek yesterday morning, the Western five said they hoped consultations with internal parties would afford them the opportunity to make known their views on the Namibia settlement process and for the contact group to discuss with them the present status of the negotiations.

● Sapa-Reuter reports from New York that Angola told the UN yesterday that it had intelligence indicating South African troops were about to launch a new attack against its territory.

## 'Protect population'

A spokesman for Defence Headquarters in Pretoria said last night: "South Africa has never attacked Angola or Angolan forces or the people of SWA/Namibia." South Africa was in the territory "to protect the local population against the terror and murder of Marxist Swapo terrorists, and has stated on many occasions that it will follow and destroy Swapo wherever they may be".

# Coup Resign call by Slabbert

Chief Reporter

THE Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, asked yesterday why the heads of the Defence Force and the National Intelligence Service had not resigned immediately it had been shown that senior officials of their departments had been involved in the Seychelles attempted-coup debacle.

"To say that departmental action will be taken is simply not enough," he said "What does this mean — a court-martial in the case of the Defence Force or dismissal in the case of the Intelligence Service?"

Dr Slabbert said he obviously accepted the word of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that neither the cabinet or the Security Council were aware of the impending coup in the Seychelles.

## 'Ridiculous'

"But we must appear extremely ridiculous to the rest of the world when senior personnel of the National Intelligence Service and the Defence Force refer mercenaries to one another for assistance to bring about a coup in another country.

"It is intolerable that senior personnel of the Defence Force and the NIS can deliberately keep the cabinet as well as the Security Council in the dark about an international event which could severely damage the interests of their own country.

"Under normal circumstances, the heads of these departments would resign immediately and one wants to know why this is not the case here in South Africa."

● Leading article, page 8

- 6:00: Nuus
- 6:14: Buck Rogers. Hoogverraad (Final Episode). More than 500 years after the planet Earth was destroyed by a nuclear explosion, evidence comes to light that Buck Rogers, together with a group of militants, was involved in conspiracy which led to the explosion. Buck is charged with high treason and must fight for his life. This is the final episode.
- 7:09: Op die Plesierboot. Elke Hond kry sy Dag. More and games with the crew and passengers on board the Love Boat.
- 8:00: News
- 8:28: Weather
- 8:37: Saturday Movie. The Girls in the Office. Three young women test their dreams of love, money and power against the hard, cold world of business. May Department Store, most famous store in Texas, comes the elegant stage on which these young women play out their individual destinies.
- 10:17: Hart to Hart. Murder in Paradise (Final Episode). Other adventure in the lives of Jonathan and Jennifer Hart. Richard Hashimoto, owner of an import-export company, and referee of the Hawaii Golf Club is stabbed in the back and dies in Jonathan Hart's arms. The only clue to his death is a photograph.
- 11:07: Easy Beat. A programme in which David Gresh presents popular music.
- 11:23: No Soap, Radio. (Final Episode) Roger leaves temporarily in charge of the hotel while he and Karen attend a meeting. Roger's instructions are simple — don't get carried away and be on the look-out for a noted hotel critic, who sometimes arrives in disguise. Of course things work out differently than expected ...
- 11:50: News
- 0:01: Epilogue. The Rev Colin Bishop.

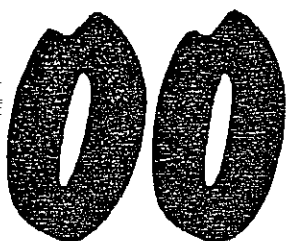
## Tomorrow's TV1

- 4:27: Programme Schedule. Exact screening times of tonight's programmes.
- 4:31: The Perishers. Sandwich. Marlon becomes abductor, and the invention is a ketchup sandwich.
- 4:36: Jot. Do that which is Right. Jot apologizes for breaking a window.
- 4:40: Tales from a Toyshop. There are 10 Rights of children in the United Nations Declaration and Ustinov has a story on each of them. In tonight's programme we listen to three of these. 1 The Child with no Name which explains a child's right to his own name and nationality. 2 The Giant Child. This story shows us that children should not be forced to do more than they are capable of. The Boy and His Parents. This story defines the right of a child to affection, love and understanding. Ustinov uses puppets and animated characters to catch his audience.
- 5:02: What Now? Accountancy. In this programme we take a look at the training and work of a chartered accountant. We also take a closer look at the role of a chartered accountant in modern industry.
- 5:18: Gentle on my Mind. (Final Episode). The last music programme in this series hosted by the Angel.
- 5:46: Cross Questions. The programme is presented by Bill Chalmers, who discusses a religious question with a panel of experts.
- 6:16: Family Hour Festival. Which Mother is Mine? The book "My Other Mother" by Joan Oppenheim. The story is about a foster child, torn between living with her foster family or returning to her biological mother — a mother who abandoned her when she was only six years old.
- 7:00: They Kingdom Come. Presented by the Rev. Hymer and the P E Songsters.
- 7:30: Sunbeams and Cucumbers. A family entertainment magazine programme presented by Des Limerick.
- 8:00: Nuusoorsig
- 8:33: Kruis-en Kroniek. A magazine programme which takes a look at religious activities in South Africa.
- 9:05: Othmar Maga Dirigeer die Nasionale Simfonie Orkes van die SAUK. The National Symphony Orchestra plays Handel's Water Music arrangements on a theme of Haydn (Brahms).
- 9:35: Christian Zacharias. Christian Zacharias plays following three pieces for piano: 1 Sonata in G (Mozart) 2 Oiseaux Tristes (Ravel) 3 Allegretto (Gracioso) (Ravel). Produced by Johan Grobler.
- 11:03: Lig vir die Wêreld.

## TV2 AND 3

- 5:00: Ezemidialo/Dipapadi/Metshameko (Sports)
- 6:30: Batshetshethi (Super Globetrotters). The notorious big game hunter uses his exotic ray-gun at the Globetrotters.

# E WON



# CORRECT ENTRY



# Last night's TV

TV1

ALTHOUGH Zimbabwean military forces are probably unrivalled for their bush-tracking ability, one begins to fear the worst concerning the fate of the kidnapped tourists in that

# The story

about Margaret had only had her licence for a month when she was involved in the accident.

Looking enviably radiant and more beautiful than her pictures in the glossies she said: "The accident was a tremendous shock. My neck still hurts and at times I still feel a bit dizzy, but today I'm feeling really strong."

Margaret hopes to leave for New York on August 21 where she will resume her million-dollar modelling contract.



in bed at her home in Table View.

# Coup bid in Kenya a threat to summit

*CAPE TIMES 2/8/82*

**From BRUCE STEPHENSON**

LONDON. — Yesterday's unsuccessful attempt by a group of Kenyan air force officers and rebel troops to overthrow President Daniel Arap Moi could be the final nail in the coffin of the annual meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) scheduled to take place in Tripoli on Thursday.

Should President Arap Moi decide to stay in Nairobi rather than risk being overthrown while his attention is elsewhere, it will prove to be an unexpected bonus for moderate members of the already deeply-divided organization.

The OAU summit was already under threat because of a row over the admission of the Polisario guerilla organization which is fighting Morocco for control of the former Spanish colony of Western Sahara.

**Quorum**

Several States which back Morocco have threatened to boycott the summit. It now appears likely that not enough heads of State will arrive by Wednesday to make up the necessary quorum of 34.

In this event, the 50-member organization will not be able to meet — which would also supply a neat answer for the second problem bedevilling the OAU, namely Libya's Colonel Muammar Gadaffi.

The immediate consequence of a failure of the summit would be that President Arap Moi would retain his chairmanship, which would otherwise automatically have gone to Colonel Gadaffi as host.

Morocco has been actively lobbying the continued support of the 19 States which walked out in protest when the Polisario was admitted to a ministerial meeting in Addis Ababa in February without the approval of heads of State.

The summit's failure would be a body-blow to Colonel Gadaffi who, apart from the spending lavishly on preparations, is one of the Polisario's strongest supporters, together with more than 20 others, headed by Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, and the Seychelles.

OAU moderates are optimistic that by delaying the summit till 1983, they stand to gain in two ways. Firstly, it would set back Colonel Gadaffi's personal ambitions within the organization. Secondly, the 1983 summit venue is in Guinea, which they believe will refuse to admit the Polisario. A year's delay could be instrumental in resolving the dispute and saving the OAU from collapse, moderates believe.

**Compromise**

A compromise proposed by Nigeria, which has remained neutral in this dispute, and supported by Libya, under which the Polisario would attend the ministerial meeting but withdraw from the summit, was rejected by the anti-Polisario grouping.

One compromise still possible is for President Arap Moi to seek an extraordinary summit to deal with this one matter alone. If this fails, President Arap Moi could call a "mini-summit" at another venue and under his own chairmanship, so avoiding the problems raised by Colonel Gadaffi taking the chair.

By holding a "mini-summit" in Nairobi, President Arap Moi would be able to save some of the OAU's pride and at the same time keep a firm hand on his own troubled country.

# Roadhouse man killed in Munga street

**Reporter**

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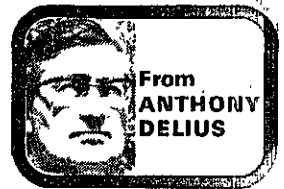
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# Africa's increasing divisions and uncertainties



CPOL. Tim  
2/8/82 ①

LONDON. — The countries of Africa appear today to be more divided about their present and more uncertain about their future than at any time since the Organization of African Unity was founded 19 years ago.

Whether one looks from the struggles going on in Morocco and Somalia and Chad in the north to increasing troubles in the south in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa, the picture seems one of obstinate division. The failures of those 30 or so foreign ministers who did turn up from the OAU's 51 member countries to provide a sound base for this year's proposed summit in Libya, only reflect a deeply disturbed continent.

## Uneasy

No doubt there are numbers of reasons for this condition, but perhaps the most basic and widespread of these is suggested by a recent London article about ethnic feeling in Angola. It was immediately attacked by well-known supporters in London of the present marxist regime in Luanda as being in support of South African propaganda, if not actually intended to provide the Republic with an excuse for not continuing the present negotiations about Namibia. On the other hand the Times and the Daily Telegraph, uneasy about developments in Zimbabwe, have written cautionary leaders urging that more attention be given to ethnic reconciliation between the Shona and the Ndebele.

The Angola article was published in the Guardian as from "a correspondent", which probably meant that the author had collated the views of several leading Angolans unwilling to stick their necks out. This shyness is all the more understandable when its realized that the burden of the article is to portray growing tension between marxists and African nationalists among present leading figures in Angola.

The more obvious signs of this are said to be the return to the country after 2½ years' absence in



President Sekou Touré of Guinea... success in uniting tribes

Russia of a highly trained and, presumably, indoctrinated Angolan officer, and the dismissal of some of the more nationalistic figures in the government.

Henrique Teles Carreira, known as Commandante Iko in guerilla days, had served as defence minister since independence. He was removed by the new president, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, to share control of defence matters with the chief of staff of the Angolan armed forces. It was later said that Carreira had stepped down to take part in a high-level training course in the Soviet Union, though some contended he had come into some conflict with members of the government. Now he has completed a course for promotion to general in a Soviet academy and is thus equipped with higher military qualifications than anybody else in the Angolan forces.

## Catete group

While Carreira has returned apparently well groomed to take over some position of major power, a number of the leaders from the earlier guerilla days are being eased out of the higher echelons of party and government. The party secretary for production, Pacavira, has been dismissed, and doubts are being voiced about the tenure of the minister of health, de Carvalho, and

the leader of the People's Defence Organization, da Silva. All are members of the old Catete group, the most African nationalist part of the ruling party, the MPLA. They are also black Africans rather than part of the million-strong mixed race or mestizo element in Angola.

It has been said for a long time that there is quite a lot of tension between the great majority of the black Africans and the mestizos, and that it goes way back to colonial days. Then mestizos appeared to have been favoured by the Portuguese with the more privileged positions, and provided with a greater degree of such education as was available. Now the Portuguese have gone, the marxist regime doesn't appear to have changed the social pecking order much — as the Guardian article says, the new marxist order of things seems to "place a minority of whites, mestizos and some educated blacks at the top, while most blacks remain destitute".

## Security

The article maintains that the most advanced branch of "scientific socialism" achieved by the new regime is the security system organized by "Soviet, East German, and Cuban experts". The organization of the economy and social services by both expatriates and Angolans is said to be far better at producing anti-capitalist slogans than real results. The coffee crop, which was one of the biggest in Africa under Portuguese rule, is in a state of collapse today, and it is now necessary to import about half the food the country needs, as against the 10 percent of food imported before the coming of independence.

Angola, which has ob-

server status in Comecon, now imports three times as much from Comecon countries as it exports to them. The greater part of the country's trade is done with Portugal, Brazil and America — the US takes a third of the Angolan exports, mostly oil. The obvious way for Angola to rebuild its economy, let alone expand it, is to increase its trading relations with the West. The Angolans are eager to expand their oil exports at least to double — present production makes local wells third in production in black Africa after Nigeria and Gabon. The country has signed exploration and production agreements along its coast with about a dozen Western companies.

## Strategic aims

The fear among great numbers of Angolans is, however, that instead of pursuing a course to produce the greatest economic good among the greatest number of citizens, the country will be developed almost exclusively with the strategic aims of the Russians and their allies in mind.

Although most of the information that's written, printed or broadcast is put out by dedicated marxists, says the Guardian article, old traditions of passing the news by word of mouth and through secret ethnic organizations are now widely distributing the other side of the news. The officially dispensed information by press and radio is largely disregarded among black African Angolan groups.

Thus it is becoming increasingly widely known how growing numbers of black Africans are being pushed aside from or pushed out of government work in favour of people who are ideologues rather than Africans working for their own people. No doubt there are many black Africans who are willing, for higher wages, to work in the lower ranks of the security service, but even information of who such people are spreads among the ordinary Angolans in the

street, and more particularly in the bush. The Guardian article maintains.

"No amount of explanation of the effects of the disruption caused by persistent attacks by South African troops and the Unita rebels, or the deterioration in trade and devaluation of oil exports, can conceal that elitist party discrimination and corruption, aided and abetted from abroad, have decisively added to Angola's economic difficulties."

## Arms supplies

Of course the working of these three elements is very diverse and varied as they appear in different parts of the continent. Somalia, for example, presents us with a picture of a USA-favouring authoritarian government under attack by dissidents from two major tribes provided with arms by marxist elements across the border.

Zimbabwe shows us a presently West-supporting major tribe being opposed by elements of a smaller tribe which, at least at one time, got its weaponry from the Russians and may now be hoping for some support from wayward backers of the West.

In Angola the Mbundu of the north are said to be growing less exercised against the Ovimbundu of the south for their tolerance of the South African-supported guerillas of Unita because they see them as fellow-African victims of the internationalist ideologues in Luanda.

There may not be a great deal of evidence of unity among the African countries yet, but there is much evidence to show that if the Africans are to unite for their own protection it must start down at the bottom among the bigger ethnic groups. Sekou Touré has probably had the greatest success, arguing half a dozen groups into seeing themselves as Guineans first, and Nigeria is still in the midst of a huge experiment to persuade 250 different ethnic snippets and peoples to accept that they are Nigerians

## From the Bible

"If anyone should cause one of these little ones to lose his faith in me, it would be better for that person to have a large millstone tied round his neck and be drowned in the deep sea."

(Matthew 18:6)

far below Wednesday's devastating barrage which left hardly a street in West Beirut undamaged

Advance

Fighting yesterday was just south of the main museum crossing-point on the "green line" dividing the east and west of the city, and in the southern suburbs, where Israeli armoured columns advanced yesterday over 2 1/2 km of wasteland north of the paralysed airport

The latest clashes appeared to be consolidation of new battle lines rather than serious attempts to gain ground

Beirut Radio said both sides had strengthened their positions along the southern and eastern fronts yesterday with fresh equipment and new earth barricades

Congratulated

Palestinian and leftist leaders and publications congratulated the guerillas on their performance on Wednesday, pointing to the stiff resistance and the relatively heavy casualties inflicted on the Israelis.

The leftist newspaper As-Safir, one of only two of the usual 12 dailies to appear in West Beirut yesterday, said: "Beirut did not bow its head but stood firm like only Stalingrad and Hanoi have done in all history."

The PLO newspaper, Palestine al-Thawra, said the people of West Beirut were creating a new legend of resistance and were "a candle in the Arab night" - a reference to what the PLO sees as Arab unwillingness to influence the battle of Beirut - Sapa-Reuter

Seychelles: 'Deal' is on over mercenaries

Own Correspondent

DURBAN - Delicate negotiations over the fate of the four condemned mercenaries in the Seychelles have led to a "deal", Durban attorney Mr Graham Fowles, who has just flown home from the Seychelles, said yesterday

He said the deal held out great hope for the reprieve or repatriation of Aubrey Brooks, Roger England, Jeremiah Puren, and Bernard Carey

Mr Fowles has been involved in a series of high-level discussions with top

Seychelles Government officials

Looking tired but triumphant, he said his four-day sojourn had been "hectic but imminently successful"

"All parties in the deal are sworn to secrecy - not even the men's next of kin will be able to know what transpired or with whom meetings were held," he explained

"Suffice to say nobody with death sentences over their heads would wish to draw the appeals without reason"

Questioned on when a definite or official state-

ment about the negotiations was likely to be made, he said "President Rene will be back in the Seychelles on Sunday"

An assistant director of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Tom Wheeler, would neither admit nor deny that the South African Government had had a hand to play in the Seychelles negotiations

"I don't want to say anything yet I can't. One never knows what might happen"

Mr Wheeler confirmed, however, that he had been designated "to handle some aspects of this case."

Earlier this year the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, commuted the death sentences of three ANC terrorists after President Rene had petitioned him. A converse arrangement is widely regarded as possible

Mrs Di Brooks said last night that she had received no letters from her husband and did not know whether he was allowed to write any

"Otherwise I've heard nothing about him except for what's been in the papers" she said

Mrs Julia Puren said she had been anxiously awaiting the return of Mr Fowles because she expected him "to have some news to tell"

MP challenges General Malan, page 3

Hoare's men fail in appeal bids

MARITZBURG - Mike Hoare and seven of his group of mercenaries, convicted in terms of the Civil Aviation Offences Act for their part in the "hijacking" of an Air India airliner, failed in the Supreme Court here yesterday in their attempt to obtain leave to appeal against their convictions.

In a brief ruling read out by the acting Judge-President, Mr Justice Neville James, the men's legal representatives were told that their clients' cases would have very little prospect of success if taken to the Appellate Division.

The eight men were sentenced last week by Mr Justice James to between one year and 10 years' imprisonment on one or more of three counts. The remaining 34 mercenaries received effective sentences of six months. None has yet indicated a wish to appeal.

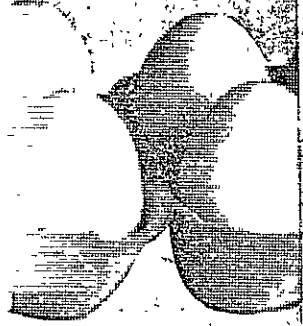
The men whose applications were turned down yesterday were Mike Hoare, who received 20 years, of which 10 are to be effective; photographer Peter Duffy, five years; Tullio Moneta, five years; Piet Dooreward, five years; Mike Webb, Kenneth Dalgleish and Charles Goatley, 30 months each; and Vernon Prinsloo, one year.

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Hedley Byrne (Retail/C) 5029

Table with 4 columns: TV (2), Weather (9), Aircraft (9), Court Roll (9), Focus (6, 7), Classified (15-21), Burger (8), Crossword (8), Emergency (9), Look at today (9), Business (12-14), Editorials (8), Cinema (6), Horoscopes (8), Column (8), Racing (15), Comics (16), Radio (15)

5:39: Curious George, Curious George turns out to be presented by Eddie Eks... 6:00: News... 6:14: Popshop, Karl Kikkilus... 6:33: Sportsview, A sports... 7:07: The Big Valley, A... 8:00: News... 8:28: Weer... 8:32: Nuustokus, An in-depth... 8:47: Dis My Geheim, The re...

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# MP challenges General Malan

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, was challenged yesterday to test in court insinuations that he had known of Colonel Mike Hoare's plans to stage a coup in the Seychelles.

This followed a threat by General Malan on Wednesday to summons Mr Koos van der Merwe, the Conservative Party's defence spokesman and MP for Jeppe.

Mr Van der Merwe had said at the CP congress in Pretoria on Wednesday that it was hard to believe the Seychelles coup had been planned without the knowledge of the "political head" of the Defence Force, General Malan.

If heads had to roll because of the affair, then they should be political heads, he said.

In an interview published yesterday in Beeld, General Malan chal-

lenged Mr Van der Merwe to prove his insinuations.

"If he cannot do so, he faces the danger of being summonsed," he said.

Mr Van der Merwe had questioned the integrity of the Prime Minister, who had stated after an official investigation into the matter that the cabinet was unaware of the coup plans.

If Mr Van der Merwe had "secret information" on the matter it was his duty to disclose it, General Malan said.

He accused Mr Van der Merwe of "playing into the hands" of South Africa's enemies by tackling the Defence Force.

But yesterday Mr Van der Merwe challenged General Malan to take him to court. He declined to comment when asked if he had the evidence the general had urged him to produce.

## 'Public interest'

His comments at the congress had been "fair and reasonable" and in the public interest.

"In fact I protected the Defence Force and its officers and directed my criticism specifically at the Defence Force's political head.

The minister, typical of so many other National Party politicians, is now using the total onslaught against South Africa as a weapon against the NP's political opponents in an attempt to win cheap political points.

General Malan could not be contacted for comment yesterday, but a senior official in his department said the general had nothing to add to his interview with Beeld.



# A KNIFE-EDGE deal is being worked out to save the lives of the four mercenaries in the Seychelles' Death Row.

It is so secret that the death-cell four begged Durban lawyer Graham Fowlis during hush-hush negotiations in Victoria this week not to tell their own relatives for fear it would keep the noose round their necks.

Mr Fowlis confirmed that an "arrangement" was underway in an 11th-hour bid to save the men — South African Jerry Puren, 58, former Zimbabwean Aubrey Brooks, 38, and Britons Roger England, 26, and Bernard Carey, 38.

But he told The Argus grimly today that all four are still in the shadow of the gallows, in spite of speculation that the deal involves swapping the last of "Mad Mike" Hoare's men, either for African National Congress prisoners or for Colonel Hoare himself.

"I'm not celebrating yet," he said quietly. "There are a lot of people on that small island who want to see those men hang."

Mr Fowlis flew back to Durban on Thursday after five days of top-secret talks on Mahe.

He emphatically refused to say who, apart from the men in the death cell, he negotiated with, what the deal is or why it is being considered by President Albert Rene's socialist government.

## Families

"You are asking me to say things I have not even told their families," he said. "They, above all people, are hungry for the details. But they have accepted they will not be getting those details for a while."

Confirmation of the secret negotiations this week came hard on the heels of four dramatic developments:

● The withdrawal by the Seychelles four of their appeal against the death sentence, casting themselves instead on the mercy of President Rene.

● Reports that the men could be swapped, either for Colonel Hoare, the Seychelles' most-wanted public enemy, or for ANC political prisoners.

● Colonel Hoare's decision to drop his own petition to the Chief Justice, in spite of top legal advice that he had a good chance of having both his conviction and 10-year jail sentence overturned; and

From Stan Maher in Durban and Brendan Nicholson in Mahe

● The withdrawal from the Seychelles case of top Queen's Counsel Mr Nicholas Fairbairn, amid reports that his hardline on the brutal treatment initially meted-out to the four mercenaries had angered Seychelles authorities.

Mr Fowlis said: "Suffice it to say that they would not have withdrawn their appeal unless they felt President Rene would look favourably on them."

He said he was not a go-between for the South African and Seychelles Governments to arrange the release of convicted ANC terrorists in exchange for the mercenaries.

"I would not be a party to that," he said.

"With international terrorism being what it is, can you imagine what could happen if convicted terrorists were freed as an exchange deal? Any South African anywhere in the world would be vulnerable as a hostage."

● The Department of Foreign Affairs has denied any South African Government involvement in a prisoner swap.

# SAVE MERCENARIES SECRET DEAL TO

h/s ARGUS (1) 7/8/82

DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS TO FREE MEN FROM DEATH

ROW

# ① Mauritius <sup>Industrial Week</sup> calls for SA investment <sup>10/8/82</sup>

From Wren Mast-Ingie

**PORT LOUIS:** In an interview with Industrial Week, the Mauritian Minister of Finance Paul Bérenger has made it clear that:

- South African visitors are welcome and safe.
- Trade with SA will continue but Mauritius would seek to diversify as far as possible.
- Investments will still be considered and they would be diverted into areas which his government did not intend to nationalise.

Bérenger said that investment in Mauritius has continued with both Southern Sun and Club Méditerranée intending to expand their existing facilities.

"I am surprised South African businesses have not shown more interest in the free export zone."

This entitles investors to manufacture in a tax-free zone and then export to the EEC and commonwealth countries under preferential treatment.

Bérenger added that "On a government level we want nothing to do with SA.

Instead we will increase trading activity with India, Australia and Asia.

Asked about continued air links with SA, he said Air Mauritius — a privately owned airline — and SAA were presently negotiating the renewal of the existing two-year agreement.

# Mercenaries 'hope' lives will be spared

CARE Times 13/8/82

(1) 

Own Correspondent

VICTORIA, Seychelles. — Four mercenaries sentenced to death after the attempted Seychelles coup last November yesterday spoke of "an earnest hope" that their lives will be spared after appealing for clemency to President France Albert Rene.

The mercenaries hold Mr Fairbairn responsible for reports that they have been maltreated in Seychelles custody and consider the publicity has jeopardized their position.

However, they do not deny the truth of what he has alleged concerning hearings they received from soldiers, but say this was confined to the first 10

days of their nine months of custody.

"In the first few days of our capture, when things were very hot and both-ered, there were a few little problems of chaps getting beaten," Jeremiah Puren, a 57-year-old South African mercenary, said.

"But since we've been at the Union Vale prison, which is right from before Christmas, we've been treated very, very well."

Roger England, 27, Kered Carew, 39, both British, and Puren appeared with Aubrey Brooks, a 38-year-old Zimbabwean in-lounge suits, shirts and ties at a government-run press conference in the Seychelles capital yesterday.

They repeatedly denied they had received assurances of freedom or commutation of death sentences in return for waiving their appeal and publicly countering reports of maltreatment.

However, there are signs that a deal has been made.

The mercenaries said it had been their own idea to sever relations with Mr Fairbairn and they had discussed this through their cell doors after seeing foreign press reports of their beatings.

Their lawyer had been called from South Africa and after he had discussed their case with the Seychelles Government, the men dropped their appeal and wrote to the president.

Durban solicitor Mr Graham Fowles, has since declined to disclose details of his negotiations with the Seychelles Government.

He remained non-committal yesterday, but did say that after advising his clients, the final decision had been their own.

"It was a difficult decision. There were two or three options, none of them without risk."

Informal observers are confident the men will not be executed and point to President Rene's record of eventually deporting political opponents who attempt insurrection.

Among these is Gerard Horeau, a key figure in a 1980 rising against President Rene's government, who now lives in South Africa. Puren yesterday described him as a good friend, closely involved in the mercenaries plot.

BANGUI — Until a couple of years ago many South Africans regarded the Central African Republic as a kind of black hope for breaking trade barriers, an extension of the bulwark against international communism, a beacon of enlightenment.

Jean Bedel Bokassa, when he grabbed power from his nephew David Dacko in 1966 launched a manhunt for Chinese communist bogymen and declared open house for trade, commerce and investment.

When Dacko used the French to help him regain control in September 1979 he went further. He kicked out the Soviet and Libyan "advisers" and shook black Africa to the core by announcing he planned to establish diplomatic links with South Africa.

Uncle Jean Bedel had only amused the world when he had himself declared emperor and got away for years with keeping his political enemies in chains and committing appalling atrocities.

It took a spate of child murders and a worldwide wave of indignation to force the French to provide Dacko with troops for his mercy mission.

But in many African eyes Dacko's subsequent verbal crime was more heinous than anything Bokassa had committed — despite widespread agreement here that Dacko had tried hard in his second period of rule to rebuild democratic institutions as well as the economy and to correct many of Bokassa's abuses.

He allowed political parties to function and even arranged in April last year a fair presidential election in which he was returned to power.

After this he became sick and sensitive to the enmities he had incurred by his remarks on South Africa. Few were surprised when the army, led by

# SA hopes dashed in Bangui

**At one time it looked as if the Central African Republic would offer Pretoria links with black Africa, says Henry Reuter. But events ruled otherwise.**

Chief of General Staff Andre Kolingba and reportedly also with French backing, took over quietly last September.

Dacko retired to his coffee farm 50 km from Bangui.

The country is now run by President Andre Kolingba (47) and a government of soldiers which calls itself the Military Committee for Reform.

Evidence of French support came last March when rebels led by Jange Patasse (Prime Minister under Bokassa) seized the Bangui radio station but were overpowered by troops led by a French secret service man.

Patasse then took refuge in the French Embassy in Bangui, which later arranged for him to be quietly exiled to Togo.

France, which has a military base and retains 1200 troops, and which also foots the bills (last year it paid about R80 million) is now pressing the Kolingba Government to organise itself.

It wants Kolingba to appoint civilian Ministers and make at least a token move towards elections and civilian rule.

Kolingba, respected as a career military man, has so far ex-

pressed no political ambitions.

A report from Government councils suggests inviting the Russians back — to provide health services, which the country lacks.

Kolingba is not outspokenly anti-South African. Shops in Bangui still offer the South African canned fruit, vegetables and meat, which comes in through Libreville, Gabon.

His main problem — like that of his predecessors — is that the country has no sound economic base.

Only some 50 000 of the 2.3 million people are in paid jobs — about half in the 4 000-strong army and the civil service, the rest being servants, drivers and other low-paid workers.

As for South Africa's hopes, these seem to be enshrined in a boarded up building site in Bangui where, during Bokassa's regime South African interests embarked on building a 500-bed hotel.

Work was abandoned mysteriously nine years after it started. They still talk in whispers of the grand thefts from the site of everything from timber to television sets. — The Star's Africa News Service.

Troops loyal to Seychelles President Albert Rene broadcast an announcement shortly before 1 pm South African time today saying they had recaptured Mahe's radio station and freed hostages held there by army mutineers.

The announcement, over Radio Seychelles, made no mention of several mercenaries reportedly held by the rebels and gave no details of casualties or of the number of hostages freed.

A man identifying himself as "an army spokesman" said that the installations captured by the rebels had all been retaken by troops loyal to President Rene and declared: "The rebellion has been crushed."

The spokesman said some rebels had escaped into the bush on Mahe island and mopping-up operations were continuing.

Earlier it was reported that Tanzania had flown two plane loads of troops to help the Seychelles loyalist forces fight the rebel soldiers who were barricaded in the radio station building.

The radio station was the focus of heavy gunfire, including shelling. The hostages included mercenaries under sentence of death after last year's abortive coup led by Mike Hoare.

In Durban, Seychellois in contact with the islands said that the battle had claimed civilian lives as Tanzanian troops had shelled residential areas.

The additional Tanzanian troops were sent by President Julius Nyerere to reinforce a Tanzanian training team of about 100 men which was believed to have spearheaded the Seychelles Government's counter attack on army mutineers.

The first fresh Tanzanians arrived at Seychelles international airport aboard a military transport plane at about 2 am today, the source in the capital said. A second aircraft flew in during the morning.

An expatriate living in Victoria said today that nearly all broadcasts from Radio Seychelles this morning were in Creole. They included repeated calls to President Rene to negotiate personally for the release of the prisoners.

The rebels were demanding the sacking of senior officers who "treated up like pigs" but there had been increasing speculation that their real target was the overthrow of President Rene.

They are also said to have demanded a government guarantee to give them safe passage out of the country and not to prosecute them.

By Brendan Nicholson,  
The Star's Africa News Service

# Mutineers Over as Rene Troops Free Hostages

18/8/82  
D Star

# REBEL BOSS TELLS

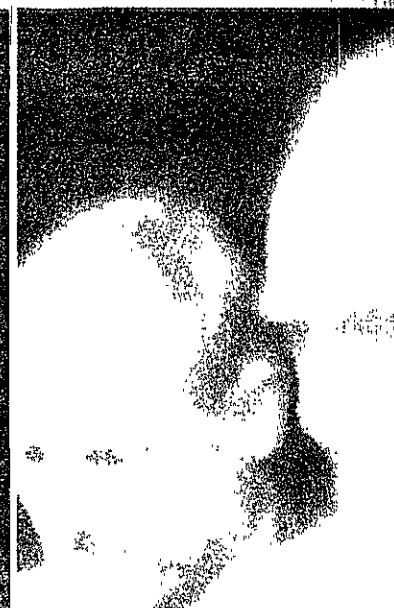
## Mercenaries are the pawns in new Seychelles coup bid



BERNARD CAREY... sentenced to death



AUBREY BROOKS (left) and ROGER ENGLAND... sentenced to death



JEREMIAH PUREN... sentenced to death

# MAIL: WE'LL BLOW THEM UP

**THE Seychelles rebel leader, Sergeant George Nichole, last night threatened to blow up six South African mercenaries being held in the country unless Pretoria backed his pre-dawn coup.**

As he spoke to the Rand Daily Mail in a dramatic exclusive telephone interview last night — shortly after his rebels seized the mercenaries and 239 civilian hostages after launching their bid to oust President Albert Rene — his soldiers were coming under heavy fire from 175 Tanzanian loyalist troops

**EXCLUSIVE**  
By EUGENE HUGO and GEOFFREY ALLEN

Sgt Nichole's demands, including a request for troops and armaments — were conveyed by the Rand Daily Mail to South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, at the request of the rebels

We are demanding South African intervention before we will release the hostages if we don't get it, we blow them up," he said

Late last night Mr Botha was still studying a further request for the South African Government to telephone the rebel leader in his besieged headquarters — the Seychelles Radio station

While the rebels desperately sought help, the quaint capital of Victoria was being torn by heavy calibre shells and mortar fire from loyalist gun emplacements

As eyewitnesses reported heavy rebel casualties an American diplomat said "The centre of the city is under a pall of smoke. The

French ambassador in the Seychelles told the French Foreign Ministry by telephone that President Rene had returned to Mahe from Sime Island 400km away and had begun negotiating with the rebels

The only Rene government official the Mail managed to contact as the fighting raged on was, ironically, Attorney-General Mr Bernard Rassool — the man who successfully prosecuted the mercenaries

Mr Rassool said he had been unable to contact any government colleagues and none had contacted him "I don't know what is going on," he said from his home

The latest coup attempt — the third in five years — came while the Seychellois are still staggering under the effects of Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare's abortive strikeforce attack in November last year

The six mercenaries captured in November are South African spy Martin Dolin-

chek and Robert Sims who are serving jail terms, and Jeremiah Puren, Roger England, Aubrey Brooks and Bernard Carey, who are under sentence of death

In his dramatic conversation with the Mail, Sgt Nichole pleaded "Please help us, please help us, send soldiers, soldiers!"

Sgt Nichole has exclusively identified himself to the Mail as the self-proclaimed future leader of the Seychelles

And he admitted for the first time that radio broadcasts pledging loyalty to President Rene were simply a ploy to get their hands on the socialist president, last known to be somewhere on the Indian Ocean islands

This followed a chaotic 24 hours in which the estimated 200 rebels led by non-commissioned officers

Seized control of the Pointe Larue airport, the Seychelles Radio Station, the International Cable and Wireless communications headquarters and the power station

Imposed a 24-hour curfew which kept Seychelles officials, civilians and holiday-makers indoors, fearfully awaiting developments

Closed the airport to all planes by blocking the runway with trucks and stopped island traffic with roadblocks

Mined the harbour, according to rebel radio broadcasts

Captured a number of Cabinet Ministers — said to include Defence Minister Mr Ogilvie Berlots and Information Minister Mr James Machel

Arrested a number of unnamed senior army officers said to include five majors

Grabbed what the rebels claimed were a group of 239 civilian hostages — among them radio technicians and operators and news staff of Radio Seychelles

Whipped the mercenaries from their solitary confinement cells on Death Row and hustled them to Radio Seychelles — late last night there was still no independent corroboration that the rebels were in fact holding the mercenaries, and

Threatened to blow them all up if their demands were not met

The Mail's bizarre telephone call to Sgt Nichole was made while he was directing his troops against attacking Tanzanian and loyalist forces and amid intermittent sounds of gunfire, explosions and shouting

This is how the conversation went:  
Mail: May we speak to your leader, please?  
Nichole: I am Sgt George, the rebel leader.

Mail: How many of you are there and what are your objectives?  
Nichole: We are 200 and we are holding 239 hostages. We are holding also South Afri-

To Page 2



MARTIN DOLINCHEK... Jailed SA agent

By BRUCE STEPHENSON  
London Bureau

LONDON. — Tourists confined to their hotels in the Seychelles were staying calm in the confused situation, a tourist guide said from a Mahe hotel yesterday

Mr Maurice Reed, speaking by telephone to a London radio station, said the 350 British tourists had been confined to their hotels by police but firm soldiers

They heard the rattle of gunfire and explosions in the town, but as the tourist hotels were mostly outside Victoria they had no idea of who had been responsible for the shooting

"The tourists have taken over the hotel. The French have taken over the restaurant as one of their group is a master chef from Paris the British have taken over the

## Tourists stay calm as gunfire rocks Victoria

bars and we're all mopping up and making our own beds," he said

"The management — very sensibly — have parked a car across the entrance to the car park so we cannot move out of the area, but we may use the beach in front of the hotel. The 24-hour curfew means that no staff can get here

"A New Zealand naval lieutenant-commander Ken Mudge has taken over the hotel and is running everything perfectly

Outside the hotel the roads

were deserted, he said. But people were calm. Many of the tourists were Kenyan residents, who had come to the islands to escape the political tensions there

Hotel Management International which owns two hotels on the islands, was in contact by telex with its managers yesterday to ensure the safety of their guests

HMI manager Mr Roger Willets said in London yesterday he would assume the atmosphere was rather confused and tense because of hearsay information but he

did not believe that the safety of hotel guests was threatened

A Seychelles hotel manager said loyal troops had warned him that his staff and guests should not leave the hotel grounds

Mr John Carlin said there were roadblocks near the ocean side of Coral Strand Hotel which has 120 guests, mainly British, German, Swiss and Austrian

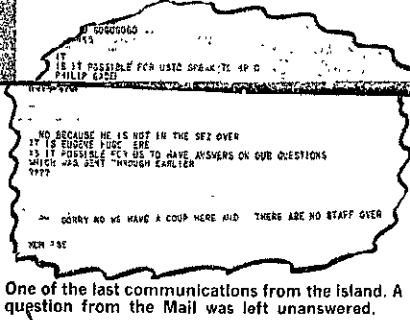
In a telephone interview he said several soldiers armed with automatic rifles arrived

in a mini bus and warned that staff and guests should not leave the grounds. The troops were very pleasant

The staff who were on duty when the curfew started have not been able to get home, so they are working overtime. At the moment the guests are calm but if the goes on they could be alarmed

Meanwhile Mr Nicholas Fairbairn a lawyer and Conservative member of the British Parliament, and who was defence counsel in the recent mercenary trial, said yesterday "An armed coup was always very much on the cards. The climate could have been more inviting

The entire population was rife with mistrust and fear. It was appalling. No-one dared talk to his neighbour for fear of being betrayed. Bugging was commonplace and everybody was a double agent



One of the last communications from the island. A question from the Mail was left unanswered.

# Rene

# Three bids made to topple

Chief Reporter

THE rebellion in the Seychelles follows three recorded efforts to topple the government of President Albert Rene since he himself grabbed power in 1977, in a coup in which President James Mancham was deposed — while attending a Commonwealth conference in London.

In the third of these coup attempts, last November, a number of South African-based and other mercenaries were involved and the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said last month that action would be taken against SA Defence Force officials who supplied arms and other equipment to the group.

This most-recent coup attempt led to a hijack drama at Louis Botha airport in Durban, with the arrest of most of the mercenaries and the subsequent conviction of the leader, Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare, and 41 of his men, under the Civil Aviation Offences Act.

At Victoria, in the Seychelles, four of Colonel Hoare's mercenaries who were taken prisoner during the coup attempt have been sentenced to death for treason and another member of this group, Martin Dolincheh, a self-confessed South African "spy", has been given a 20-year jail sentence for aiding and abetting the bungled coup.

The setting for this series of attempts at seizure of power is a cluster of 92 small islands which constitute one of the greatest prizes of all in the desperate struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union for military domination of the Indian Ocean.

The importance of the islands, the main industry of which is tourism, lies in their position about 1 000 sea-miles east of Tanzania and astride the main route for oil tankers plying between the Persian Gulf and Western Europe and North America.

The reasons for the coup that brought Albert Rene to power in 1977 were to be found in the differing political philosophies of Mancham and himself. Mancham's support was drawn from businessmen and conservative islanders sympathetic to a capitalist approach to economic issues, while Rene drew support from the labouring classes and socialist-inclined intellectuals.

President Nyerere of Tanzania is said to have played an influential role in the 1977 coup, after which Albert Rene's Seychelles People's United Party (SPUP) transformed itself into the Seychelles People's Progressive Party (SPP) and became the country's only political party.

The best-documented of the recorded attempts to overthrow the Rene regime since it came to power was that of April 1978, when 20 mercenaries, helped by local sympathizers, planned to overthrow the government while President Rene was on a visit to Red China.

A further coup attempt was reported in November 1979. There were strong allegations that ex-president Mancham, living in exile in London, collaborated with South Africans in this effort. Both Mancham and Pretoria denied the allegations.

In the wake of that attempt, the Rene government detained 12 French Marine instructors, arrested 100 people and closed a weekly newspaper.

In a recent assessment of the situation in the Seychelles, the South African Institute of International Affairs said the Rene government clearly faced considerable opposition from exiled movements and the country's small middle class.

About 28 000 former residents in the Seychelles were thought to be in exile, "most probably in Britain", the institute said.



# NP face crucial reform test in Germiston today

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Reporter

VOTERS in Germiston District go to the polls today in one of the most important by-elections ever held in South Africa.

Although the poll is to elect a new Transvaal provincial councillor, the real choice will be between the Government's plan to share power with coloureds and Asians, and the traditional strict apartheid ideal that brought the National Party to power 34 years ago.

The result will be seen as representative of voter attitudes in urban areas throughout the country. An NP defeat, or a poor poll, could slow down or even stop NP reform plans. The election is also likely to mean the end of one or other of the two parties to the Right of the NP.

The election is being contested by the NP, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

It is the first electoral contest between the three since the NP split in February, and will also test for the first time voter reaction to the NP's new constitutional deal.

Last night the leaders of the CP and the HNP, Dr Andries Treurnicht and Mr Jaap Marais, and the Transvaal NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk, made final calls for support.

Mr De Klerk said far more than the election of an MPC was at stake.

"The key question is not if white rights should be protected. The NP will do just that. The question is how to do this effectively," he said.

Mr Marais said the HNP

was the only party that had consistently fought for white rights.

He said HNP canvass figures made him confident that the party would do well and come out "possibly just under the NP".

Dr Treurnicht said he was "very optimistic".

"We believe the voters must speak out in favour of separate development and full self-determination for whites," he said.

The outcome of the election is likely to be significantly influenced by three factors:

- Between 4 000 and 5 000 of the 15 700 registered voters have left the area and are unlikely to be traced. This could lead to a relatively low turnout which is likely to harm the NP most;

- About 40% of the registered voters are English-speaking. The Progressive Federal Party claims about 1 500 supporters, and the New Republic Party believes a major slice of the 40% are its followers. The PFP has given a free choice to its supporters, and the NRP Transvaal leader, Mr Alec Anderson, advised NRP followers yesterday to "choose the lesser of three evils";

- The "he factor" — people not telling canvassers truthfully who they will vote for — could count most heavily against the NP. Many voters are known to be extremely confused by the NP's "new deal".

The candidates are Mr Willem Guy (CP), Mr Jack Myburgh (HNP) and Mr Flip van der Walt (NP)

News by Chris Freimond, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.

## Where you can vote

Political Reporter

SEVEN polling stations will be available for voters in Germiston District for today's provincial by-election.

They are

- The Frans van Rensburg hall on the corner of Beaconsfield and Shamrock Streets, Primrose;
- Wychwood Laerskool on the corner of Senator and Home Streets, Wychwood;

- Driehoek Laerskool on the corner of Innes and Junction Streets, Driehoek;

- The Community Hall in Government Village, Germiston;

- The Elandia Laerskool in Lennox Street, Dinwiddie;

- Elsburg Laerskool, Brug Street, Elsburg;

- Elspark Laerskool, Raven Street, Elspark.

News by Chris Freimond, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.

# Gunfire again on holiday islands

From Page 1

can mercenaries.

Mail: You mean...

Nichole: Yah sure... those ones sentenced to death.

Mail: Who is going to be your leader, President Rene?

Nichole: No, no, I am the leader... we want President Rene out, we want the Cabinet out, we want the army leadership out, we want the entire government out...

Mail: What is your full name Sergeant?

Nichole: I am Sgt George Nichole

Mail: What about President Rene? Are you searching for him... are you using a gunboat to find him?

Nichole: If we had control of a gunboat we would look for him. We don't know where he is. He is somewhere in the Indian Ocean.

Mail: What is the situation now? Are you under attack?

Nichole: Yes, yes we are under heavy fire. We need help... you must get us help. We want help from the South African Government.

Mail: Have you been in touch with the South African Government?

Nichole: We have been trying, but we can't get through. You must get through to them. Then ask them to telephone me here. Give them my number.

Mail: Help from the South African Government! What do you want from them?

Nichole: We need reinforcements. We want troops... guns. We are under attack... everything is being thrown at us... 7,62 mortars, artillery.

Mail: Can you hold out?

Pause...

Nichole: We have captured the radio station, power station, and Cable and Wireless.

We are demanding help... help from South Africa.

Mail: Help from South Africa? What sort of help?

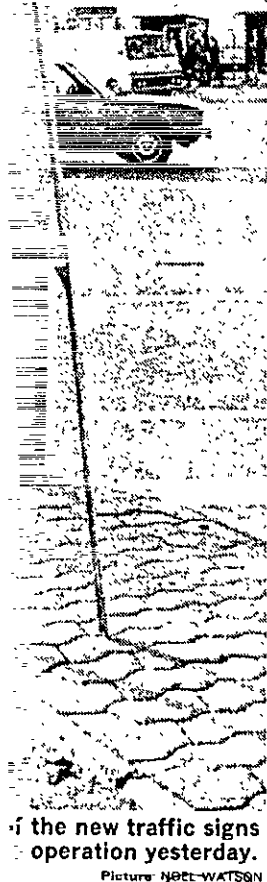
Nichole: Soldiers, soldiers. We need soldiers from South Africa to back us. There are many wounded on our side. I don't know how many, we haven't counted... some of them bad. We demand South African intervention for the release of the hostages.

Mail: If the South Africans don't agree to help you... If they say that they cannot, what will you do with the hostages.

Nichole: If our demands are met they all go free. If we don't get it we blow them up...

The rebel sergeant then told the Mail he was bringing the mercenaries to the telephone so we could speak to them.

Then, chillingly, the telephone link suddenly went dead and telex links which



of the new traffic signs operation yesterday.  
Picture: NOEL WATSON

# Years of stay-away when Ford plant re-opens

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN  
Labour Correspondent

FORD workers in Port Elizabeth yesterday happily attacked the retrenchment of 507 colleagues and there are fears that they will

Ford's industrial relations director, Mr Fred Ferreira.

Although demand for new vehicles had been high in June and July, Ford believed this trend was "artificial" and that demand would drop markedly

portant by-elections ever held in South Africa.

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The result will be seen as representative of voter attitudes in urban areas throughout the country. An NP defeat, or a poor poll, could slow down or even stop NP reform plans. The election is also likely to mean the end of one or other of the two parties to the Right of the NP.

The election is being contested by the NP, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

It is the first electoral contest between the three since the NP split in February, and will also test for the first time voter reaction to the NP's new constitutional deal.

Last night the leaders of the CP and the HNP, Dr Andries Treurnicht and Mr Jaap Marais, and the Transvaal NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk, made final calls for support.

Mr De Klerk said far more than the election of an MPC was at stake.

"The key question is not if white rights should be protected. The NP will do just that. The question is how to do this effectively," he said.

Mr Marais said the HNP

come out possibly just under the NP".

Dr Treurnicht said he was "very optimistic".

"We believe the voters must speak out in favour of separate development and full self-determination for whites," he said.

The outcome of the election is likely to be significantly influenced by three factors:

● Between 4 000 and 5 000 of the 15 700 registered voters have left the area and are unlikely to be traced. This could lead to a relatively low turnout which is likely to harm the NP most;

● About 40% of the registered voters are English-speaking. The Progressive Federal Party claims about 1 500 supporters, and the New Republic Party believes a major slice of the 40% are its followers. The PFP has given a free choice to its supporters, and the NRP Transvaal leader, Mr Alec Anderson, advised NRP followers yesterday to "choose the lesser of three evils";

● The "lie factor" — people not telling canvassers truthfully who they will vote for — could count most heavily against the NP. Many voters are known to be extremely confused by the NP's "new deal".

The candidates are Mr Willem Guy (CP), Mr Jack Myburgh (HNP) and Mr Flip van der Walt (NP).

News by Chris Freimond, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.

## Where you can vote

### Political Reporter

SEVEN polling stations will be available for voters in Germiston District for today's provincial by-election.

They are:

- The Frans van Rensburg hall on the corner of Beaconsfield and Shamrock Streets, Primrose;
- Wychwood Laerskool on the corner of Senator and Home Streets, Wychwood;

● Driehoek Laerskool on the corner of Innes and Junction Streets, Driehoek;

● The Community Hall in Government Village, Germiston;

● The Elandia Laerskool in Lennox Street, Dinwiddie;

● Elsburg Laerskool, Brug Street, Elsburg;

● Elspark Laerskool, Raven Street, Elspark.

News by Chris Freimond, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.

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Ford's industrial relations director, Mr Fred Ferreira.

Although demand for new vehicles had been high in June and July, Ford believed this trend was "artificial" and that demand would drop markedly.

Mr Ferreira said Ford had told unions at its plants that some form of mid-year labour cutback was probable.

But yesterday, Ford's Naawu members rejected this. They believe the Ford layoffs are a ploy to "sow division among workers during the current dispute". At a meeting they called for the immediate reinstatement of all laid-off workers and employer consultation with worker leaders before staff cutbacks.

He said the union would be seeking a meeting with Ford on the issue and added that Naawu had "an unwritten agreement" with Ford that it would be consulted about the retrenchment of workers.

● Meanwhile, Sapa reports Naawu has been negotiating with the Goodyear tyre company in Uitenhage over its plans to retrench 75 workers.

Mail: Who is going to be your leader, President Rene?

Nichole: No, no, I am the leader... we want President Rene out, we want the Cabinet out, we want the army leadership out, we want the entire government out...

Mail: What is your full name Sergeant?

Nichole: I am Sgt George Nichole.

Mail: What about President Rene? Are you searching for him... are you using a gunboat to find him?

Nichole: If we had control of a gunboat we would look for him. We don't know where he is. He is somewhere in the Indian Ocean.

Mail: What is the situation now? Are you under attack?

Nichole: Yes, yes we are under heavy fire. We need help... you must get us help. We want help from the South African Government.

Mail: Have you been in touch with the South African Government?

Nichole: We have been trying, but we can't get through. You must get through to them. Then ask them to telephone me here. Give them my number.

Mail: Help from the South African Government! What do you want from them?

Nichole: We need reinforcements. We want troops... guns. We are under attack... everything is being thrown at us... 7,62 mortars, artillery.

Mail: Can you hold out?

Pause....

Nichole: We have captured the radio station, power station, and Cable and Wireless. We are demanding help... help from South Africa.

Mail: Help from South Africa? What sort of help?

Nichole: Soldiers, soldiers. We need soldiers from South Africa to back us. There are many wounded on our side. I don't know how many, we haven't counted... some of them bad. We demand South African intervention for the release of the hostages.

Mail: If the South Africans don't agree to help you... If they say that they cannot, what will you do with the hostages.

Nichole: If our demands are met they all go free. If we don't get it we blow them up...

The rebel sergeant then told the Mail he was bringing the mercenaries to the telephone so we could speak to them.

Then, chillingly, the telephone link suddenly went dead and telex links which had been open throughout the day were cut minutes later.

In earlier radio broadcasts the rebels threatened to blow up the petrol depots near the airport if two of President Rene's sons were not delivered to them, according to a diplomat who did not want named.

The latest coup bid came after signs of unrest among army officers, including angry outbursts against President Rene, when Col Hoare's mercenary "banker", Mrs Susan Ingles, was freed without trial and sent home to South Africa in July.

# Rene returns to see rebels

CAPE Times 18/8/82

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — President Albert Rene of the Seychelles is expected back in the capital of the islands today to negotiate with mutinous troops who yesterday seized the Seychelles radio station and threatened to kill 239 hostages.

The Minister of Planning and Development, Mr Maxine Ferrari, told the Rand Daily Mail that he had spoken to President Rene at his holiday island home last night when communications were restored and that he had an assurance that the president would return to Victoria today.

Mr Ferrari was the first cabinet minister to speak to a newspaper since the coup attempt started 24 hours ago.

Mr Ferrari said he had been allowed to broadcast over Radio Seychelles by the rebels and had appealed to Tanzanian and loyal forces to stop harassing the dissidents while they considered his own broadcast offer to lay down their arms and return to their camps.

He said he made it clear that if the rebels surrender they face punishment by the army.

He said the rebels had agreed to negotiate with President Rene only if they were allowed to keep their weapons.

"I have told them that there can be negotiations provided they relinquish their weapons," Mr Ferrari said.

"The rebels have given up all their strongholds except the Seychelles radio station and the army camp where the South African mercenaries are being held separately from the other hostages."

## Holiday home

He said he had no knowledge of cabinet ministers being held under house arrest.

Since the Cable and Wireless international communications headquarters had been relinquished by the rebels

Mr Ferrari said that since last Friday President Rene had been at his holiday home.

"I think it is clear that these people are giving up," he said.

In a radio broadcast monitored in Durban, the rebels earlier threatened to release Mike Hoare's six jailed mercenaries and to execute 239 hostages — thought to be pro-Rene officials — if the president did not return to Victoria and sack several army officers and ministers.

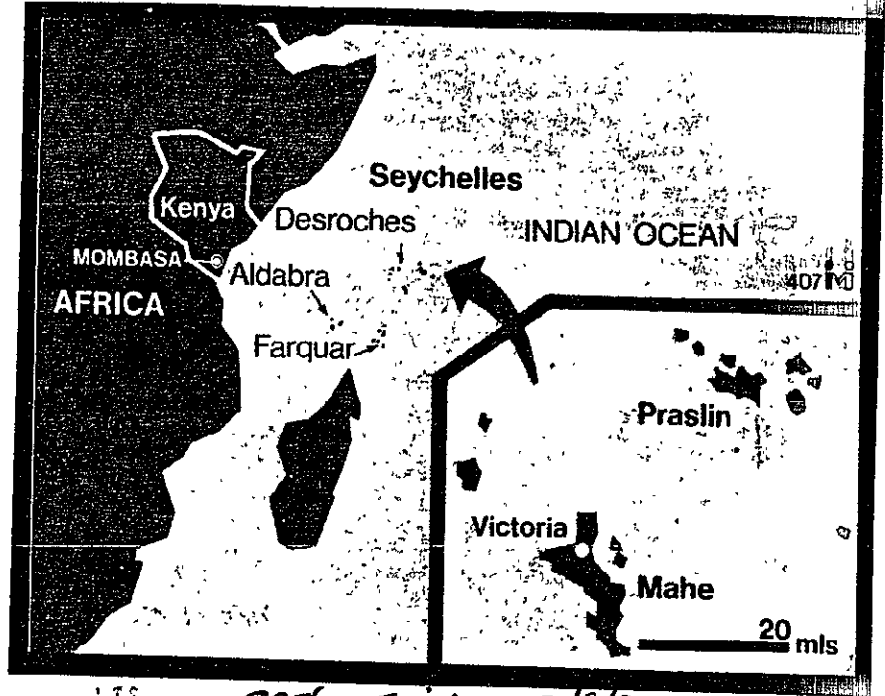
## 'SA assistance'

But in a telephone interview later, the rebel leader, Sergeant George Nichole, threatened to kill the mercenaries unless the rebels received South African assistance.

He claimed the rebels had already seized the mercenaries.

Four mercenaries face the death sentence: Bernard Carey, Jerry Puren, Aubrey Brookes and Roger England. Martin Dolinchek, the self-confessed National Intelligence Service agent from Durban, is serving 20 years for treason and Durban racehorse trainer Robert Sims is serving 10 years for importing arms into the Seychelles.

Their fate last night was



# Leader speaks to SA in telephone interview

CAPE Times 18/8/82

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The Seychelles rebel leader, Sergeant George Nichole, said in an interview last night that he would blow up the six mercenaries held there after the recent abortive coup unless Pretoria backed his coup.

He was speaking in a telephone interview soon after the rebels had seized the six mercenaries and 239 civilian hostages after launching their pre-dawn bid to oust President Albert Rene.

Sergeant Nichole's demands — including a request for troops and armaments — were conveyed to the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, at the rebels' request.

"We are demanding South African intervention before we will release the hostages. If we don't get it, we blow them up," he said.

Late last night Mr Botha was still studying a further request for



President Rene

Attorney-General Mr Bernard Rassool — the man who successfully prosecuted the mercenaries.

Mr Rassool said he had been unable to contact any of his government colleagues and none had contacted him. "I don't know what is going on," he said from his home.

In his dramatic telephone conversation, Sergeant Nichole pleaded: "Please help us, please help us... send soldiers, soldiers."

He had identified himself as the self-proclaimed future Seychelles leader.

Diplomatic sources in Nairobi said President Rene was on the island of Amirantes, but sources in the Seychelles said he had in fact gone to another of the 92 islands in the archipelago.

The rebel sergeant said he was bringing the mercenaries to the telephone so that we could speak to them.

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the radio station. While the rebels desperately sought help, the quaint capital Victoria was being torn by heavy calibre shells and mortar fire from Tanzanian and loyalist troop gun emplacements.

There were eyewitness reports of heavy rebel casualties and a United States diplomat said: "The centre of the city is under a pall of smoke. The fighting is very

CAPE Times 18/8/82

# to see <sup>①</sup> rebels

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## Holiday home

He said he had no knowledge of cabinet ministers being held under house arrest.

Since the Cable and Wireless international communications headquarters had been relinquished by the rebels earlier in the night, all communications had been restored and he had spoken to colleagues.

Mr Ferrari said that since last Friday President Rene had been at his holiday home.

"I think it is clear that these people are giving up," he said.

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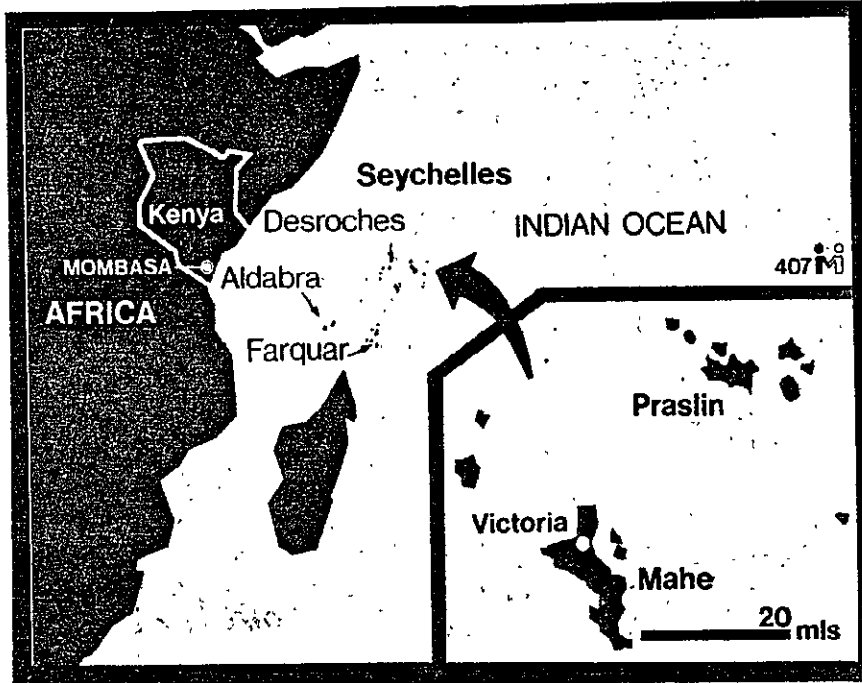
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CAPE Times 18/8/82

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"We are demanding South African intervention before we will release the hostages... if we don't get it, we blow them up," he said.

Late last night Mr Botha was still studying a further request for a member of the South African Government to telephone Sergeant Nichole in his besieged headquarters at



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the radio station. While the rebels desperately sought help, the quaint capital Victoria was being torn by heavy calibre shells and mortar fire from Tanzanian and loyalist troop gun emplacements.

There were eyewitness reports of heavy rebel casualties and a United States diplomat said: "The centre of the city is under a pall of smoke. The fighting is very fierce."

The only Rene government official who could be reached as the fighting raged was, ironically, the



# Shirley Williams <sup>16</sup> cancels SA visit

By BRUCE STEPHENSON  
London Bureau

LONDON. — A top British politician has yielded to anti-apartheid pressure and pulled out of next month's conference in Pretoria on "Foreign Affairs and Africa".

Mrs Shirley Williams, a founder member of the Social Democratic Party and former Labour Cabinet Minister, is Britain's most popular political figure.

Now she has pulled out of the conference — organised by the South African Institute of International Affairs — because the Government-sponsored Council for Scientific and Industrial Research is involved.

Anti-South African campaigners in London were claiming a major victory yesterday, and said they would redouble efforts to pressurise other international speakers to withdraw.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement in Europe and America plans to publicise the attendance of the former US Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger, former Rhodesian Cabinet Minister Mr David Smith, and Professor Michael Howard of Oxford University.

Mrs Williams said in London she had accepted the invitation from the SAIIA because she felt it was an independent organisation with "a fine record".

Originally she had agreed to come only if she could address multiracial audiences, and if African leaders would take part.

But she had since discovered the conference would be held at the CSIR, and that its president, Dr Chris Garbers, was to speak.

In view of the CSIR's links with research into defence and internal security, and its Government funding, she could not take part.

But she would release her speech shortly before the conference began, she said yesterday.

Mulder, ushers two voters to the Conservative Party stall during yesterday's

Picture: NOEL WATSON

## METRO MAIL

### British schoolgirls in SA to play squash

SQUASH fans please note — a Transvaal womens' squash side will be playing the visiting British schoolgirls' team at the Wanderers squash courts this afternoon. Play begins at 2.30. Spectators are welcome and entry is free. Invitation Transvaal mens' and womens' squash sides will play the SA National under-19 schoolgirls and schoolboys side at the Chamber of Mines courts on Friday from 2.30pm.

### And a champ will coach

GEOFF Hunt, Australian seven-time winner of the World Squash title and eight-time winner of the SA Open title, will be conducting a clinic at the Barrets Squash Centre, Northcliff Cezner, tomorrow from 9am to noon.

day. There will be piping, drumming, highland dancing and massed bands.

### Insurance meeting

THE Insurance and Assurance Workers' Union (IAWU) will hold its first annual meeting at St Alban's Anglican Church, Johannesburg, at 4.30pm tomorrow. A spokesman for the union said yesterday that all black workers of the insurance and assurance industry were invited to attend. Among the items to be discussed at the meeting is the constitution and the relevance of trade unions in insurance and assurance industry. St Alban's Church is at the end of Anderson Street, near the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court.

### Shortage of vaccine

THE polio scare in Springs has resulted in a shortage of vaccine at the Springs Health Department, and some people arriving for immunisation have had to be turned away.

## Tax delays cathedral's new window

CAPE TOWN. — The Government has imposed an import surcharge and sales tax of more than R2 500 on the Lord Mountbatten memorial stained glass window for St George's Cathedral, Cape

Hostages safe as Rene takes control

# Coup bid

# fails: rebels

# Surrender

BY EUGENE HUGO

PRESIDENT Albert Rene was firmly reinstalled in the Seychelles last night after Tanzanian and loyalist troops put down the second coup bid on the islands in less than nine months.

Tanzanian reinforcements sent by President Julius Nyerere apparently gave loyalist forces the added impetus to win back the rebel headquarters at the Seychelles radio station and free the claimed 239 hostages held there.

Simultaneously, diplomats reported that Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare's six mercenaries in solitary confinement on the islands were believed to be unharmed following rebel threats to "blow them up" if their demands were not met.

Attorney-General Mr Bernard Rassool said he presumed the mercenaries — four of whom face the death penalty — were still at the Unionvale army barracks where they have been held since their June trial.

And other key points previously in rebel hands — Point Laue airport, the police headquarters, the Cable and Wireless centre, the fuel depot and the Unionvale Army barracks — were back under government control.

But the 24 hour curfew remained in force, and the airport was closed to international traffic last night.

Diplomatic sources told the Rand Daily Mail there were certainly dead and wounded, but the Victoria hospital had reported that all casualties were military.

Rebel troops led by non-commissioned officers, claiming they had been "treated like pigs" and demanding the sacking of certain senior officers, launched their coup bid at 4am on Tuesday by grabbing the radio station.

But after intermittent pitched battles lasting about 35 hours, the abortive coup stuttered to a halt — the rebels relinquished key points one by one before finally handing back the radio station at about 3pm yesterday.

Shortly before they capitulated the rebels threatened to execute two junior army officers they were holding hostage. Desperate pleas for help from South Africa by rebel leader Sergeant George Nichole late on Tuesday — interspersed with the sounds of gunfire — gave the first indication that the coup bid might be failing.

Then followed broadcasts by two Cabinet Ministers — Defence Minister Mr Ogilvie Berlouis and Minister of Planning and Development, Mr Maxine Ferrari — appealing for the local population not to get involved and for the rebels to lay down their arms and surrender.

And President Rene returned to the Seychelles to be whisked to Victoria under armed escort for a final confrontation with the rebels.

But fighting continued sporadically yesterday with the last burst of firing reported at 5pm Seychelles time as government forces continued mopping-up operations.

Two Tanzanian troop carriers flew in yesterday morning to join the estimated 175 already on the Seychelles for an assault on the radio station. But they and government troops were driven off as the rebels, apparently running out of ammunition, put up a desperate last battle.

Late last night many of the rebels, claimed by their leader to number 200, had been rounded up with security forces continuing to flush out individuals who managed to escape the initial dragnet.

A diplomat said there appeared to be no political motive behind the coup bid.

"But these young soldiers certainly appear to have had a more efficient plan than the mercenaries of Col Hoare."

A communique announcing the end of the rebellion labelled the rebels as "a small group of irresponsible soldiers at Unionvale Army Camp" but gave no indications of the size of the force.

① 204 19/8/62



Tanzanian reinforcements sent by President Julius Nyerere apparently gave loyalist forces the impetus needed to win back the rebel headquarters at Seychelles Radio Station and free 239 hostages.

At the same time diplomats reported that Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare's six mercenaries in solitary confinement on the islands were believed to be unharmed following rebel threats to "blow them up".

The Attorney-General, Mr Bernard Rassool, said he presumed the mercenaries, four of whom face the death penalty, were still at the Unionvale Army Barracks where they have been held since June.

Other key points previously in rebel hands — the Pointe Larue Airport, the police headquarters, the Cable and Wireless centre, the fuel depot and the Unionvale Army Barracks — were back under government control.

#### Curfew

But the 24-hour curfew remained in force and the airport closed to international traffic last night.

A French naval vessel was reported steaming towards the Seychelles in response to a request to President Francois Mitterrand.

Rebel troops claiming that they had been "treated like pigs" and demanding the sacking of certain senior army officers launched their coup bid at 4am on Tuesday by grabbing the radio station.

#### Battles

But after several pitched battles the unsuccessful attack stuttered to a halt when the rebels relinquished key points one by one before handing back the radio station about 3pm yesterday.

In radio broadcasts the rebels had claimed they were still loyal to President Rene who was holidaying on Sime Island 400km away.

Rebel leader Sergeant George Nichole told a Cape Times correspondent in Johannesburg,

however, that his group wanted to oust the entire government.

Diplomatic sources said there were certainly dead and wounded but that Victoria Hospital had reported that all casualties were military.

Late last night many of the rebels, claimed by their leader to number 200, had been rounded up.

President Rene returned to the Seychelles to be whisked to Victoria under armed escort for a final confrontation with the rebels.

Fighting continued sporadically yesterday with the last burst of firing reported at 5pm Seychelles time as government forces continued mopping-up operations.

A diplomatic source said he had been told that casualties could be as low as 10. Some loyal soldiers had been killed and a number of rebels killed and wounded in the battles which raged intermittently for 35 hours.

Two aircraft carrying Tanzanian troops were brought in yesterday morning to join the estimated 175 already on the Seychelles for an assault on the radio station.

But they and government troops were driven off as the rebels, apparently running out of ammunition, put up a desperate last battle.

The objectives of the rebels remain obscure but Seychelles officials are maintaining that they were merely soldiers who mutinied because they were disgruntled over service conditions.

#### Communique

A communique announcing the end of the rebellion labelled the rebels as "a small group of irresponsible soldiers at Unionvale Army Camp".

Holidaymakers were reported to be back on the beaches yesterday and, apart from minor discomforts, relatively unaffected by the uprising.

JOHANNESBURG. — President Albert Rene was firmly reinstalled in the Seychelles last night after Tanzanian and loyalist troops put down the second coup bid on the islands in less than nine months.

From EUGENE HUGO

**Rene back  
in control**

Cape Times 19/8/82 (1)



# Spy hero of island coup



By RAY JOSEPH

S. Times  
22/8/82

THE former South African secret agent Martin Dolincheck — jailed for 20 years for his part in last year's Seychelles coup fiasco — has emerged as one of the heroes in helping put down this week's military rebellion on the island.

At the height of the battle for the Union Vale army barracks — where the mutiny began before dawn on Tuesday — Dolincheck, who was released by the renegade soldiers along with the other five jailed mercenaries, risked his life to save loyal Seychelles troops threatened with execution by the rebels.

Dolincheck, dressed in a stolen Seychelles army uniform, released Lieutenant Yvon Marie "and one or two others" from their cells, made them coffee — and then fled to safety with Lt Marie.

Dolincheck handed himself over several hours later to loyal government troops fighting a pitched battle to recapture the island's radio station and army barracks.

## Threatened

Lt Marie was one of the army officers threatened with execution by the rebels if their demands were not met.

The demands, broadcast from the captured radio station, included the dismissal of several senior army officers and cabinet ministers and a call for President Albert Rene to deal directly with the rebels.

The other mercenaries — including three condemned to death for treason for their parts in last year's



MARTIN DOLINCHECK  
Risky life

abortive coup — were offered arms by the rebels to join in the battle. But they refused.

The mercenaries, who handed themselves over to loyal forces after they recaptured the radio station and barracks, are back in their cells at Union Vale.

Martin Dolincheck's role in saving the army officer was recounted to the head of Seychelles Radio news — Mr Mohamed Afif — by President Rene.

Mr Afif said: "The President told me the mercenaries were, in fact, freed by the rebels and offered arms ... but they refused the offer."

He said President Rene also told him that Martin Dolincheck had released one of the hostages.

Mr Afif added: "Later, other eye-witnesses told me how Dolincheck had changed into a Seychelles Army uniform to help Lt Marie escape."

Mr Afif asked President Rene whether he might reconsider the death sentences on the mercenaries?

## Over-joyed

"He just laughed," Mr Afif said, "but I detected that he was very impressed by what Dolincheck had done and by the fact that the mercenaries, although freed by the rebels, had refused to take up arms."

Seychelles Radio journalist John Lablache, who lives a short distance from the army camp captured by the rebels, told me:

"I saw Martin Dolincheck, whom I had seen in court often, lurking around for several hours near a shop close to my house.

"He was dressed in the uniform of a Seychelles soldier and was with another man, also in uniform.

"Some of my friends spoke to Lt Marie, who told them that Dolincheck had saved his life by releasing him from his cell.

"Several hours later some of the loyal forces arrived. They wanted to handcuff Dolincheck, but the lieutenant stopped them."

Yesterday, Durban attorney Graham Fowles — who represented all the mercenaries, apart from Dolincheck, at their trial — was "over-joyed" that the men had refused to take up arms after the rebels' offer.

Mr Fowles also said he was pleased with President Rene's reaction to the mercenaries' decision.

Mr Fowles claimed that "a deal" on the lives of the four condemned mercenaries was "still on".

## TERROR ON THE ISLANDS

## SA couple trapped as rebels raid hotel

TWO South African tourists caught in the turmoil in the Seychelles this week returned to South Africa yesterday with tales of being trapped between the loyalist and rebel forces in the battle for control of the island group.

They told of:

- Running for cover when rebels entered their hotel, fired shots, and tried to rob the hotel safe.
- Hearing intermittent mortar fire.
- Seeing the rebels, dressed in camouflage uniforms and armed with AK-47s, demanding food and drink from hotel staff.

Mr Douglas Green, a director of

By PHILLIP GARDNER

liquor merchants Douglas Green, and his wife Ena, arrived in Johannesburg yesterday "pleased and relieved" to be home after spending three days trapped in their beachfront hotel by the army rebellion.

Their hotel was about 10km from Victoria.

The Greens arrived in Victoria on the last flight to the islands before the rebellion.

"We were waiting for our morning tea on Tuesday when we were told there had been a rebellion," Mr

Green said.

"Our biggest fear was that the rebels would take over the airport and prevent us getting out. But there was a large Tanzanian camp near the airport and the rebels were unsuccessful," Mr Green said.

"While we were having dinner on Tuesday night two rebels dressed in camouflage uniforms and armed with AK-47 rifles, came into the hotel and demanded food and drink," Mr Green said. The rebels were given what they wanted and left.

The hotel guests then formed vigilante groups to patrol the

premises.

"We were not sure how other rebels, or the Tanzanians, would react if they arrived at the hotel," Mr Green said.

Two planeloads of Tanzanian soldiers flew into Mahe on Wednesday morning to reinforce the government forces battling the rebels.

The curfew was lifted on Friday, and after a party given by the Seychelles Ministry of Tourism, the Greens flew out of the Seychelles early yesterday morning.

"It was not a pleasant experience. It's great to be home," said Mrs Green.

## Dolinchek a hero in Seychelles rebellion

By DESMOND BLOW

Chief Reporter

MARTIN Dolincheck, the South African secret agent who is serving 20 years' jail for his part in the abortive mercenary coup last November, has become the hero of Seychelles loyalist forces.

He risked his life to free an army officer during the rebellion by non-commissioned officers this week, several government sources have confirmed.

Dolincheck freed one of his captives, Major Emile Marie, who had been imprisoned by rebelling troops after soldiers revolted over alleged mistreatment by senior

army officers and captured vital installations on Mahe.

Details of Dolincheck's act have not yet been released, but he successfully smuggled Major Marie from Unionvale Army Prison to the army headquarters at Point la Rue about 10km away.

After the rebellion by about 70 non-commissioned officers and privates, the six mercenaries, including four on death row were invited to join the rebel forces.

All refused, but Dolincheck was released from the jail. He then risked his life to free Major Marie, who had been

jailed with the condemned men.

On Friday I spoke to Major Mark Marenga, the officer in charge of the mercenaries since they were captured last November.

He told me he had not been captured by the rebel forces and had not been involved in the fighting.

"I was at home when the rebellion began," he said, "and I stayed there until things were over. There was a lot of confusion as to what was happening."

He said that all the prisoners were in their cells and were in good health and

spirits.

A British Embassy representative, and the mercenaries' Seychellois attorney, Mr Kieran Shar, will see them early next week.

Mr Toni Beaudon, Information Officer for the Seychelles who was among 30 hostages taken by the rebels, said he had been forced to write reports to be broadcast over radio.

"I was telephoned at home

by the rebels after they had captured the radio station. They told me to come to the station or they would kill me, my wife and three children.

"I did — I had no choice. I heard the rebels telling a reporter who telephoned from South Africa that the South Africans should send more mercenaries to assist them."

UPI reported a Seychelles

## The islands are a powder keg, says Mancham

By BRUCE STEPHENSON

LONDON — President Albert René of the Seychelles is sitting on a "keg of powder" that is liable to explode at any moment.

This is the prediction of Mr James Mancham, the playboy Seychelles president who was toppled by Mr René in a coup in 1977.

Was he surprised that President René's troops should turn rebellious?

"No, I am not at all surprised," he said, speaking from Majorca. "The reigning administration has been sitting on a keg of powder.

"They have been a victim of their own creation. Ever since they toppled

me in 1977 they have built up an army which is out of proportion to the size of the population," he said.

"Over the years there has been systematic abuse of human rights. People have disappeared and most of the Seychellois are now living in exile. Hundreds of people have had to leave their homes and lands have been taken without compensation," he claimed.



● Mr and Mrs Douglas Green — glad to be home after being caught in the Seychelles uprising.

Picture by DOUG LEE

government spokesman as saying eight people — six soldiers and two civilians — died in the 36-hour rebellion.

Twenty-two people were wounded, including 13 rebels. They were all reported to be in a satisfactory condition.

Radio Seychelles has reported that "one or two" rebels could still be at large on Mahe.

An inquiry has started to discover the truth about the rebellion. Several government people do not believe it was a spontaneous uprising

...the islands to escape the po- resident, who had come to ... the management — very ... British tourists had been con- fined to their hotels by police ... but firm soldiers ... They heard the rattle of ... gunfire and explosions in the ... of the area, but we may use ... the beach in front of the ho- tel on the islands was in ... contact by road with its ... inside Victoria ... means that no staff can get ... ensure the safety of their ... guests ... HMI manager Mr Roger ... Wickers said in London ... the rebels would assume the ... atmosphere was ... thing perfectly ... from Paris the ... inside the hotel and a running ... they have taken ... of The French ... lieutenant commander ... He told me he had not ... been captured by the rebel ... forces and had not been ... involved in the fighting. ... "I was at home when the ... rebellion began," he said, ... "and I stayed there until ... things were over. There was ... a lot of confusion as to what ... was happening."

... he had been ... Major Marie, who had been ... mistreatment by senior ... rebelling troops after alleged ... who had been imprisoned by ... Major Emile Marie, ... Dolincheck freed one of his ... confirmed. ... several government sources ... of the rebellion by non-com- missioned officers this week, ... He risked his life to free ... an army officer during the ... Dolincheck, the South African ... secret agent who is serving 20 ... years' jail for his part in the ... abortive mercenary coup last ... November, has become the hero ... of Seychelles loyalist forces.

... UPI reported a Seychelles ... "They have been a victim of ... their own creation. Ever since ... they toppled ... the reigning administration ... has been sitting on a keg of ... powder. ... "No, I am not at all surprised," ... he said, speaking from Majorca. ... "The reigning administration ... has been sitting on a keg of ... powder.

... me in 1977 they have built up ... an army which is out of propo- ... rtion to the size of the popula- ... tion," he said. ... "Over the years there has been ... systematic abuse of human rights. ... People have disappeared and ... most of the Seychellois are now ... living in exile. Hundreds of ... people have had to leave their ... homes and lands have been ... taken without compensation," ... he claimed.

... Sgts Nicholas' demands ... including a request for ... British tourists had been con- ... fined to their hotels by police ... but firm soldiers ... They heard the rattle of ... gunfire and explosions in the ... of the area, but we may use ... the beach in front of the ho- ... tel on the islands was in ... contact by road with its ... inside Victoria ... means that no staff can get ... ensure the safety of their ... guests ... HMI manager Mr Roger ... Wickers said in London ... the rebels would assume the ... atmosphere was ... thing perfectly ... from Paris the ... inside the hotel and a running ... they have taken ... of The French ... lieutenant commander ... He told me he had not ... been captured by the rebel ... forces and had not been ... involved in the fighting. ... "I was at home when the ... rebellion began," he said, ... "and I stayed there until ... things were over. There was ... a lot of confusion as to what ... was happening."

GEOFFREY ALLEN

JOHANNESBURG. — The behaviour of six jailed mercenaries during the Seychelles army mutiny may have cleared the way for President Albert Rene eventually to pardon them.

Seychelles officials said in a telephone interview today that their Government was "very impressed" that the mercenaries refused to join the rebels who offered to set them free if they would take up arms with them.

Mr Ebrahim Afif, head of news for Radio Seychelles, said the Government was particularly impressed with the behaviour of South African National Intelligence Service agent Martin Dolincheck who was released from his cell by a sympathetic army guard.



Martin Dolincheck

Mr Afif said he thought the mercenaries were spared because the rebels hoped to use them as a trump card.

He explained that to islanders unused to military matters the mercenaries were seen as tough professionals who were potentially far more dangerous than members of the local army.

### In camp

Dolincheck and the other five men were being held in Union Vale army camp, where the mutiny began and which overlooks the radio station — the rebels' first objective.

Mr Afif said President Rene told him in an interview that Dolincheck had then freed Second Lieutenant Ivon Marie, who was one of several officers the rebels were threatening to murder.

Dolincheck escorted the young officer to safety and was later seen wearing a Seychelles Army uniform.

All six mercenaries are now safely back in their cells.

### Death threat

It is clear now that for the tense hour after the mutiny the mercenaries were under the imminent threat of death.

Mr Afif, who was one of about 30 hostages held in the radio station, said that one of the rebels had wanted six mercenaries to be executed.

### Non-committal

When Mr Afif asked President Rene whether the mercenaries might now be reprieved the President had been non-committal though he appeared favourably disposed towards the men. President Rene is expected to address the nation tonight.

Dolincheck's wife Ina said in Durban she was thrilled that her husband might be reprieved.

She said his act of bravery was typical. "That's the kind of person he is. He always helps."

# MERCENARIES REPRIVED

RR645  
23/8/82  
①

# Permit needed to get Hoare AK 47 rifles

AK 47 24/8/82 (1)  
Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The mercenary leader, Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare, would have needed a ministerial permit before AK 47 assault rifles could legally have been issued to him.

General Christie Zietsman, chief of the CID, said the police did not have the authority to issue licences for AK 47 assault rifles to a civilian. "To obtain such a weapon requires a permit from the minister," he said.

General Zietsman was asked if the police had been called in to make any investigation of how Colonel Hoare was issued with 80 AK 47 assault rifles of communist origin.

He said the Maritzburg court which found the Defence Force had issued the weapons and ammunition to Colonel Hoare had not directed the police to make any inquiry.

He said certain other weapons — grenades and grenade launchers — noted in a receipt produced as a court exhibit, were "completely out of our province."

The Defence Force is remaining silent over what disciplinary steps, if any, have been taken against its members involved in the issuing of arms to Colonel Hoare.

A spokesman said that in keeping with its policy the Defence Force would not disclose details of internal disciplinary steps taken against its members.

The Prime Minister Mr P W Botha, announced disciplinary steps would be taken against those involved in the unauthorised issue of arms to Colonel Hoare immediately after the close of the hijack trial.

Further steps against those involved within the National Intelligence Service are considered unlikely.

The only two members named as being involved in the chain of events which led to the ill-fated coup attempt were Martin Dolincheck, serving 20 years in a Seychelles prison for treason, and Mr James Claassen who is said to have acted as the go-between in setting up the deal with the Defence Force members. He has already left the NIS.

# Rene snubs rebels' complaints

① Star  
25/8/82

By Henry Reuter,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

VICTORIA — President Albert Rene of the Seychelles has promised to punish the rebel soldiers arrested after last week's army mutiny but has not promised to look into the grievances that prompted their rebellion.

In a 40-minute broadcast last night he made no mention of the rebels' claim that they mutinied as a protest against ill-treatment by senior officers.

Dealing with criticisms of himself and his government made over Radio Seychelles by civilians invited to telephone comments to a "free speech" two-hour radio programme while the station was in rebel hands, Mr Rene said he saw the programme as a chance for "big mouths" to speak without identifying themselves.

He defended the role of Tanzanian troops in the Seychelles, claiming soldiers from the dissidents' camp, and not the Tanzanians, looted Seychelles shops during unrest last November.

And, contrary to the army rebels' claims, he said it was loyal Seychelles troops, and not the Tanzanians, who put down last week's rebellion.

President Rene al-

leged that most of the rebel soldiers had been taking drugs or alcohol throughout the mutiny. He said he was concerned at drug abuse in the islands and would soon announce measures to combat it.

The country would continue to move forward in accordance with the "Onward to Socialism" principle enshrined in the policy of his ruling Seychelles Peoples' Progressive Front.

About 100 rebel soldiers are under arrest.

VICTORIA. — President Albert Rene of the Seychelles has promised to punish the rebel soldiers arrested after last week's army mutiny but has not promised to look into the grievances they say prompted their rebellion.

In a 40-minute broadcast to the nation last night he made no mention of the rebels' claim that they mutinied to protest against ill-treatment by senior officers.

Contrary to widespread expectations here, President Rene did not comment at length on the actions during the mutiny of the six mercenaries convicted after last November's coup attempt.

**TURNED DOWN**

His only reference was a confirmation that they had rejected a rebel offer to arm them if they would fight on the rebels' side.

Dealing with criticisms of himself and his Government made over Radio Seychelles by civilians invited to telephone comments to a "free speech"

# Rene to 'punish' the rebels

AKG as  
25/8/82  
①

Tanzanians it would please some Seychellois who would then sympathise with them," he added.

**DRUG ABUSE**

The President alleged that most of the rebel soldiers had been taking drugs or alcohol throughout the mutiny. He was concerned at drug abuse in the islands and would soon announce measures to combat it.

Arrested rebels would be punished. About 100 rebel soldiers are under arrest. The last of those who went into hiding when the rebellion was put down was arrested yesterday.

two-hour radio programme while the station was in rebel hands, President Rene said he saw the programme as a chance for "big mouths" to speak out without identifying themselves.

said it was loyal Seychelles troops, and not the Tanzanians, who had put down last week's rebellion.

"The rebels realised that if they blamed the

**DEFENDED**

He went on to defend the role of Tanzanian troops in the Seychelles, claiming it was soldiers from the dissidents' Union Vale army camp, and not the Tanzanians, who had looted Seychelles shops during the trouble last November.

And, contrary to the army rebels' claims, he

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"My father was a motor mechanic. He rode a bicycle and sent every one of his children to high school and four of them to university."

"And for a man with nine children, that's pretty sleep."

Arthur Blumeris (42) was speaking of his background after being appointed the first executive secretary of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

The SADCC, known verbally as "Sadec," was founded in Lusaka in April 1980 by Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Its aim is to reduce the members' dependence on South Africa, as well as on the West, through a series of mutual development projects, such as the improvement of railways and roads across central Africa.

Partly as a tribute to the founding efforts of the late Botswana president, Sir Seretse Khama, the SADCC chose Gaborone for its secretariat and voted, for unknown reasons, that Zimbabwe should nominate the man to run it. At the Gaborone summit in July, Zimbabwe nominated Mr Blumeris.

A big man, standing at least 1,84 m, Mr Blumeris has the aplomb of a successful American businessman. He has the accent, too, although he disclaims it.

Born in Salisbury, Mr Blumeris graduated from Founders High School in Bulawayo and won a scholarship to take a degree in economics at Delhi University.

In 1963 — the year he returned to Rhodesia — he made two moves that were to de-

Arthur Blumeris of SADCC . . .

# His goal—agricultural self-sufficiency

termined his career. First, after four months' work in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland's Ministry of Commerce, he left his country to take a post with the UN Economic Commission for Africa. He would spend the next 17 years working for various UN development agencies in Addis Ababa, Vienna and Tananarive, but always specialising in African projects.

## Zimbabwean ambassador Arthur Blumeris has been appointed secretary of the body that aims to promote development and reduce their dependence on South Africa.

Jasper Wortimer of The Star's Africa News Service reports from Gaborone.

Second, not long after arriving in Addis Ababa, he heard that a faction of Joshua Nkomo's Zapu party had broken away to found the Zimbabwe African National Union (now Zanu PF). Mr Blumeris promptly joined the new party and was appointed external representative. In this role he attended the Geneva conference on Rhodesia in 1976.

When Robert Mugabe came to power in 1980, he appointed Mr Blumeris as Zimbabwe's first ambassador to Brussels, which meant he was responsible for the European Economic Community and Benelux countries.

"The secretariat's primary function will be co-ordination," he said. With an initial staff of five or six, he will feed progress reports

to the nine states on the 160-odd SADCC projects, making sure each state's delegates know what is going on by the time they attend the regular SADCC conferences.

In the planning stages, the bulk of the SADCC's work will be done by the sectoral committees. Each state has been given one or

more sectors to co-ordinate. For instance, Mozambique is in charge of the largest sector, transport and communications, for which its ports and railways make it the natural candidate; Botswana is in charge of crop research and animal diseases.

Which states implement the projects will obviously depend on where they are sited, but the SADCC is extremely proud of having already got promises of about R1 000-million in international aid of which nearly R900 million has been assigned to specific projects — mainly to do with transport. So far, however, only three minor projects have been completed.

"I cannot see a situation where a member-state will fall short on its obligations," said Mr Blumeris, stressing that the states had come together for their own good.

Might a state not be grudge deploying a portion of its scarce expertise to running a regional SADCC programme?

"I don't think so. Zimbabwe has set up a food security unit (for drought relief). Angola has set up an energy unit, and so on."

"Issues such as foot and mouth disease, transport, agriculture and communications, obviously lend themselves to a regional format, whereas health, housing and education tend themselves to national solutions."

He saw the SADCC's most immediate attainable goal as agricultural self-sufficiency.

"It is a feasible goal in the short-term, given the appropriate mechanisms for trade. There have been temporary setbacks recently — drought — but one hopes the next rainy season will boost agricultural production."

The SADCC was part of the global trend towards regional solutions to problems, he said.

"We have 850 000 people dying of hunger every day in the world. That's phenomenal. It's the total population of Botswana dying every day."

"Almost every single country has been severely affected by the oil crisis. Tanzania spends 65 percent of its entire foreign exchange earnings on importing oil."

"The lack of oil is a very strong argument for the coming together of the nine states. Another reason is that, together, the states will comprise a viable market. That in

spite of their political diversity, the nine states have signed the Lusaka Declaration of 1980 and committing themselves to co-operation in a very positive advance.

"The economics of co-operation must prevail over political diversity. Look at Caricom (the Caribbean Community) which has members as diverse as Guyana and Trinidad.

"Look at the diversity in ECOWAS (the

16-nation Economic Community of West African States). Where does South Africa fit in? "There is a vacant seat on SADCC — for a democratic South Africa."

Might South Africa's economic power not disturb the grossly disturbed balance of SADCC trade and co-operation? (The combined GDP of the SADCC states was in 1980 a mere 32 percent of South

Africa's GDP). If South Africa achieved a non-racial society, Mr Blumeris argued, its impact on the SADCC would be offset by its immediate need to make up the enormous backlog in houses, schools, clinics and services that the majority of the population had missed under white rule.

Just as Zimbabwe had run short of milk, cheese and flour because the raising of

minimum wages had skyrocketed, the demand, so, South Africa would have to devote considerable resources to domestic consumption on the attainment of majority rule, he said.

"Even if you accept the relative strength of the South African economy, it can have only a positive effect."

Mr Arthur Blumeris, the first executive secretary of SADCC.




or other material, except the inventory, is returned out.



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C. Post 28/8/82

There are ominous signs of a perceptible drift towards confrontation which, in my opinion, would be disastrous for Southern Africa" — (Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pile Botha, September 17, 1981.)

Since that uncomfortably prophetic warning, the entire Southern African region has been plunged into increasingly violent turmoil — most of it centred in a broad band along South Africa's northern border from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean.

Transport networks have been crippled, agricultural development stunted, whole communities disrupted and governments brought to the brink of collapse.

Foreign black governments affected accuse South Africa of inspiring the turmoil to offset pressure on itself while the South African Government responds with the charge that these governments are engaged in propaganda exercises to deflect world attention from their inability to run their own countries.

The truth is hidden somewhere in the countless bloody bush engagements being waged presently across the sub-continent.

Here are profiles of some of the key flash-points: **MOZAMBIQUE:** The Marxist Frelimo Government of President Samora Machel is under pressure from two resistance movements, the six-year-old *Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana* (RNM) and the minuscule Free Af-

# Prophetic warning of turmoil is borne out

rica Movement operating near the Malawian border.

By BRIAN POTTINGER  
Political Correspondent

The RNM under its shadowy leadership has shown a remarkable resurgence. Over the past year it has carried out sophisticated sabotage missions periodically, cutting oil, road and rail links between Berra and Zimbabwe. In December last year it put the Cabura Bassa hydro-electric scheme out of operation for six months.

President Machel has been forced to cancel foreign trips, placed his capital under curfew, raised a people's militia and reportedly used Zimbabwean Fifth Brigade troops to help his 25 000-man army fight the estimated 5 000 guerrillas.

Mozambique has launched two major initiatives against rebels in Manica Province. In the first offensive they claimed to have seized evidence of South African military support for the RNM. This was denied by the SADF.

At the end of July Mozambique claimed a border shoot-out with South African troops and this week it alleged an SADF unit at-

lacked the village of Naamcha near the Swaziland border, killing three and kidnapping another three.

**ZIMBABWE:** Opposition to the Zanu (PF) Government of Mr Robert Mugabe comes chiefly from former Zipra guerrillas of the Zanu (PF) under Mr Joshua Nkomo and from dissident whites still in the security services. Large-scale banditry complicates the issue.

Former Zipra guerrillas have been held responsible for numerous acts of banditry in Matabeland, kidnapping of tourists, an attack on Mr Mugabe's home and the hoarding of sufficient weaponry to equip a force of 3 000 men.

Attacks include destruction of the arsenal at Nkomo military barracks and a raid that wiped out a quarter of Zimbabwe's air force on the ground. Mr Mugabe laid the blame for both attacks at South Africa's door — a charge rejected by the SADF.

This week the SADF admitted three white soldiers killed by Zimbabwean

forces 30km into Zimbabwe were SADF members but said they were on an unauthorised personal mission. Mr Mugabe has claimed they were sent to destabilise Zimbabwe, while Mozambique authorities suggest the group was assisting RNM rebels and had fled into Zimbabwe for sanctuary as a result of recent Mozambique Government sweeps.

**ANGOLA:** The MPLA Angolan Government faces resistance from the eight-year-old Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) under Dr Jonas Savimbi.

After the civil war in 1975/'76 it has shown a resurgence every bit as remarkable as that of the RNM. It now controls a huge section of southern Angola and operates with impunity 300km from Luanda.

In November Unita guerrillas blew up the country's only oil refinery and have cut the vital Benguela rail link between Lobito port and the Zambian and Zairean copper mines.

The MPLA Government claims South Africa supplies and assists Unita but this has been denied by the SADF. Dr Savimbi is only prepared to admit that the South Africans supply medical equipment.

The Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, said this month that South Africa had carried out 356 reconnaissance flights, 15 air strikes, 21 landings by helicopters, two mortar attacks and eight ambushes in Angola in the first six months of this year.

In this year's engagements 933 Swapo insurgents and 71 security members have died (SA statistics) in Angola and SWA-Namibia. Since June, 400 guerrillas and 29 security force men have been killed in the current phase of anti-Swapo activity.

An unknown number of Angolan troops (Fapla) have been killed in anti-Swapo operations which have penetrated up to 240km into Angola. Last year four Russian advisers were killed in operations and the situation is complicated by the presence of Cuban troops and East German advisers.

**LESOTHO:** The Government of Mr Leabua Jona-

than is under increasingly sophisticated attack from the Lesotho Liberation Army, the armed wing of the external faction of the Basuto/land Congress Party.

Successful and attempted assassinations of Cabinet Ministers, attacks on Chief Jonathan's home and mortar and rocket attacks on the paramilitary police headquarters are included in their tally.

The Lesotho Government has claimed the SAP is training the LLA at SAP bases in Ficksburg, Monontsa, Claremont and Rustenburg. This has been denied by the South African Government.

**SWA/NAMIBIA:** The South West African People's Organisation — supported by the Soviet Union, Cuba and various East European countries — remains the major military opposition to the territory's administration. By mid-1981 Swapo's strength in Namibia had apparently reached 500 men.

Last year SADF spokesmen reported Swapo had killed 64 civilians with landmine blasts, murdered 95, abducted 112 and 27 were killed in cross-fire.

A Defence Force White Paper this year reported that 50% of incidents last year were contacts and ambushes, of which 84% were initiated by the SADF. Nearly 40% of all mines laid by Swapo were lifted.

In April this year Swapo infiltrated about 70 insurgents into the Tsumeb area. They killed eight security force members and five civilians before being virtually wiped out.

So far this month 37 insurgents have been killed in SWA-Namibia.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** The chief internal armed opponent of the South African Government remains *Umkonto We Sizwe*, the military wing of the banned African National Congress.

Operating in small cells the ANC have claimed responsibility for a number of sabotage missions in South Africa. The South African Government claims they operate from bases in Mozambique and Lesotho and have training camps in Angola and elsewhere.

This month Lieutenant-General Johan Coetzee, Acting Commissioner of Police, said more than 30 ANC or Communist Party-trained terrorists had been arrested or "neutralised" by the police in the last 18 months.

ON THE surface nothing has changed in Mauritius despite the 60-0 landslide victory of the Leftwing Movement Militant Mauritian-dominated coalition three months ago.

It is still the same tourist paradise it was last year, the year before and for decades before that.

Surprisingly, or perhaps not surprisingly, even those who did not vote for the MMM coalition in the June general election, and that doubtless includes the majority of white Mauritians, are looking forward to a better-run island under Prime Minister Anerood Jugnauth and Finance Minister Paul Berenger, the white Franco Mauritian who is the real power behind the throne, than under Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam's discredited Labour Party.

The reasons are not hard to find. On all sides one hears stories of the graft, corruption and incompetence of the Port Louis administration under 82-year-old Ramgoolam, of secret accounts of top officials and politicians in Swiss and other foreign banks and of the failure to implement or even produce a master plan to tackle the island's nightmarish unemployment problem.

Already in the offices of Port Louis one hears businessmen talk of better relations between the private sector and the Government than existed during the 14-year Ramgoolam rule.

"Not only do they talk to us, but they go out of their way to do so," said a white Mauritian company executive in his air-conditioned office looking towards the not-so-busy Port Louis harbour.

"There is far better co-operation than there was in the past."

It is early days yet, but there is optimism that the MMM coalition will prove more socialist than Marxist, and even local private enterprise sees little wrong with that in an island crying out

## It's still fun in the sun under Mauritius' socialists

Douglas Alexander reports from Port Louis

for jobs and heavily-subsidised social welfare.

Very much in the thoughts of businessman and officials is the sensitive subject of the South African Connection.

It is premature to speculate too optimistically, especially after the firebrand pre-election threats of Berenger and his running mates to sever all South African links almost forthwith in the event of an MMM coalition victory.

But one cannot escape the feeling that Port Louis now wants to softpedal these threats, even scrap many of them, because of the island's heavy dependence on South African trade and tourism.

A Cabinet Minister virtually admitted this.

"We have to be pragmatic about our relations with South Africa. We have no option but to live with that country," said the Minister, who asked not to be named.

It was a great pity, he said, that Paul Berenger was being stigmatised as a communist or Marxist, when really he was a Leftwing socialist.

A white islander put it differently however. "Now they are worried because they have to live up to their election promises, which means

providing more jobs and a healthier economy."

In an interview with the trade journal, South African Industrial Week, Finance Minister Berenger said not only would trade with South Africa continue, but added: "I am surprised South African businessmen have not shown more interest in the (Mauritian) free export zone."

This entitles investors in Mauritius to manufacture in a tax-free zone, then export to the European Economic Community and Commonwealth countries under preferential treatment.

With the recession in Europe curtailing the tourist flow to Mauritius, not to mention talk of British Airways and Lufthansa considering discontinuing their flights because of unsatisfactory payloads, Mauritius is looking to South Africa more than ever to fill its tourist hotels.

It will be crippling if not crazy in an island trying to create jobs, to put hundreds out of work by barring South African Airways from Mauritius.

With calls to and from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Australia, and even turn-round flights to the island, SAA is the busiest foreign airline in Mauritius, and its banishment would deprive many islanders of work and badly harm the thriving tourist industry.

For South Africa's share of the island's tourist market continues to grow despite MMM's shock victory.

The Johannesburg-based Travel Times quotes Mr Suresh Seegobin, assistant to the chairman of Air Mauritius, as saying that Mauritius regards South Africa as one of its largest tourist generating areas, and that Air Mauritius is contemplating additional flights to Johannesburg "to cope with extra loads during the coming peak season".

South Africa's share of the tourist inflow is now between 30% and 40%, and is running at about 25 000 a year.

# Eglin predicts greater foreign role in Africa

①  
E. Post  
8/9/82

PRETORIA — The very steps being taken by the Southern African Development Co-operation Conference countries to try to reduce their dependence on South Africa would result in greater foreign involvement in meeting Africa's socio-economic needs, Mr Colin Eglin, MP, said yesterday.

Mr Eglin, national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, was addressing the South African Institute of International Affairs' conference in Pretoria on the subject of African responses to foreign involvement.

"Should the SADCC countries succeed in reducing their dependence on South Africa, the dependence of the past is likely to be replaced by a much healthier economic interdependence, not only between the SADCC countries and those foreign states who have assisted them, but ironically also between the SADCC countries and South Africa."

Mr Eglin said while socio-economic development in Africa had been painfully slow, there were hopeful signs for the future.

Mr Sam Motsuenyane, president of the National

African Federated Chambers of Commerce, said South Africa could resolve its problems peacefully provided fundamental structural changes in discriminatory laws and policies were begun immediately.

He told the conference the critical political problems facing South Africa were those of citizenship for blacks, ownership of land and racial segregation.

Blacks claimed they were citizens of South Africa by right of birth. The granting of homeland citizenship was not adequate compensation for the loss of South African citizenship.

He said black rule in South Africa could not be avoided in the long term and black rule could open Africa to South Africa.

Dr Albert Bressand, deputy director of the French Institute of International Affairs, giving a European perspective on international organisations and the development of Africa, said enhanced regional security was a prerequisite for economic development in Africa.

Dr Bressand, a former economic expert in the

French Foreign Ministry's Centre of Analysis and Forecasting, said international co-operation on economic development in Africa did not appear likely during the next few years at the level called for by the deepening economic crisis in Africa.

He said a redefinition of the conditions for financial aid to troubled economies had to be made and aid had to be geared towards solving structural problems in the African economy.

Mr John Sewell, president of the Overseas Development Council of the United States, said many experts believed African countries would have to make basic structural adjustments.

The industrial countries should rise to the challenge represented by Africa and extend their assistance to the continent.

Multi-lateral institutions such as the World Bank, the African Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund could also help African countries to restructure their economies and help them improve their chances of attracting foreign investment. — Sapa

# YOUR FIRST COCONUTS!



Saint Geran, the Southern Sun hotel group's popular jet-set hideaway on Mauritius

## SA tourism investments on Mauritius are safe — island's new Premier

THERE IS no danger that the multimillion-rand South African investment in Mauritian tourism will be nationalised, and tourists from South Africa are still welcome on the island.

This categoric assurance was given by the new socialist government for the first time officially this week.

The Prime Minister, Mr Aneerod Jugnauth, told the Sunday Times "an entirely wrong impression" had been created that the new government would ban South Africans and grab their investments in the Mauritian hotel industry.

"We have never condemned South Africans as such," Mr Jugnauth said. "They are welcome here. The same hospitality will be accorded to them as to all others."

The landslide victory of the Socialist Movement Militant Maurician in the June elections, winning 60 of the 62 seats, sent shockwaves through the South African tourist industry.

### No visas

The new government promised the electorate it would nationalise certain industries, but Mr Jugnauth gave a strong assurance that tourism would not be one of them.

Investments made by South Africans on the island would be safe, he added.

"We distinguish between the policy and the people of South Africa. We condemn apartheid and discrimination. We believe that democracy and equal rights are the birth-right of all human beings. These are fundamental rights and should be respected."

The prime minister said Mr P W Botha's new constitutional proposals fell "too short" of what should be done in South Africa.

"So long as those policies exist in South Africa, the Mauritian government will have no dealings with them."

"However, individuals, businessmen and tourists from South Africa are coming and going. They are free." South Africans did not require visas to visit Mauritius



MR ANEEROD JUGNAUTH "Wrong impression"

BY HANS STRYDOM  
Port Louis

and this policy would not change.

South African Airways presently had five flights a week to Mauritius and it would retain landing rights.

"There is a contract for the next few years and the question of landing rights does not arise, at least for the time being."

Mr Jugnauth said in the next five years his government intended to take the harbour under public control, to establish a state trading corporation to control the prices of certain foodstuffs and imports, and to nationalise two sugar factories with 10 000ha of land for agricultural diversification.

### Guidelines

"I must make our proposed system of nationalisation very clear. It is not the bureaucratic system of certain East European countries. We want people concerned with the business to run the business."

"The state will give certain guidelines, but it will be very different from communism," said Mr Jugnauth.

The government's determination to develop tourism was stressed by the Minister of External Affairs and Tourism, Mr Jean Claude de Lesterac.

He said the industry was now the third major foreign-currency earner of the country, contributing more than R40-million a year.

## SAIIA CONFERENCE

### Doing business

FM 10/19/82

Five hundred of SA's top businessmen were this week exposed to a salutary array of international perspectives on "Foreign Powers and Africa." This was the theme of the second world outlook conference organised by the SA Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA).

It was evident that SA is inextricably part of the continent. But, of course, the problem was apartheid. Foreign speakers, led by former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, while sympathetic to SA's "complex" internal racial situation, urged the need for political change.

"If it were not for the political problems, SA and the rest of Africa would have greatly benefited from a mutually-advantageous and useful relationship," said John Sewell,

president of the Washington Overseas Development Council.

In his eloquent outline of the role of multinational corporations (MNCs) in Africa, Sewell contended that mutual suspicion between African governments and the MNCs was breaking down, and made a plea for enlightened understanding by both parties of each others needs. He also stressed the urgency of increased MNC investment in Africa and expressed confidence in its future notwithstanding its enormous problems — compounded by the current harsh world economic climate.

Optimism about Africa's future was shared by PFP deputy-leader, Colin Eglin, who sees a new pragmatism evolving in Africa. He did not share the view of "those who, apparently with a degree of macabre satisfaction, enjoy playing the theme 'Africa is dying'".

Evidence of Africa's dire economic ills was spelled out, perhaps predictably, by SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who opened the first day's proceedings. SA was willing to share with Africa, said Botha — a theme reinforced by conference chairman, Harry Oppenheimer, who said while SA had the material ability to help Africa, it also needed the moral and human ability.

In a somewhat mystical, but nonetheless incisive, survey of Africa's needs, former Zimbabwean cabinet minister David Smith reminded delegates of the basics of the de-



PFP's Eglin ... optimistic over Africa's prospects

velopment task. A sensitive appreciation is needed of African aspirations and "dig-ity" in what are young, ambitious nations wakening to the impact of external forces upon its people."

Smith made a plea for understanding by Africans of the plight of the "master standing on the bridge of that great ship of State who has to chart a course through the turbulent

seas that lie ahead." More practically, most speakers on economic matters concurred with Smith's identification of food production as a fundamental prerequisite of African development. Other essentials include water (an aspect dealt with in detail by CSIR president Chris Garbers, responsible for land use, and education. Africa has a wealth of natural resources, human and

material, but needs development capital as well, he said.

In his paper on international organisations and the development of Africa, Albert Bressand, deputy director of the French Institute of International Relations, suggested that a "broader pattern of economic co-operation is required, involving the world community at large, both at public and private levels."

Bressand was, however, not optimistic about this happening in the near future.



Defence Reporter

THE extent of Russian expansion in Africa in the years to come depends not so much on what the Soviet Union does on the continent as on the desires of African leaders, according to Associate Professor R A Schrire, acting head of the University of Cape Town's political science department.

Addressing the Cape Town branch of the South African Institute of International Affairs last night, Professor Schrire said that if African leaders opted for development and improvement in their countries the Russians would make little headway, "but if it's guns and power they want, this will be a Soviet opportunity".

"The choice lies here at home in South Africa and Africa itself."

Speaking on The Russians in Africa: Past Achievements and Future Prospects, Professor Schrire noted the Russian involvement in Africa was now 25 years old and said it could be divided into three phases.

Aid budget

The first phase, from 1957 to the mid-1960s, had been one of "intensive selective engagement" with certain "progressive" (pro-Soviet) states, using normal diplomatic methods in an attempt to outbid the West, and devoting 14 percent of its aid budget to 14 African countries.

The only exception to this had been the former Belgian Congo, where they had tried — and failed — to keep Patrice Lumumba in power as prime minister.

The second phase started in 1966, when the Russians, their Africa policy "in tatters", apparently decided to downgrade the continent. Visits and other links declined; the African slice of the aid budget went down to four percent and two countries, and the Russians concentrated on the larger states.

It was not generally known, Professor Schrire said, that Ethiopia under Haile Selassie received more aid than it does now, although it has a Marxist regime.

The third phase came after 1974, when the Soviet Union used direct mili-

tary force to achieve its aims for the first time in Angola and elsewhere.

Professor Schrire gave three reasons for the change:

For the first time the Russians were faced with an opportunity in which direct force could be applied as a result of the Portuguese disintegration.

Superpower

For the first time Russia was a superpower — one that was able to act all over the world — rather than basically a foremost European power.

America's "paralysis or perceived weakness... persuaded the Soviets they could go ahead". Yet at each step "there was a noticeable hesitation", followed each time by an escalation when the Americans did not react.

He said the distinguishing feature of Russia's Africa policy was the key role played by arms transfers, either gifts or sales; in the five years up to 1980 Russian arms transfers to Africa covered \$3 billion, while the figure for America was \$300 m. In the 1960s three percent of Soviet arms transfers went to Africa, while the current figure was eight percent.

This emphasis on arms transfers, he believed, came about because the arms were cheap, being mostly surplus and obsolete equipment and generally not high-technology, so that Russia could compete with the West; and also because the Russians were totally cynical and "believe politicians want power... the West views Africa as a continent that desires food and development, but the Soviets believe the Africans want guns and gunpowder and power..."

"The whole thrust of Soviet policy towards Africa is based on arms transfers... (they) simply do not supply African states with economic aid."

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Africa's choice 'lies at home'

Cape Times 16/9/82

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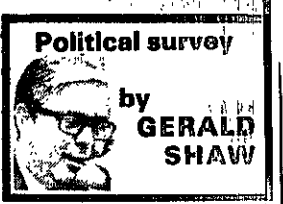
- 1. No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
2. Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
3. No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University



# Is South Africa mounting a destabilizing operation? ①

CAPL Trials 25/9/82



A GRAVE charge was made against the South African government this week by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of Inkatha and the Black Alliance and the most formidable black leader in the legal political arena.

Chief Buthelezi, who has just returned from a trip abroad, named Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Lesotho as victims of "a deliberate and calculated" process of "destabilisation" mounted by South Africa.

The ugly word "destabilization" is a euphemism concealing an even uglier reality — one of blown-up bridges, railway lines and power lines and murderous acts of terrorism.

Can it be true that South Africa has embarked upon a covert campaign of filibustering brigandage in the territories of its neighbours?

If it is true, what is the object of the exercise?

Until the Seychelles fiasco and other curious incidents, complaints and reports of such activities enjoyed scant credibility in South Africa. Now, nobody knows what to believe. And some ask what is wrong with such operations anyway?

In the first place, South Africa is said to be interfering in the affairs of Angola, giving massive backing to the anti-MPLA Unita rebels led by Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Western observers do not doubt that this is true and that South Africa, for its own purposes, is supplying and supporting Unita. In fact, quite a strong case could be made out to justify such a tactic.

## Card up sleeve

Angola is supporting the Swapo guerillas and allowing them to operate from Angolan territory, mounting murderous raids into Ovambo. In backing Savimbi, South Africa is merely returning the compliment, as it were, and keeping a bargaining card up its sleeve. When Angola agrees to withdraw support from Swapo and sends the Cubans packing, then, pre-

sumably, South Africa will agree to withdraw its support from Savimbi.

And what is the purpose of South African backing of the MNR, the anti-Machel rebel movement in Mozambique, which is widely reported in the Western press to be the beneficiary of South African support?

This is denied by Pretoria. Assuming it is true, what is the purpose of reducing an already penurious and struggling Mozambique to a state of chaos and, as some claim, letting loose "dirty tricks" squads in the country?

As some Western analysts see it, this is a direct



Mr F W de Klerk... ultimate solution all the more difficult

response to the formation of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, (SADCC) a group of frontline African states which has banded together to try to decrease their economic dependence on South Africa.

Because of the destruction of the Benguela railway by Unita, among other factors, the countries of the region need to develop the rail and port facilities of Mozambique as the main trading outlet, freeing them of dependence on South Africa. As the Christian Science Monitor pointed out in an article on July 26, an improved and expanded rail and port network in Mozambique would directly benefit Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi.

To counter this move, as some Western analysts see it, a South African-backed sabotage programme has been launched by the MNR in

Mozambique.

Then there is the case of Zimbabwe, which has been plagued since independence by sabotage of army and air force installations and subversion of all sorts.

Mr Mugabe had complained repeatedly that South Africa was recruiting and training ex-Rhodesian soldiers and auxiliaries in a camp in the Northern Transvaal. No one took much notice of these complaints, which alleged that the ex-Rhodesians concerned included supporters of Bishop Muzorewa and white Rhodesian ex-soldiers bitterly hostile to Mugabe.

## Broken up

Then not long ago it came to light in Pretoria that there was such a camp in the Northern Transvaal, run by the SADF, in which whites and black anti-Mugabe Rhodesians were undergoing training. It was denied that the purpose of this unit was to mount guerilla raids into Zimbabwe and the unit has since been broken up. But Mr Mugabe could hardly be blamed for drawing his own conclusions, particularly when his own security forces engaged a party from the camp on Zimbabwean soil and put them to flight, killing four of their number.

The SADF promptly announced that this was an "unauthorized" operation, hardly realizing, it seems, what an appalling reflection this cast on the standards of discipline and control in the army. And what about Lesotho's complaints — as conveyed to Mr Colin Eglin, MP for Sea Point, when he visited that country recently?

Chief Jonathan's government has also been harassed by guerilla attacks mounted, it is alleged, from across the border in South Africa. There have been murderous attacks on persons and a number of bomb explosions.

When he visited the country Mr Eglin was shown Lesotho's evidence to back up their complaints. He is now seeking an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, to take up the matter.

The complaint is that South Africa is turning a blind eye to the presence on its soil of armed bands of the anti-Jonathan Lesotho Liberation Army and that it is allowing them to use its territory as a springboard for terrorist attacks on the country, which is precisely what South Africa has warned its neighbours it will not tolerate from them.

Let us assume that the Nationalist Government will be prepared to admit these activities, to some extent at least, and will seek to justify them as le-

gitimate defence against terrorist bands operating from neighbour states.

Is this a tenable argument? On balance, almost certainly not, although clearly hot pursuit military operations across borders or strikes aimed at guerilla camps must be regarded as legitimate and justifiable, if kept within proper bounds.



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi... deliberate and calculated

Covert military actions or "dirty tricks", on the other hand, undertaken under false colours, are another matter. Such tactics certainly do appeal to some military minds — which tend to assume that the solution of all political problems comes out of the barrel of a gun.

## Basis of trust

When dispassionately assessed, however, it is clear that recourse to this kind of thing seriously undermines the chances of negotiated diplomatic or political solutions to regional or national problems — because it destroys the minimum basis of trust which any accommodation would require. Once you have been caught at the "dirty tricks" game, you are henceforth blamed for every covert act of violence and everything else that goes wrong in the region.

Violence of this kind tends to beget violence, edging the region into full-scale Vietnam-style conflict. If South Africa is continually stirring it up, backing rebel groups all round Southern Africa, how can we expect to achieve any stability at all in the region?

Such a tactic, relying ultimately on the use of force, could certainly have short-term success in enabling a white-dominated South Africa to dominate the region and in keeping down black resistance at home. On the slightly longer term such a tactic is suicidal, however, as at least some members of the Botha administration are aware.

As Mr F W De Klerk, the new Transvaal Nationalist leader, said recently only short-sighted people can believe that a shoot-out policy is of any use, causing hatred and bitterness, as it does, and making the ultimate political solution all the more difficult.

Identical considerations apply to a policy of concerted and deliberate "destabilization" of our neighbours. If we are embarked on such a policy, as Chief Buthelezi believes, it is time that the Cabinet, or rather the State Security Council, which seems to be calling the tune, had second thoughts. It is time that this whole murky question is thoroughly thrashed out in the open.

There is the moral dimension to consider: if we are doing to our neighbours what we regard as indefensible when done to ourselves, we are hypocrites. If this is what we are up to, we are fatally undermining the moral integrity of our national anti-insurgency effort and we will have to take the consequences.



4/10/82 CT

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# Portuguese seeking to revive old links with African territories in post colonial transformation

LONDON.— The growing interest of the Portuguese in playing some new role in Africa is steadily becoming more apparent as contacts between Lisbon and various of its old colonial capitals on this continent multiply.

President Eanes of Portugal has always been active in reviving old links with various African territories, transforming them from the old colonial forms to modern relations between equals. Agreements have been recently signed between Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde and Mozambique and the old metropolitan country, and interest is growing daily in Portugal in the affairs of Angola and its future development.

The most recent display of this interest is the rapid Portuguese reaction to a speculative news story that the French might be interested in sending soldiers to Angola to take the place of the Cubans at present in the territory. Now we hear from those who follow Portuguese affairs closely that President Eanes might like to follow up tentative offers to train black soldiers for the former Portuguese African states with one to provide Portuguese soldiers to take the place of the Cubans in Angola. The moral of the message seems to be that if anybody is going to take the place of the Cubans who more obvious to do so than the Portuguese?

The French offer is said to be linked to a solution of the present impasse in the Namibian negotiations, in which the South Africans, with American encouragement, are reported to be unwilling to proceed further unless they are given an undertaking that the Cuban forces will withdraw from Angola. The French, of course, are members of the Western contact group attempting on UN's behalf to bring about Namibia's independence and South Africa's withdrawal from that territory. They obviously have a legitimate interest in

making such an attempt to breaking the impasse.

However, if Portugal's 500-year-long interest in Angola, albeit a colonial interest, is taken into consideration, the Portuguese would seem to have a stronger claim to providing protection for the Angolans — at least from an historical perspective.



Prime Minister Balsemao... out furthering relationships

In addition, the main contact for the Angolan government — as well as for its opponents, like Unita — with the wider world is through Lisbon. Finally, the main language used by the Angolans in international affairs, as well as between the various major ethnic groups inside the territory itself, is Portuguese.

Because the French are presently governed by a Socialist regime, it is thought that the communist Cubans are more likely to withdraw in their favour, and also that the left-wing government in Luanda is more likely to accept such a replacement. Yet President Eanes of Portugal is there to represent some of the more leftward elements in both the political circles and the army of his country, even though his powers have become more restricted recently. The centre-right government under Prime Minister Pinto Balsemao is just about as keenly interested in African relationships as Eanes, and Balsemao was out in Mozambique furthering

them a couple of months ago.

The Portuguese have, in fact, been getting some fairly strong, if guarded, signals from their former African possessions that establishing new connections will be welcome. There was a general summit of these old territories about a fortnight ago, which handed the Portuguese a great deal of criticism over their record as colonial rulers, but also, in effect, told the men at Lisbon they hastily dropped their interest in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea etc with too little responsibility in the end.

The Portuguese also found themselves lambasted for pulling out of east Timor too easily and leaving its people to the rough hands of those third-worlders, the Indonesians.

Both the French and the Portuguese have commercial and development interests in the old Portuguese territories, particularly in Angola with its considerable mineral potential. New exploration for oil along the coast, new prospects for reviving the working of iron-ore deposits in the south, and, on the agricultural side, putting the great coffee possibilities in order again, this and much else offers temptations in a trade-starved world.

### Ideological

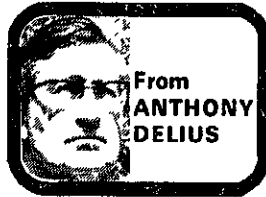
The French would bring their still considerable prospects for offering new development funds, and the Portuguese will be able to tap funds in the near future when they eventually join the European Economic Community.

No doubt the Russians and the Cubans would like to stay in position for both strategic and economic reasons, but neither are able to offer the Angolans the same possibilities of getting the capital they need than, say, the Americans, the French and the Portuguese can.

The Portuguese may be poor at present but they

have their European connections. The Angolans are reported to be very uneasy about their close relations with the Russians, and even on the ideological side they are actively pursuing restoring relations with the Chinese.

Another stimulant for Angolans to widen their international relations, is the constant military pressure by the South Africans on their southern



From ANTHONY DELIUS

borders, as well as the virtual occupation of some parts of their territory by forces of the republic. They realize, too, how quickly the South Africans, trading upon American favour, tend to imitate the Israelis. Both Angolan and Mozambique leaders have expressed fears of finding themselves placed in the hopeless position of the Lebanese as South Africans extend their invasions to guarantee what they regard as their security.

The Americans, possibly, might not be unduly concerned if the South African forces continue penetrating more deeply into neighbouring African countries in order to fend off Russian or Cuban threats. But if the Angolans and Mozambicans seem at length to be less dependent on the Soviets and their allies for support and become involved in wider relationships, then the threat from the South Africans may diminish.

With French and/or Portuguese troops in place of the Cubans, South African advances into Angola may become internationally much more risky. There might even be a possibility of mixed European forces becoming guarantors of both Angola and Mozambique, especially if South African penetrations



President Eanes... interest growing daily

cause a future international furor.

The relations between the Europeans and the Americans may not be all that good at present, and the Europeans may be very irritated over American attempts to force them to do less business with the Russians. Yet it would be unwise to believe that present transatlantic rifts will become permanent, and American tolerance of South African raiding activities in southern Africa will become permanent. It is worth nothing already that the Europeans have joined with Americans to help rid the Lebanese of the Israelis.

Of course there is strong Portuguese influences inside South Africa, comprised of about half a million people, a good part of those formerly white exiles from Angola and Mozambique. Their opinions are very likely to be very different from the majority back in Portugal and a government anxious to start a totally new relationship with Africa a decade after the revolt in Portugal and in Africa against the old one.

The new military forces from Portugal, if they come, will be in Angola and possibly Mozambique to protect the black socialist regimes and their subjects, not to prevent their coming into being.

# How 'dirty tricks' threaten the peace of Southern Africa

CAPL Tins 9/10/82  
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THE SWA/Namibia negotiations are fast approaching the point where all parties concerned will have to make up their minds to go ahead with the peace plan — or else face the prospect of a deteriorating Lebanon-style conflict throughout Southern Africa.

Although there is no formal linkage between the Namibia negotiations and the broader security concerns of the region, including the departure of the Cubans from Angola, all these things are in fact becoming inextricably intertwined.

In resolving the SWA/Namibia conflict, (if they succeed in doing so), the Western powers could also succeed in stabilizing the entire region, depriving the communist bloc of opportunities for mischief.

It is mainly an American initiative. Since the advent of the Reagan administration it has been the United States which has been making the running to secure a settlement. And it seems that what the Reagan administration now has in mind is a much wider resolution of conflict in the region.

It appears that there are no outstanding issues of substance in the negotiations about the mechanics of a ceasefire, UN-supervised elections and independence for Namibia. But the parallel negotiations between the United States and Angola about the withdrawal of

the Cubans from Angola are in a sticky patch. It seems likely that rather broader issues than merely the presence of the Cubans are under discussion.

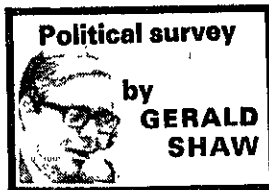
It is not only South Africa which is concerned to secure itself against aggression. So is Angola, which has acute security problems of its own, and so do all the other front line states.

South Africa's main security concern is to induce the black states in the region not to allow the guerillas of the African National Congress to set up bases from which to infiltrate into the Republic. The Cubans do not pose an imminent threat to South African security, but it seems that the Americans realize that Mr Botha needs their withdrawal as a sweetener for his own right wing if he is to come to terms on Namibia.

## Deliberate

The front line states, on the other hand, will want some kind of guarantee that South Africa will abandon what they believe is a deliberate programme of destabilization of their territories.

Without the knowledge or approval of the South African Parliament, it appears, this kind of thing is going on. If the better newspapers of the West are to be believed, South Africa is backing, among others, both the Unita rebels in Angola and the MNR rebels in Mozambique.



## Political survey

by  
**GERALD SHAW**



Mr Bill Casey, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, ... "working on a plan"

As discussed in this column on several occasions in recent months, the rather murky object of the exercise seems to be to keep our neighbours off balance, by disrupting their rail, transport and electric power systems and generally raising hell. A specific objective, it seems, is to thwart the attempts of these countries to become less dependent on the South African economy — and to make them wholly dependent on the South African transport system for the import and export of vital foodstuffs, oil and so on.

## Railway lines

This "dirty tricks" campaign, I would guess, has now become a central issue in behind-the-scenes diplomacy. If Angola is to send the Cubans packing, it will want some cast-iron assurance from the United States that South Africa will withdraw support from Unita's campaign to destabilize the food-producing regions of the South and keep the Benguela railway out of action.

Likewise Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi require assurances that support for the MNR will be withdrawn. This anti-Machel rebel group is virtually kept going by South Africa, according to some Western reports, and it is carrying out a murderous campaign of terrorism against civilians and civil installations, notably the railway lines and trains linking the Mozambique ports with Zimbabwe and Malawi.

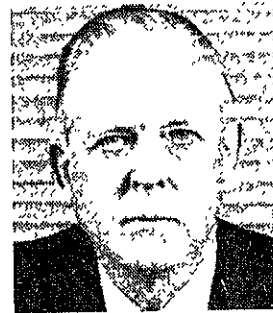
Denials that South Africa is involved are no longer believed in the West, particularly since the Seychelles fiasco provided a few glimpses into the kind of clandestine operation in which South African military intelli-

gence is involving itself.

This style of operation will no doubt be defended in some quarters as realistic, tough-minded and perfectly justifiable protection of South African interests. Is it?

This country is certainly entitled to protect its legitimate security interests by mounting hot pursuit and pre-emptive army and air force strikes across its borders, hitting Swapo camps in Angola, for example. Although it is not always clear whether the short-lived military gains achieved are worth the political and diplomatic candle, such operations, up to a point, are justifiable and defensible.

Clandestine operations, on the other hand, not mounted by the SADF



Mr Kobus Loubser ... unconscious of the bitter irony of his remarks about neighbour states' transport

against the ANC or Swapo, but set up in covert fashion under false colours or through surrogates and aimed against the transport systems of friendly neighbour states, are wholly unjustifiable and wholly indefensible.

Such operations undermine the moral legitimacy and integrity of this country's anti-insurgency effort, putting us on the same dubious basis as any wandering band of terrorists. Which is the main reason, perhaps, why such operations are not acknowledged and are hidden away from Parliamentary scrutiny under secret fund headings in the Budget as at the time of the Information scandal.

## Food threat

Mr Kobus Loubser, the efficient and likeable chief executive of South Africa's transport services, was no doubt wholly unconscious of the bitter irony of his remarks when he said at an FCI gathering recently that the need of our neighbour states to rely on South African transport links would rapidly diminish "if only they were able to operate their existing transport infra-

structure efficiently".

It is true that standards of efficiency are pretty uneven in these states, to put it mildly. But it is also true, as Mr Loubser himself pointed out, that the Beira line, which has been in good running order, is regularly sabotaged by the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MNR).

Mr Loubser also disclosed that Malawi was awaiting 20 000 tons of fertilizer to be delivered from Beira — and it did not look as if this vital cargo would reach its destination before the planting season begins. This squalid operation, threatening the food supplies of Malawi and forcing that country to use South African transport links, no doubt strikes the mandarins of military intelligence as a splendid blow for freedom, truth and justice.

## Cordon of states

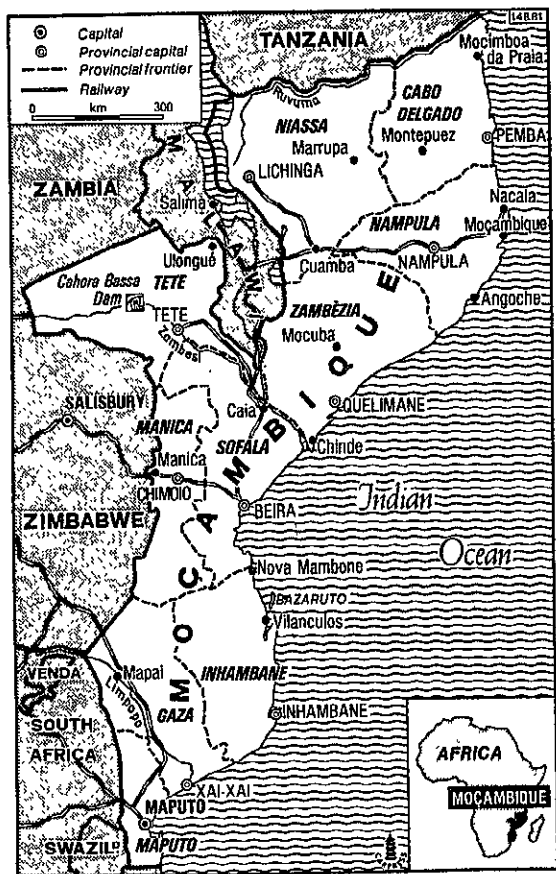
It seems, thus, that the front line states are seeking a guarantee from the United States that South Africa will withdraw its backing from the disruptive rebel groups operating in their territories and particularly Unita and the MNR.

In return, the United States is seeking a guarantee from these countries on South Africa's behalf that ANC camps will not be allowed in their territories. As our Washington correspondent reported a day or so ago, the head of the Central Intelligence Agency, Mr Bill Casey, recently visited Pretoria to work out a plan to create a cordon of states bordering the Republic which will be free of ANC infiltration.

This arrangement would mean that the ANC would be allowed to operate politically but not militarily in the front line states, (including Namibia) as at present in Zimbabwe. It sounds like an acceptable compromise. Let us hope that it is accepted by the Botha administration.

As the SWA/Namibia negotiations finally come to a head, an opportunity exists to stabilize the entire region, promising immense dividends in peace and security in years to come, and giving South Africa a breathing space to resolve its internal problems by negotiation.

If the opportunity is missed, thanks to the "dirty tricks" merchants, or on account of domestic political considerations, South Africa might as well face the prospect of a decade or two of regional and internal upheaval.



From GERALD REILLY in Pretoria

THE South African connection will continue to be a vital factor bolstering the inadequate and inefficient transport systems of neighbouring countries.

This was made clear by the general manager of the SA Transport Services (SATS), Mr Kobus Loubser, in an address to the conference of the SA Federated Chamber of Industries in Pretoria yesterday.

He stressed the well-being and stability of South Africa was vitally linked to the well-being of neighbouring states.

The countries around South Africa shared common problems — undeveloped economies, a dire need for skilled workers, an absolute need for development capital and an acute shortage of foreign currency.

The basic shortage of skilled workers was compounded by the departure of many white skills after independence, usually because of unrealistic economic policies.

A typical example had been Zaire, where, after independence, all white shop owners were forced to hand over their shops to local inhabitants — irrespective of whether they were able to run the businesses or not.

The results had been predictable. When initial stock was sold shops closed and ceased to exist.

In the case of the sugar export terminal at Maputo, a labourer was made a manager after Portuguese settlers left because he was the only man available with at least some knowledge of the terminal.

The well-being of South Africa's neighbours depended on the ability to export basic minerals and to import virtually all manufactured goods. In all cases, with the exception of Zimbabwe, food production was insufficient for local needs and

# How SATS keeps the neighbours wheels turning

had to be supplemented through local import.

It was obvious, therefore, that transport was basic to their very existence.

The problems in Southern African states were often compounded by internal instability due to political friction, Mr Loubser said.

Maritime countries tended to take advantage of their landlocked neighbours.

Malawi, for example, was totally land-locked and its transport routes to the sea were through Mocambique to the ports of Ncala and Beira. The line to Ncala was so bad that Malawi refused to use it, Mr Loubser said. Congestion in Ncala was such that about 2 000 containers were waiting to be moved to Malawi — many since the end of last year.

The alternative route to Beira has been frequently sabotaged by the Mozambique Resistance Movement. Recently three trains were waylaid, looted and burned. Some 20 000 tons of fertiliser were currently being off-loaded in Beira, but Malawi had no assurance they would be delivered before the planting season began.

Malawi was now resorting to road transport via Zambia and Botswana to South Africa.

Tazara Railways from Zambia to Dar es Salaam was theoretically

available to Zaire. However this line was unable to handle even Zambia's own exports. In addition delays to shipping in Dar es Salaam harbour were prohibitively long. Zaire's only alternative was the 3 500km rail route to the south via Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana to East London.

The railway lines to both Beira and Maputo were being operated ineffectively and the ports were inefficient.

Mr Loubser said Botswana was exploring the possibility of exporting coal. It would like to do this independently of South Africa, by way of the much discussed Trans-Kalahari railway line to Walvis Bay. The cost of constructing such a line would be in excess of R1 000-million.

It would involve only a relatively short railway connection between Botswana's coal fields and the Thabazimbi-Ellisras line and would offer a far cheaper service within the stable environment of South Africa.

"The need to rely on South Africa would rapidly diminish if only our neighbouring countries were able to operate their existing transport infrastructure efficiently. I believe it will be a long time yet before this happens."

In contrast to this rather glum

picture, South Africa was an industrial giant; it had a well developed economy, political stability, a well trained work force and an excellent transport infrastructure, Mr Loubser said.

"We can be a source of knowledge and above all we are experienced in the realities of African traditions. In the eyes of our neighbours we have only one disadvantage — politically we are an outcast."

SATS had leased locomotives and trucks to virtually all neighbouring railways during the past six years.

SATS had also assisted foreign railways with the repair of locomotives and wagons, Mr Loubser said and was currently assisting the Mozambique railways with the insulation of a new centralised control system between Ressano Garcia and Maputo.

During the Zimbabwe independence struggle some traffic between Zaire and South Africa continued to flow through Rhodesia, the Victoria Falls and Zambia.

Zambia's position became desperate because of the failure of the Tanzanian railway line and the alternative road transport route to Dar es Salaam and Botswana.

"She was forced to turn to South Africa for her exports and imports. Railway operations were successfully initiated and SATS diesel locos were soon operating in Zambia, bringing food, medicine and fertilisers which were desperately needed."

Because South Africa was remote from the main centres of aviation activity it had had to build up extensive and advanced servicing and maintenance facilities for its aircraft, Mr Loubser said. Already South Africa undertook maintenance and repairs for the airlines of a number of neighbouring countries.

# SA hardens its foreign policy with a page from US history

① S-Express 16/10/82

**SOUTH AFRICA** has adopted a new headline foreign policy modelled on the United States' Monroe Doctrine which could have a dramatic impact on relations with its neighbours in Southern Africa.

Senior Government sources confirmed this week that this was the implication of the Prime Minister's declaration that South Africa's "sphere of influence" extends to all its neighbours in Southern Africa.

In terms of the Monroe Doctrine, first proclaimed by President Monroe more than 150 years ago, the US claims the right to prevent foreign intervention — by force if necessary — in South and Central America which it regards as prejudicial to US interests.

It was the application of this policy at the time of the Cuban missile crisis that took America and Russia to the brink of war.

The South African Government has made it clear in the past two weeks that it intends adopting a similar policy towards foreign forces that provide cov-

By MARTIN WEIZ  
Political Correspondent

er for anti-South African elements that operate from neighbouring states.

The new South African stand represents a significant extension of the policy of "hot pursuit" — in terms of which South Africa claimed the right to send troops across its borders after guerrilla forces.

First indication that there was more to the new policy than only an uncompromising stand on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola came at the opening of the Transvaal National Party congress when the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said South Africa's sphere of influence extended to all its neighbours.

Last week the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, declared that the existence of a ring of marxist states propped up by Soviet military support around South Africa was inimical to South Africa's interests. This situation, he said, could not be tolerated.

"We are not a great world power, but we are at least the power to be reckoned with in Southern Africa," a senior Government spokesman said this week.

"It not only concerns a potential military threat. The acceptance of Soviet military aid by those states is destabilising the region because it provides a military umbrella for subversive elements."

Their presence is seen as having encouraged acts of terror that have caused bloodshed and loss of life in South Africa. They also cause anxiety, threaten morale and South Africa's business interests, and frighten off foreign investors.

"It is the Government's duty to protect South Africa's interests. Obviously the situation calls for action," he said.

"We will not hesitate to take action against Russian missile and radar bases on our neighbour's territory if they are effectively used as cover for ANC and Swapo terror forces. It does not matter if the communist military forces are there legitimately as allies

of these states."

As a precedent, Government sources quote the decision by President Kennedy to intercept Russian ships at sea to prevent them from carrying missiles to Cuba.

South African sources went so far as to hint this week that if neighbouring states continue to harbour anti-South African forces they should "not be surprised" if South Africa was to consider doing the same for forces that threaten them.

They point out that South Africa's neighbours have been warned, and that the South African Government had suggested they come to terms on the issue. The Mozambique Government was recently sent a note to this effect.

The South African Government believes that when some of these countries first accepted Soviet military aid, they were not aware that the step would prove contrary to their own long-term interests — and that they might still be persuaded to change their minds.

While the Soviet Union has professed it is on the side of the African states, its aid has been only a small fraction of that given by the industrialised West. Those countries that accepted a Soviet presence have found it has discouraged Western aid and investment.

There is evidence to suggest that Russia decided several years ago that there was no advantage to giving economic aid, not only because of the financial cost. If aid schemes fail, the donor country is invariably blamed and its image and prestige suffer.

This was demonstrated by China's experience with the failure of the Tanzam railway line.

Instead they have given military aid to countries of strategic importance to the Soviet Union. The strategy has worked well. As the economies of these countries have declined, so their governments have become more dependent on Soviet military support to maintain themselves and, incidentally, to provide cover for forces hostile to South Africa.

# They condemn us but we still help — Loubser

① Finance Reporter

S. Tribune 10/10/82

SOUTH African Transport Services (SATS) earns more than R213-million a year through transporting the imports and exports of South Africa's neighbour states. Dr Kobus Loubser, general manager of SATS, told delegates to the annual convention of the Federated Chamber of Industries this week in Pretoria.

At any one time, he said, there are at least 7 000 SATS goods trucks on foreign rail systems and more

than 1 500 foreign goods trucks rolling on the SATS network.

"South African trucks get hauled as far as Zaire and occasionally into Tanzania and so support a flourishing bilateral trade," he said.

Dr Loubser mentioned those points to illustrate his department's willingness to help this country's neighbouring states to overcome their transport problems, even though their politicians never let up on any opportunity of at-

tacking South Africa politically and even though, in many cases, their problems are of their own making.

He ascribed "this unexpected political situation" (where SATS was, in fact, helping South Africa's detractors) to the profound realities of the African and particularly the Southern Africa situation.

"On the whole, our neighbours have the same basic problems, an underdeveloped economy, a dire

need for skilled people, an absolute need for development capital, and an acute shortage of foreign cash."

There were many causes for the lack of skilled people, but the basic shortage was compounded by unrealistic economic policies.

SATS was always willing to help neighbouring countries. It has seconded management and engineering staff to Malawi and Swaziland. It has assisted Swaziland railways since they were started "and is directly involved in a staff

training scheme and the compiling of trains' working instructions."

Loubser said that "when called upon" SATS has assisted in clearing line blockages in neighbouring countries caused by derailments and accidents.

"Earlier this year 69 derailed wagons on the section between Komatiport and Maputo were repaired by SATS staff using our own technical equipment. Some of those wagons had been derailed for more than two years."



# Economic co-operation, not hostility is hope for southern Africa

CALL TIPS 11/10/82 (1)

LONDON.— The fact that South Africa has had to go to the International Monetary Fund for R1 200 million aid is not one that should cause much rejoicing among the nations of the Southern African Development and Co-operation Groups.

However much they may hope to reduce or even rid themselves of their economic links with the Republic now is not the time for such a development, if there ever is likely to be such a time. As the world recession

of a huge drought. This, coupled with mineral export problems, plus transport difficulties shared to some extent with South Africa, has put Botswana into great difficulties, in spite of the great possibilities of the country's future.

## Deficit

Only two years ago Botswana had an R80 million surplus, now it is likely to end up with a R180 million deficit at the close of this year. The drought is the most

Africa.

South Africa could have aided the building of the project and provided a further source of income to Botswana by payments for large quantities of delivered water. The great amounts of water required could also have aided considerably in the exploitation of the minerals on which the country bases its expectations of a bright future.

In any case it is to South African companies that Botswana has looked for the earliest part of much of the exploitation of these mineral finds. And it is likely to be going on looking to them in the future.

Botswana has become the world's fourth largest producer of diamonds, next after the Soviet Union, Zaire and South Africa. It might even have been tempted to turn to other countries than South Africa for the sophisticated techniques required in both the mining and the distribution of diamonds today, following Zaire's breakaway from De Beers.

But there is now a glut of diamonds on the market, and Botswana's stocks of diamonds held back for a better price later on by De Beers are said to be huge. Although the Botswana government is watching to see how well Zaire makes out on its own — and its efforts are not convincing yet — De Beers may in the long run prove better to stick with.

At present diamond earnings have declined in Botswana quite considerably and may sink even lower. Exports from the copper-nickel complex at Selebi-Pikwe have also declined, and the company depends in part for its financing on the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, as well as on the World Bank and some Western banks.

After minerals in importance Botswana now has a meat exporting business whose abattoir is capable of handling 200 000 cattle a year, but relies on South African transport facilities for shipment.

The huge coal-fields

containing some 17 billion tonnes will, when they open up, have to rely on South African transport, and probably on South African expertise to recover, since the vast deposit is related to South African fields.

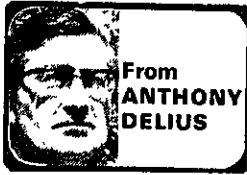
Unless the South African social and race policy

Chinese offer of aid to build a railway link with Tanzania, and with the world via the port of Dar es Salaam. But that has not worked, and Zambia finds that the Tanzanians are quite unable to offer an efficient carrying and shipping service, and may not be able to do this for years yet. It still has to trade with South Africa, and rely on South African facilities as much as ever.

Zimbabwe and Mozambique are far more deeply involved with the South African economy than even Zambia is. As they build up their respective economies they are not going to need South African facilities and trade less, but more.

No other neighbour is going to supply what they require from South Africa — though Angola might be able to supply some of it in the long future. It's true that they, including South Africa, may all retard their development by bloody-minded denials of obvious interdependence and the development of a kind of hit-and-run military hostility as in the Middle East. In the long run this will help nobody.

Southern Africa has to develop on its present economic basis as a whole, and South Africa with it, both as a reasonable multi-racial society and as an increasingly flourishing economic one. Only that way will each part of Southern Africa develop its full potential

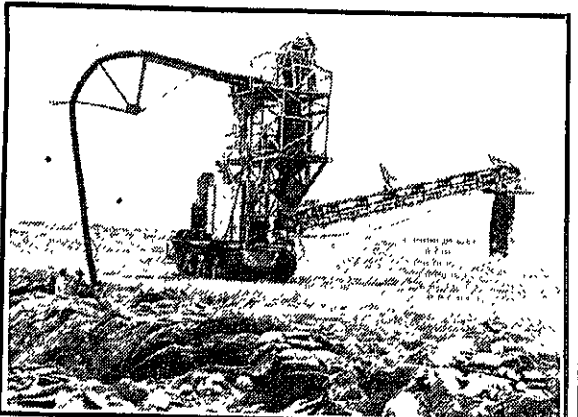


remains as crass as it has been in past years, the logic of economics and change should materially tighten the links between the two countries. The idea of developing a railway line across Namibia to provide an extra outlet for Botswana could only prove attractive if relations with South Africa become impossible.

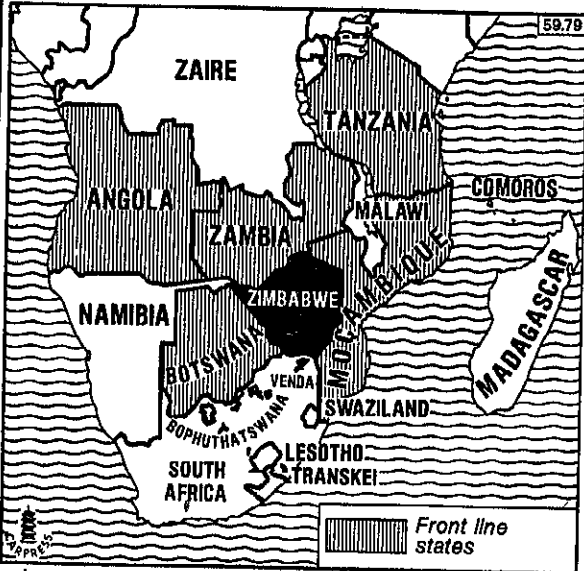
There is also the share-out of customs dues to common members of the customs agreement between South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana to look to as an addition to the coffers.

Zambia learnt a lesson when it determined to break itself out of the pull of South African and Zimbabwean (then Rhodesian) economies. It paid heavily to break the Rhodesian connections, but had to do that partly by enormously upping its trade with South Africa.

Then it accepted the



The muscle of De Beers. Botswana ranks as the world's fourth-biggest producer of diamonds and, although tempted to go it alone, may in the long run find it better to stick with De Beers



The states of the southern Africa region. Zambia learnt a costly lesson when an attempt was made to break out of the pull of the economies of South Africa and Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia)

deepens all round them, even the reduced capacity of South Africa to rub off some kind of economic benefit on neighbours as far north as the Zaire River, remains better than nothing at all.

The irony of the situation must at present be seen in Botswana as clearly as in any other of the nine states that make up the Southern African region — Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, as well as Botswana itself.

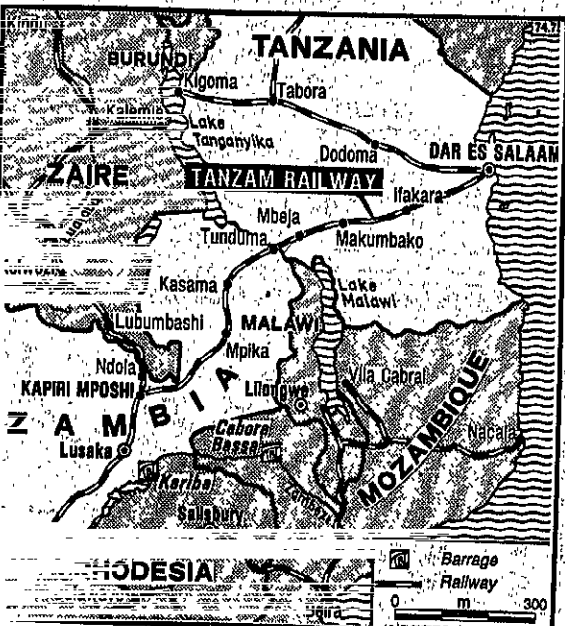
The six-man secretariat of the SADCC headquarters, charged with the long-range planning to ease their countries out of dependence on South Africa, has been established in Botswana. Botswana itself is charged especially with the coordination of topics dealing with crop research and animal disease.

Yet as if to point up that Botswana and South Africa (and Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe as well for that matter) share a very similar and interdependent corner of the world, Botswana is at this period at the centre

immediate worry, blanketing north and central Botswana, plus southern Namibia, the north-west Cape and the north-east Transvaal, and taking in south-east Zimbabwe, and southern parts of Zambia. In Botswana cattle are dying in considerable numbers and cereal production is likely to be only one sixth of what is normally consumed annually.

International appeals are now going out to provide extra rations for people and cattle, and have been going out since earlier in the year. They will, no doubt, be answered in part by South Africa, as previous drought appeals were answered by the Republic in the cases of Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho in previous years, and in Botswana itself during the 10-year drought in the '60s.

The drought itself, and future droughts, may in part have been alleviated if the governments of Botswana and South Africa had the courage and foresight to develop water resources which could be brought across Botswana and into South



The Chinese-built Zambian-Tanzanian rail link has not worked

# 'SA is surrounded by instability'

RDM 12/10/82

From GERALD REILLY at the Pretoria Bureau

SOUTH AFRICA'S neighbours had growing economic difficulties and, arising from these, mounting internal tensions.

They were therefore likely to distrust and resent South Africa, which towered over them economically, politically and militarily, said Dr G M E Leistner, Director of the Africa Institute.

Addressing the annual conference of the SA Federated Chamber of Industries in Pretoria last week, Dr Leistner said these economic difficulties arose from the imbalance between the unbridled birth rate and the growing demand for education, health services, housing, employment and higher living standards.

At the current average growth rate of 2,7% a year, the populations of the region

would double within 26 years. The Zambian population (3,1% growth a year) would double in less than 23 years and that of Zimbabwe (3,3% growth a year) would double in 21 years.

The most serious imbalance was that between population and food supply. Mainly due to inept state interference in agricultural matters food production was declining almost everywhere, particularly in Angola and Mozambique. Drought aggravated difficulties and increasing quantities of food had to be imported.

According to the magazine African Business, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were until recently South Africa's sole food export outlets.

"Today, its black African customers include Zambia, which has ordered 250 000 tons of maize, and Mozambique, 150 000 tons of maize and 50 000 tons of wheat," reported the magazine.

"Kenya is taking 128 000 tons and Zimbabwe is buying up to 100 000 tons this year. Zaire, Malawi, Angola, the Ivory Coast, Mauritius and Tanzania are reportedly

among South Africa's grain purchasers."

High birth rates along with declining death rates resulted in a high number of children and young people in relation to the economically active population and imposed a heavy burden on education and other social services.

According to reports, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were all in dire financial straits. Botswana's cash position earlier this year was reportedly so bad the government was unable to pay car allowances, and the Minister of Finance described the country's economic outlook as "grim". Lesotho's financial affairs were described by experts in Maseru as "chaotic", yet the country was borrowing R52-million for the construction of an international airport.

Dr Leistner said external public debts had risen considerably between 1970 and 1980 — nine-fold in the case of Lesotho, three in Zambia and Zimbabwe, five in Malawi and a little more in Tanzania. Expressed in months of import coverage, gross interna-

tional currency reserves in 1980 had dwindled to almost nothing.

A crucial question for the future of Southern Africa revolved around Zimbabwe's attempt to move toward "scientific socialism, based on Marxist-Leninist principles" with all the paraphernalia of ownership of the means of production in "the grip of the peasantry, the proletariat and the state".

The measures introduced so far — high minimum wages, a limitation on salaries, laws preventing the dismissal of workers and an artificially high exchange rate — had seriously diminished business confidence and not much would be needed to bring about its total collapse.

Dr Leistner said there was every reason to assume that the economic difficulties of African countries would worsen rather than improve in the foreseeable future.

Further problems were ideologically-motivated interference with market forces, the incompatibility of traditional values and practices with the requirements of a modern economic sys-

tem and the relatively low priority which economic matters received as compared with political considerations.

An important element exacerbating tensions was the attitude of the major Western powers. While keenly competing with each other for a share of the lucrative South African market, they were anxious to demonstrate to the black states that they were on their side in fighting "apartheid".

While well aware that closer economic ties between the black states in the region and South Africa could do more to promote the economic progress of these states than handouts of financial aid they did not openly promote such ties.

Guerrilla warfare was significantly affecting progress and stability in South West Africa, Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Lesotho and detrimentally affected neighbouring Zambia, Malawi, Swaziland and Botswana.



# Malan's retort: who is destabilising whom?

RCM 12/10/82

IN AN SABC-TV interview at the weekend of the Minister of Defence, Mr Magnus Malan, defined destabilisation as "actions aimed at creating a situation in a country whereby you can disrupt the country or overthrow the Government".

The governments of the African Frontline States — such as Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe — are convinced this is precisely the policy South Africa is following in Southern Africa — particularly in respect of their countries.

In recent months there have been numerous reports in the overseas Press dealing with South Africa's alleged destabilisation of its neighbouring states and its support and backing for the rebel guerrilla Unita movement in Angola and the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MNR).

There is growing concern in Western diplomatic circles about South Africa's clandestine activities in its neighbouring states which are politically hostile to the Republic.

The Western concern is connected mainly to efforts directed at achieving an internally-acceptable settlement in South West Africa.

However, frequent strikes by the SADF into southern Angola and the recent shooting down of a Russian MiG aircraft over Angola have raised fears in some quarters that South Africa could be preparing the climate for a full-scale invasion of Angola along the lines of Israel's recent occupation of Lebanon if diplomatic efforts to achieve a Cuban withdrawal fail.

Evidence that there was official South African in-

The appearance of the Minister of Defence, Mr Magnus Malan, on television at the weekend took place against the background of mounting allegations that the SADF is pursuing a policy of deliberate destabilisation of South Africa's neighbours. Political Correspondent JOHN BATTERSBY reports.

involvement in the abortive Seychelles coup attempt last year, and the killing of SADF troops in Zimbabwe in August, described by the SADF as an "unofficial mission" has done nothing to dispel the widely held belief that South Africa is following a policy of deliberate destabilisation in its neighbouring states.

Recent pronouncements by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that a Cuban presence in Angola cannot be tolerated and that South Africa's "sphere of influence extends to all its neighbours in southern Africa has led to intense speculation that South Africa could have adopted a more hardline foreign policy stand — dictated by military thinking.

The provocative comment by the Minister of Defence, Mr Malan, after the shooting down of a Russian MiG aircraft — that the MiG pilots "better watch it or we'll clobber them" — has lent further credence to the theory that South Africa has adopted a more aggressive approach to the presence of communist troops in southern Africa.

Reports from Washington that the US CIA chief, Mr William Casey, had visited South Africa recently to work out a plan to create a cordon of states bordering-



Defence Minister Mr Magnus Malan's comment after a Russian MiG was shot down — that the pilots had "better watch it or we'll clobber them" — is being seen as signalling a more aggressive approach.

eral relief at Mr Malan's dismissal of the "Lebanon option" in Angola.

Mr Malan said that such a move by South Africa would be playing into the hands of the Soviets.

"Have you thought what would happen if we moved into Angola at this stage and if we wanted to prop up a government there with South African soldiers?"

"It would mean enormous economic expense for this country and we would be going into a Vietnam situation.

"I think it is the best situation that could come about for Russia which is in the process of confronting a Vietnam in Angola though the Cubans and it (Russia) is a powerful country.

"I would rather grant Russia that position than lead South Africa into that pot-hole," Mr Malan said.

Mr Malan said that while militarily the SADF was lambasting Swapo, the solution would have to be a political and not a military one.

He said that with the 40 South West African internal parties arguing amongst themselves there was not much chance of a victory against Swapo.

"And that is part of the reason why we must get the

Africa. While Western countries, other than the US, have become sceptical of denials by South Africa that it is involved in a policy of destabilisation, there will be gen-

neighbouring states. In a recent speech, the Foreign Minister, Mr P W Botha, said South Africa could not tolerate the existence of a ring of Soviet-supported Marxist states around South Africa free of infiltration by the banned African National Congress indicate more than an academic interest on the part of the United States. The deal is believed to

involve the exchange of assurances that the Frontline States will ensure that any ANC presence in their countries is limited to political activity while South Africa will cease its incursions into

Cubans out if we want to find a solution in this area," he said.

Mr Malan said that the political struggle could only be won if you could create a political striving and formulate goals that would unite the entire population and give them something they were prepared to stand up for.

"Then only can you win. Otherwise you cannot — no matter how strong you are militarily," he said.

Mr Malan denied that South Africa was pursuing a policy of destabilisation of its neighbours and said that, on the contrary, it was countries like Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Zambia and Lesotho that were bent on destabilising the Republic through acts of terror and allowing their countries to be used as passages for terrorist organisations.

Significantly, Mr Malan referred to guerrillas of Unita and the MNR as freedom fighters and said that those organisations were making "progress of such a nature" that the governments of those countries blamed South Africa as a destabilising factor to divert attention from those "freedom organisations".

But perhaps the key to South Africa's strategy was revealed in Mr Malan's distinction between "politically mature" nations — such as Swaziland, Malawi, Botswana, and the four independent homelands — and "politically immature" nations such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Lesotho.

The mature nations realised that it was in their interests to co-operate economically and in other spheres with South Africa while continuing to argue their political differences.

The immature nations refused to co-operate with South Africa in any sphere and committed themselves to overthrowing the "minority regime in the south" and to supporting organisations such as Swapo.

Destabilization  
Destabilization

CAPE Times 13/10/82 (1)

# SA in the dock

The appearance of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, on television at the weekend took place against the background of mounting allegations that the SADF is pursuing a policy of deliberate destabilization of South Africa's neighbours. JOHN BATTERSBY of the Cape Times political staff analyses General Malan's replies, which will be scrutinized by the West and the African frontline states.

IN AN SATV interview at the weekend, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, defined destabilization as "actions aimed at creating a situation in a country whereby you can disrupt the country or overthrow the government".

The governments of the African frontline states — such as Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe — are convinced that this is precisely the policy that South Africa is following in southern Africa, particularly towards their countries.

In recent months, there have been numerous reports in the overseas press dealing with South Africa's alleged destabilisation of its neighbours and its support for the rebel guerilla movement. Unita, in Angola and the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MNR).

Some Western diplomats are increasingly concerned about South Africa's clandestine activities in neighbouring states which are politically hostile to the Republic.

Western concern is related mainly to efforts at achieving an internally-acceptable settlement in SWA/Namibia.

## Lebanon option fear

However, frequent strikes by the SADF into southern Angola and the recent downing of a Russian MiG aircraft over Angola have raised fears in some quarters that South Africa could be preparing the climate for a full-scale invasion of Angola, along the lines of Israel's recent occupation of Lebanon, if diplomatic efforts to achieve a Cuban withdrawal fail.

Evidence of official South African involvement in the Seychelles coup attempt last year, and the killing of SADF troops in Zimbabwe in August — described by the SADF as an "unofficial mission" — have done nothing to dispel the widely held belief that South Africa is following a policy of deliberate destabilisation in its neighbouring states.

Recent pronouncements by the Prime Minister, Mr. P. W. Botha — that a Cuban presence in Angola cannot be tolerat-



General Malan

ed and that South Africa's "sphere of influence" extends to all its neighbours in southern Africa — have led to intense speculation that the Republic could have adopted a more hard-line foreign policy, dictated by military thinking.

The provocative comment by the Minister of Defence, General Malan, after the downing of the MiG — that the MiG pilots had "better watch it or we'll clobber them" — has lent further weight to this speculation.

## CIA chief's visit

Reports from Washington that the United States CIA chief, Mr William Casey, had visited South Africa recently to help plan to create a cordon of states bordering the Republic, free of infiltration by the banned African National Congress, indicate more than an academic interest on the part of the United States.

The deal is believed to involve the exchange of assurances that the frontline states will ensure that ANC activity is limited to politics, in return for South Africa ending its incursions into neighbouring states.

This joint SA-US initiative was reflected in a recent speech by the Foreign Minister, Mr P. W. Botha.

## General relief

He said South Africa could not tolerate the existence of a ring of Soviet-supported Marxist states around South Africa.

While Western countries — other than the United States — have be-

come sceptical of denials by South Africa that it is involved in a policy of destabilization, there will be general relief at General Malan's dismissal on Sunday night of the "Lebanon option" in Angola.

General Malan said that such a move would be playing into the hands of the Soviets.

General Malan said that though the SADF was besting Swapo, the solution would have to be political and not military one.

## Acts of terror

General Malan denied that South Africa was pursuing a policy of destabilization of its neighbours and said that, on the contrary, it was countries like Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Zambia and Lesotho that were bent on destabilizing the Republic.

They did this, he said, with acts of terror and by allowing their countries to be used as passages for terrorist organizations.

Significantly, General Malan referred to guerillas of Unita and the MNR as freedom fighters.

He also said those organizations were making such "progress" that the governments of those countries blamed South Africa to divert attention from those "freedom organizations".

## 'Mature' nations

But perhaps the key to South Africa's strategy was revealed in General Malan's distinction between politically mature nations, such as Swaziland, Malawi, Botswana, and the four independent homelands, and politically immature nations, such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Lesotho.

The "mature" nations, he said, realized that it was in their interests to co-operate economically and in other ways with the Republic while continuing to argue their political differences.

The "immature" nations refused to co-operate with the Republic in any sphere and committed themselves to overthrowing the "minority regime in the south".

# Shaky links

① FM 15/10/82

In Mozambique, the MRM tightens its grip on the northern Tete Province and permanently shuts down the rickety and unreliable rail line from Malawi to the port of Nacala. The guerrillas also close the road and rail links between Mutare, in Zimbabwe, and the Mozambique port of Beira and put pressure on the southern road and rail routes to Zimbabwe and SA.

In Zimbabwe, dissidents attack road and rail transport through Matabeleland and northern Mashonaland and manage to scare road hauliers from using the Plumtree and Chirundu roads to Botswana and Zambia. They also cut off the road and rail route through Victoria Falls to Livingstone.

In Botswana, part of the route which skirts the Zimbabwe border to Kazungula is swept away by rains. Zambia, Zaire and Malawi are now effectively cut off from their only reliable route to the sea. Their economies are in a shambles and Malawi on the verge of collapse. The region is faced with the worse crisis since the Rhodesian war.

Far-fetched? Not really. Malawi is already reeling because it cannot get its vital exports out efficiently through Mozambique. (Business, September 17).

The Plumtree road through Zimbabwe to Botswana was closed for two days about three weeks ago because of dissident activity. Travellers are advised not to use it at certain hours. The Chirundu road to Zambia is also said to be dangerous after dark.

The coming rainy season could play havoc with the vulnerable 175 km stretch of unpaved road between Francistown and Kazungula. The road is already overtaxed by the large amount of traffic it has to carry and the rains could turn into a quagmire. In any case, the route is dangerously dependent on the single ferry at Kazungula.

The key to resolving southern Africa's transport problems lies in Mozambique, the sub-continent's problem child. Without a reliable and efficient transportation system through Mozambique the black states of the

sub-continent will not develop coherently or achieve their cherished goal of economic independence from SA.

SA also has an interest in seeing a viable transport infrastructure in Mozambique. SATS has difficulty serving the countries to the north during boom times and last year was forced to recall several locomotives loaned to hard-pressed Zimbabwe. Although SATS would now like to increase traffic to neighbouring states because it has surplus capacity, the situation could rapidly change with an upturn in the world economy.

To be fair, Mozambique is doing the best it can to meet its transport obligations but the country has to face nearly insurmountable problems.

The rail and port systems are obsolete and the flight of well over 200 000 Portuguese after independence left the country virtually without skills.

Nevertheless, there has been significant progress, claims Ferdinand Wilson, Mozambique Railways' (CFM) representative in Johannesburg.

The country has embarked on an ambitious programme to revamp and extend existing facilities and train skilled personnel. More than US\$220m will be spent on rebuilding the obsolete Nacala line to Malawi and there are plans to build a new line to link up with the Tazara railway to Dar es Salaam.

New equipment, including cranes and forklift trucks, have eased the situation in the ports and new container facilities are being developed. There is no shortage of locomotives or trucks, although Wilson admits that turnaround times at some ports could improve.

A new management philosophy to increase productivity through secure employment, proper training and even bonuses has been adopted on an experimental basis and Wilson is confident it will succeed.

He also predicts that the congestion in Mozambique's ports, particularly in Nacala which is the most primitive, should be largely a thing of the past by January next year.

But Mozambique is still beset by many problems, in particular the attacks on the roads and rail lines by the nebulous MRM. And it is Mozambique's ability to get the dissidents under control that will ultimately determine whether or not it gains the confidence of shippers.

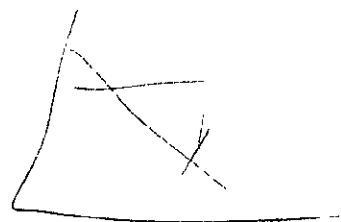
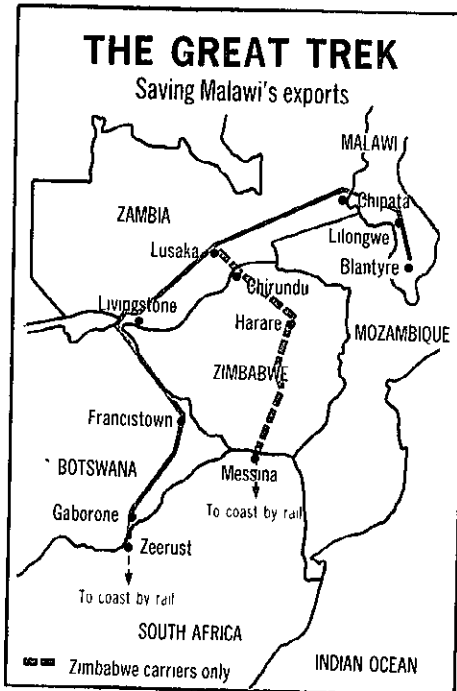
As one SA shipping expert says: "All of the improvements on the ports will be worth nothing if the rail system is not secure. The MRM is a real hindrance to development."

One Zimbabwe shipper reports that the Chicualacuala line to Maputo, which is also being partly rebuilt, is only working at one third capacity because of derailments and MRM activity.

Wilson is candid about the problem and admits that the dissidents are proving troublesome.

"The only line where we don't seem to have any problems is the southern one to SA," he says with more than a touch of irony in his voice.

If CFM is still struggling to overcome its transport bottlenecks the National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) seems to have largely overcome the problems that



# Mercenaries to have come from SA

# SEYCHELLES:

# NEW PLOT

# ALLEGED

L/E AX645

23/10/82

(1) ~~23/10/82~~

From London Bureau.

**LONDON.—** A new plot with a South African connection to overthrow the Government of President Albert Rene of the Seychelles is claimed to have been uncovered by the London Sunday Times.

It was organised, the paper says, by Seychelles exiles based in London and financed and supported by South Africans.

The conspirators, led by Gerard Hoareau, 31-year-old leader of the right-wing Mouvement Pour la Resistance (MPR), used the Carlton Tower Hotel in London as their base, the report adds.

They planned to overthrow Rene by sending in 300 mercenaries recruited in South Africa.

This invasion was to be preceded by a bombing campaign in the islands. Last week, however, the plans started to go wrong when two mercenaries from South Africa blew themselves up while making a bomb.

When news of the explosion reached London, the exiles issued a Press statement, alleging that Rene's forces had murdered a group of their "freedom fighters".

It was at this point that the London Sunday Times, which had been monitoring the plotters' activities, alerted Scotland Yard.

This weekend the anti-terrorist squad, led by Commander William Huckelsby and liaising closely with Britain's security services and the Foreign Office, began interviewing suspects.

The anti-terrorist squad will be helped enormously by hours of tape-recorded conversations between the exiles and their contacts in London and South Africa.

These tapes were made by the London Sunday Times after it learned that the exiles were probably being bugged.

The Foreign Office, which had dismissed earlier reports of an impending coup, has now contacted President Rene and assured him that the British Government is determined to bring the plotters to justice.

Last November President Rene fought off another coup attempt backed by exiles and South Africans, and involving mercenaries led by Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare.

The president said he had discovered caches of arms and uniforms on the island "which could be traced to London and South Africa."

SUPPORT FROM SA - PAPER

FROM PAGE 1

# Another Rene coup botched

Tribune Bureau

LONDON: The London Sunday Times today claims it has uncovered a plot to overthrow President Albert Rene's left-wing government in the Seychelles.

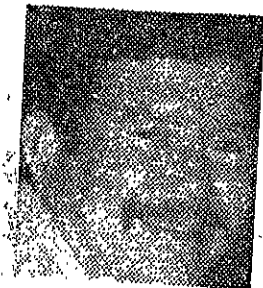
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This invasion was to be preceded by a bombing campaign in the islands. Last week, however, the plans started to go wrong when "two mercenaries" blew themselves up while making a bomb.

One of them was



Mike Asher

Mike Asher, a Durban man who would have been 28 years old tomorrow and the other a Seychellois, Simon Denousse.

They were killed in a car blast on a beach not far from Victoria on Mahe island on Wednesday.

Asher's Durban employer, Garth Middleton, said Asher, who lived in Glenwood, said he was going to the Seychelles for a two-week holiday with his 20-year-old girlfriend.

Captain Arthur Willis, Durban's municipal security officer, who had known Asher for eight years, said Asher had worked

# I AM AFRAID SAYS ASHER'S GIRL

as a security manager for the municipality for two years until this year. Captain Willis said Asher had been a weapons expert who had been a member of the SADF until he joined the Durban Municipality.

Asher's girlfriend, Yvonne Palmer was asked to identify his body. It has been disclosed here.

She said: "I knew nothing about what Mike was doing. I don't know how they contacted him when we got to the islands.

"I am very frightened being here after what has happened, and very upset.

"I have a question to ask: Why should he have risked his life for an island in the middle of the Indian Ocean?"

Police in the Seychelles said: "We believe the men were carrying out a sabotage campaign."

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Last November, President Rene fought off another coup attempt backed by exiles and South Africans, involving mercenaries led by Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare.

President Rene said yesterday: "These people are trying to destroy our economy so that they'll be able to come back here. People here are solidly behind the government."

The president said he had discovered caches of arms and uniforms on the island "which could be traced to London and South Africa".

Former Seychelles President James Mancham, who has declared that Hoareau should lead any new MPR government, denied any involvement in the Carlton Tower plot.

But he admitted he had visited the hotel. He then said: "You are harassing me."

To Page 3

# NOT A YEAR AFTER MIKE HOARE'S BUNGLE — ANOTHER CONSPIRACY

ABOUT seven men skulked round the arrivals hall at Jan Smuts airport early yesterday morning waiting for the return of Miss Yvonne Palmer from the Seychelles. She was the girlfriend of Mr Mike Asher, who was killed in a mystery bomb blast on a secluded Seychelles beach on Tuesday.

One of the men awaiting her return was Paul Brockman, a Springbok paddle-skier and a close friend of Mike Asher.

The men seemed intent on getting Miss Palmer away from the airport quickly and unhampered. Arrangements had apparently made for her to sneak out of the terminal building by a side door.

MIKE Asher, the young South African killed in an explosion in the Seychelles this week, flew to the islands last Saturday to prepare the way for another major mercenary coup attempt.

The Sunday Express has learned that Mr Asher, a former Permanent Force member of the crack Reconnaissance Commando and an officer in the elite Parachute Battalion, was part of an advance party paving the way for a 70-man mercenary force which would have tried to topple the government of President Albert Rene.

The explosion, which ripped through a car parked at a secluded Mahé beach about 85km from Victoria about midnight on Tuesday, killed Mr Asher and a young member of a Seychellois resistance movement, Mr Simon Denouisse.

According to Seychelles police sources Mr Denouisse flew there from South Africa about three weeks ago.

Weapons, unexploded hand grenades and propaganda leaflets were found among the remains of the car.

It is believed the explosion caused a setback in plans for the coup attempt, which would have followed less than a year after Col Mike Hoare's aborted attempt to topple the Rene Government.

This week the Sunday Express was told Mr Asher had been engaged

## Girl in the Seychelles mystery whisked from airport in getaway car

BY CHRISTINA PRETORIUS

After her plane landed at 7.10am, two of the men moved down a passage and emerged shortly afterwards with her. She was rushed through a side entrance of the cus-

toms hall.

When Sunday Express photographer Doug Lee ran after them one of the waiting men gave chase, shouting wildly.

When the group reached a waiting red car with Durban registration plates one man scooped up

Miss Palmer and threw onto the back seat. Then he jumped in and put his arms around her to shield her from the photographer.

The other men left later in a Mercedes.

Yesterday afternoon Miss Palmer was at the home in Blairgowrie, Randburg, of Mike Asher's parents.

While the Sunday Express was watching the house, some of the men who had been at the airport left in the red car.

Miss Palmer was seen several times — once with her boyfriend's father, Mr J Asher.

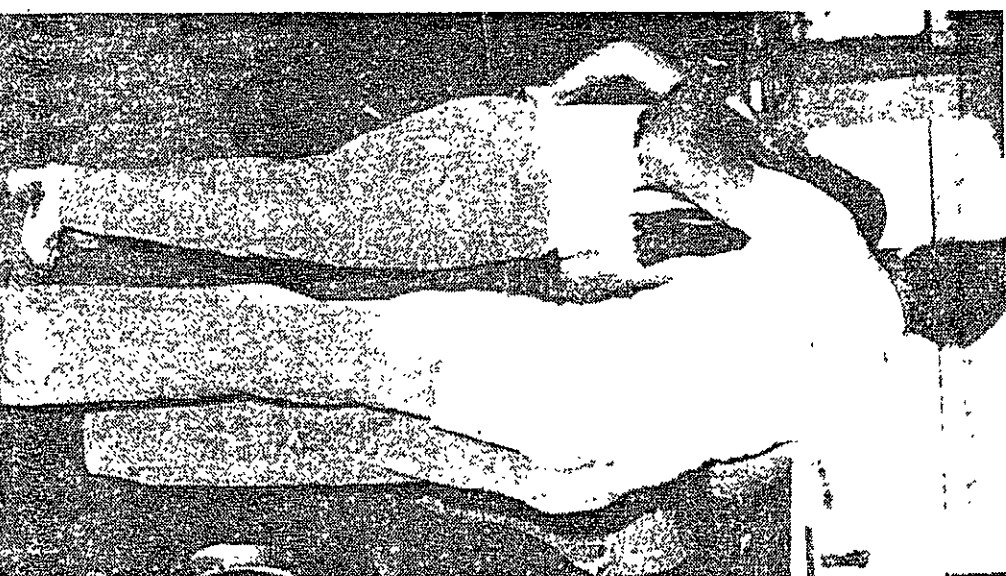
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# Asher was paving way for a coup

## DOCUMENTS REVEAL PLANS TO DESTABILISE SEYCHELLES

his girlfriend Yvonne Palmer with him. Tuesday night's bomb blast was intended as the start of the planned action, but everything would have been delayed or called off as a result of it going awry.

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● Yvonne Palmer, Mike Asher's girlfriend, is hustled into a car after arriving from the Seychelles yesterday.



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It is believed the explosion caused a setback in plans for the coup attempt, which would have followed less than a year after Col Mike Hoare's aborted attempt to topple the Rene Government.

This week the Sunday Express was told Mr Asher had been engaged in training members of the Seychelles 'Mouvement pour la Resistance' (MPR) in terror tactics, bomb manufacture and weapon use.

He had drawn up a programme of training and was in possession of a 20-page feasibility study on the possibility of staging a coup in Victoria, the capital of the islands paradise.

This study recommended one of two possible plans, code-named 'Plan A' and 'Plan B'.

Mr Asher was a close friend and confidant of Seychellois exiles in South Africa, including two men who reportedly played a prominent role in planning last November's coup attempt, Mr Gonzague D'offay and Mr Gerard Hoarau.

Neither of these men could be contacted after this week's explosion.

It was also learned that Mr Asher's activities had come under the scrutiny of the National Intelligence Service (NIS), which had warned him to "get out of it", through an intermediary.

Several friends of Mr Asher

er had also warned him he was playing with fire and had no chance of succeeding.

But former colleagues — Mr Asher had also worked as a manager for the Durban Municipal Security Force — described him as a "misguided idealist who sincerely viewed the Seychelles Government as a serious communist threat to the security of South Africa".

A close friend said he would have taken on the operation out of "political idealism rather than for the money".

However, it was reliably learned that Mr Asher frequently made large cash deposits into his banking account, even though he did not earn much in his last job as a representative for an import-export concern.

These deposits were for round-figure amounts of R3 000 or R4 000 a time.

It is believed Mr Asher was receiving money from the Seychelles underground movement in return for

training, technical advice and assistance in plotting another coup attempt.

He considered himself something of an explosives expert — a misconception that may have cost him his life this week.

Earlier this year, while he was still employed in the Durban security force, his eardrum was burst and his legs were burnt when a device he was handling during an explosives demonstration detonated.

Included in the coup proposals in Mr Asher's possession were plans for members of the Seychellois underground organisation to plant bombs at various points around Victoria to cause panic and create an impression to the outside world of political instability and dissent in the islands.

This would have been the prelude to a full-scale landing by a mercenary invasion force.

Mr Asher travelled to Victoria last Saturday, taking

# Asher was paving way for a coup

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By DARYL BALFOUR

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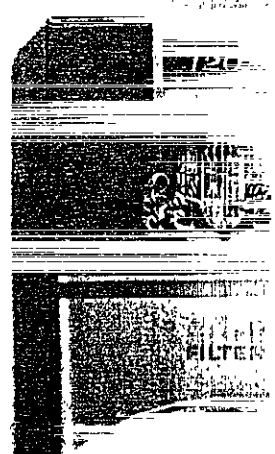
Yesterday Seychelles Government sources said nothing new had been discovered since the explosion but that investigations were continuing.

Sunday Express London correspondent BRUCE STEPHENSON reports that President Rene, 49, said the incident was the latest in a series intended to destabilise his socialist government.

Asked to define precisely who was organising attempts to bring about his downfall, the Seychellois leader said: "They are mainly the dissidents who make up the Mouvement pour la Resistance (MPR) based in London and Durban and who are supported by certain other individuals and governments."

"It's impossible to escape the conclusion that many of these activities have been organised from South Africa."

● President Rene recently reached an informal agreement with French President Francois Mitterrand to modernise, re-equip and train Seychellois air, land and sea units and to provide help against any external attacker.



# Bugging in room uncovers another Seychelles coup bid

Room 25/16/82

By MARGARET SMITH  
London Bureau

LONDON. — A plot for a second attempted coup in the Seychelles — with alleged South African involvement — has been uncovered in London.

It is claimed that the overthrow of President Albert Rene's socialist government was planned secretly in a room in the luxury Carlton Tower Hotel in Knightsbridge, London, by a small group of men.

But unknown to them the room was bugged and their plans were overheard.

The deaths of Mike Asher, of Durban, and Simon Denouze, recently from South Africa, who were killed in a bomb explosion in the Seychelles last week, have been linked to the plot.

Barrie Penrose, investigative reporter of the London Sunday Times, the newspaper which originally broke the story in London said yesterday:

"Two of the plotters' mercenaries, who had come from South Africa to the Seychelles, had blown them-

selves up while making bombs on a Seychelles beach."

It is not yet known who bugged the room in the hotel but Penrose alleged yesterday that the conversations inside were picked up and monitored by whoever had placed the bugging device, by himself and another Sunday Times reporter and by Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist squad.

A spokesman for Scotland Yard said last night that they were investigating the case.

BBC Radio said yesterday that Mr James Macham, former president of the Seychelles, was also present at the hotel when the plot was being hatched.

The Consul General of the Seychelles, Mr Robert Delpech, told the BBC the Seychellois were not acting alone.

"These people are few in number. They have little means at their disposal to plan and mount a military attack. There must be some bigger fish behind what is happening," he said.

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# Austerity <sup>①</sup>

*Monday 27/10/82*

## - East Africa's new watchword

TWO decades after the end of colonial rule in the East African states, the Swahili slogan 'Uhuru' (freedom) has been replaced.

Austerity is the new watchword. The area's economic health has been dealt a body blow by the world economic recession which has cut demand for raw material exports and squeezed the amount of cash available for aid.

From Ethiopia in the north through Kenya in

the centre to Zambia in the south the picture is one of rising balance of payments deficits, falling commodity returns and population growth equalling or outstripping economic expansion.

The current account deficit of the 10 largest countries — Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe, which comprise about 90 per cent of the region's

population and output — rose from about R2,3 billion in 1979 to about R4,6 billion in 1980 and R5,5 billion in 1981, laments the World Bank report on the region for 1982.

### Imports

Kenya banned imports of new cars two years ago. Last month it cut fuel imports by 10 per cent to save foreign exchange, leading to scattered shortages and some queues at fuel pumps.

Kenya last month felt the pinch when the government increased the price of maize meal, the staple diet, from 46 cents to 69 cents per 2 kg package.

The price of tea, bread and flour has gone up by a similar amount in the past 12 months partly as an incentive to farmers.

In spite of these measures the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has suspended the second instalment of a 162 million dollar (about R188 million) loan to Kenya because it has not reformed its economic policies sufficiently.

### Critical

Further south, the economic growth of Zambia — rich in copper, cobalt and minerals — slowed to a meagre 0,7 per cent between 1970 and 1980 from five per cent in the 1960s. Its economic health is now critical, Western economists say. Zambia has borrowed heavily to import food and machinery. Since 1975 it has had a balance of payments deficit every year except in 1979. This has eroded its foreign exchange position so much that this month the import of non-essential goods was banned for six months

and holiday allowances frozen.

Central Bank governor, Mr Bitwell Kuwani, said there was little chance of fresh aid from cash-pinched friendly nations and Zambia's only hope was the IMF, with which it was negotiating the next drawing of a three-year loan worth about about R1 011 million.

### Devaluation

The negotiations have been described as tough and the IMF is said to be seeking a devaluation of the kwacha, a step that is politically highly unpopular on the whole continent because it makes imports dearer.

Kenya, Mauritius, Uganda, Tanzania and Somalia have all swallowed the devaluation pill in the past 18 months to ease pressure on their balance of payments positions.

In Zimbabwe, real output grew by 13 per cent last year but is expected to fall to three per cent this year because of the recession and it may even decline next year, bankers forecast.

Zimbabwe's current account balance of payments deficit rose from R232 million in 1980 to R669 million last year, forcing the newly-independent country to borrow R331 million for short-term financing alone.

Such figures have caused speculation among bankers that the Zimbabwean dollar may be devalued by early next year.

Socialist Tanzania would be happy if its problems were on the same level as Zimbabwe's. Its economy is on the edge of bankruptcy with just enough foreign exchange reserves to cover two or three days' imports.

President Julius Nyerere said in a stark state-of-the-nation speech last week that Dar es Salaam was negotiating with the IMF and World Bank. To date Tanzania has rejected IMF conditions for a huge loan. These conditions are understood to

include devaluation of the shilling by more than 100 per cent.

One cause of Tanzania's plight was the cost of the war to oust former Ugandan dictator Idi Amin in 1978, President Nyerere says. Ironically, that may just about have saved the economy of Uganda after years of neglect, war and mismanagement, Western diplomats believe.

For two seasons, Uganda says, it has man-

aged to fulfil its International Coffee Organisation export quota. It has also laid the basis of a revival of the cotton and tea industries.

Foreign aid is vital and diplomatic sources say Uganda's request this year for help in a R1,6 billion recovery programme might be sympathetically viewed if the government took a firm grip on the precarious security situation.



S. Times  
31/10/82

# Lesotho talks on shaking off 'SA yoke' (1)

By NORMAN CHANDLER

LEADERS of nine front-line states are to meet in January on territory totally surrounded by South Africa — to continue talks on how to lessen their dependence on the Republic.

The Southern African Development Co-Ordination Committee (SADDC) is to hold a two-day meeting in Maseru, Lesotho, on January 27 and 28 to review progress.

It will be the first heads of state meeting since the SADDC established its secretariat in Gaborones, Botswana, eight weeks ago.

Plans for the meeting were confirmed at a conference attended by top officials from the SADDC, Lesotho and Botswana — location of the last summit in August — where it was decided this week to place matters on agriculture, industrial development, transport, communication, energy and manpower on the agenda.

## Response

At the meeting were Mr P S Mmusi, Botswana's Minister of Finance and Development Planning; Mr Archie Mogwe, Botswana's Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr ER Sekhonyana, Lesotho's Minister of Planning, Employment and Economic Affairs and Mr Arthur Blumeris, the SADDC's executive secretary.

The SADDC was set up two years ago in response to the South African idea of a "Constellation of States". Member states are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Similar summit meetings have taken place in Maputo, Lusaka, Harare, Zomba and Gaborone.



# SEYCHELLES COUP BID PART II: WHAT WAS SAID AT A SECRET MEETING IN A LONDON HOTEL

ROOM 412 of the Carlton Tower Hotel in Knightsbridge, London, costs a basic £220 a night. At that price it is generally frequented by expense account businessmen whose companies are prepared to pay for comfort — and discretion.

As the hotel brochure promises: "You can hold the most important discussions over dinner in your own luxurious suite and know that our special security service ensures complete privacy."

The little group of sober-suited men who were occupying Room 412 all of the week before last certainly seemed to have important matters to discuss.

They stuck closely together and made it clear that curious outsiders were not welcome. Possibly advertising executives, hazarded the hotel staff, working on a big new campaign.

But, unknown to the group, their privacy was far from guaranteed. In fact, every word of their protected discussions was being recorded by listening devices.

What is more, the conversations, relayed through the bugs, could be clearly picked up by anyone who happened to be fiddling with a wide-band VHF radio within 100 metres of the Carlton Tower.

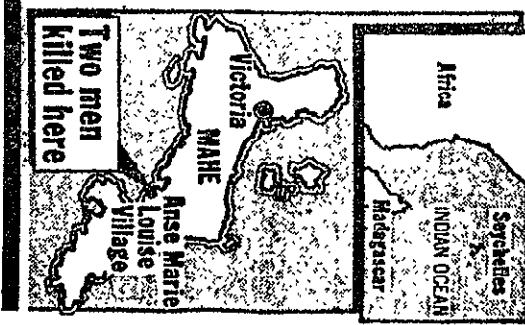
Among those who listened with more than passing interest were Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist squad, the security agents who had placed the bugs, and reporters.

Just how and why they were able to do so is not the least interesting part of a story that has more than an element of Freidelic Forth about it spiced with Evelyn Waugh.

But there was no doubting the seriousness of what was actually going on in Room 412. For the conversations concerned, not an advertising campaign, but an imminent coup in the Seychelles, to be mounted from South Africa, and preceded by violent acts of terrorism.

Before the week was over the first casualties had occurred. On a lonely Seychelles beach two men, who had been briefed from the hotel, were blown up in their car, victims of their own bomb.

And Scotland Yard moved in quickly in London to pick up suspects for questioning. Ever



Two men killed here

since Albert Rene, former prime minister of the Seychelles and a fervent socialist, overthrew the flamboyant James Mancham in 1977 and took over as president, the islands have been a target for counter coups.

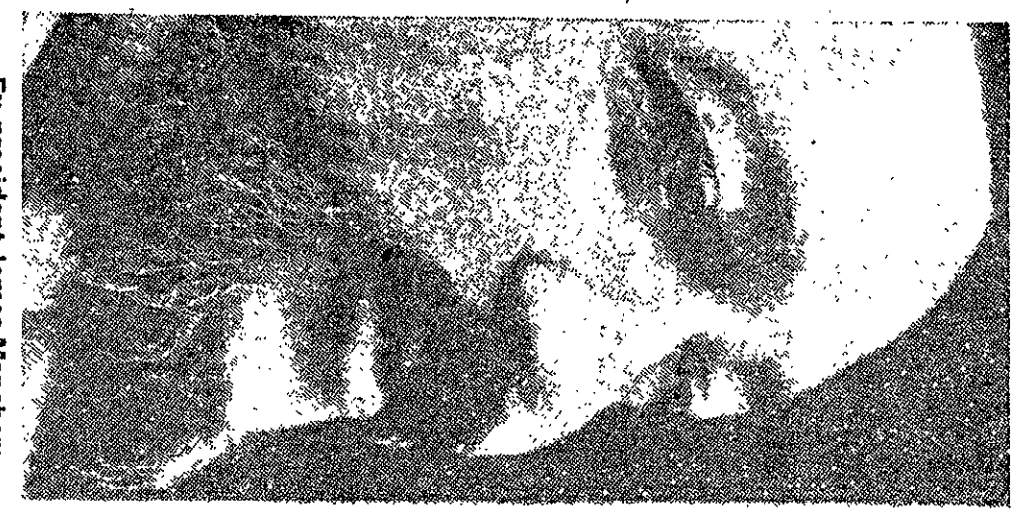
Rene's socialism, his contacts with countries such as Tanzania, Algeria and Cuba and his rejection of the rich entrepreneurs whom Mancham had encouraged to help develop the islands, aroused the hostility of his opponents. The political complexion of his government, always of interest to the West in view of the Seychelles' strategic position in the Indian Ocean, has become more important now that vast oil reserves have been discovered around the 93 scattered islands that make up the group.

The French Government supplies Rene with defence systems and the Italian Government has recently been playing a growing role in the country's economy.

Rene has always been aware that his exile opponents, funded by wealthy backers, might try to overthrow him. He has organised his own "liberation army" and invited 300 Tanzanian soldiers to support his embryonic force.

Last November his fears were confirmed when mercenaries led by Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare flew in from South Africa on a chartered airliner in an attempt to oust him.

The coup ended in farce when the mercenaries' weapons were spotted and they fled on an Air India aircraft to Durban.



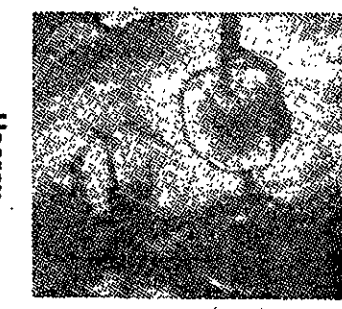
Ex-president James Mancham

That coup was financed with South African money, and planned by a 31-year-old Seychellois called Gerard Hoarau.

A former chief information officer in the Seychelles, Hoarau had been jailed by Rene for plotting to overthrow his government, and left the islands early last year. He is a leading member of the self-styled Seychelles Resistance Movement, MPR, and would like to be president should Rene ever be overthrown.

Up until weeks ago Hoarau lived in his small flat on Durban's Esplanade overlooking the yacht basin. It was in the flat he recorded the so-called "freedom message" to have broadcast in the Seychelles should Mike Hoare's coup attempt have been successful.

It was Hoarau who was to turn up as one of the sober-suited gentlemen in Room 412. On September 30 this year he arrived in London from South Africa and went straight to the Carlton Tower Hotel. There he was joined by two other Seychelles exiles, Edmond Camille, 44, a former first secretary at the Seychelles High Commission in London, and Paul Chow, 32, who had been a news agent on the islands.



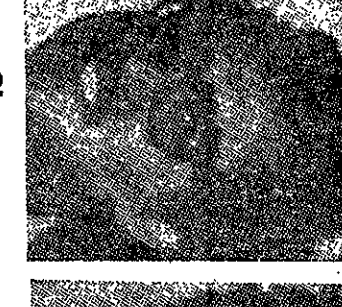
Hoarau

He had been perty bugged. Just who planted the bugs is still a mystery, though Commander William Huckerby, head of Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist squad, was trying his best to find out. Rene himself denied his agents were responsible.

The best information is that the agents were working for the Italian Government, whose backing for Rene has escalated from funding educational projects in the Seychelles, to providing a patrol vessel to guard the islands' coastline.

It would appear that they are now helping out with security of a somewhat different nature. Certainly the surveillance of Hoarau and his friends is of a highly sophisticated nature. The London Sunday Times received a tip off about the activities at the Carlton Tower. Clearly it had

been decided that Hoarau's activities should be exposed. The conversation, picked up with pinpoint clarity on wavelength FM 105, was extraordinary. Though code of a sort was used, and though the languages varied from English to French and Creole patois, the plotters appeared to suffer from some startling lapses of security. At one point a South African, obviously a mercenary intending to fly out to the islands, called up the hotel from South Africa:



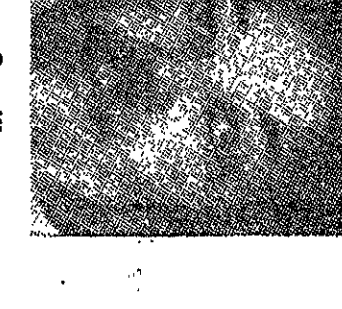
Chow

Hoarau: Did you get enough stuff?  
Mercenary: Five kilos, plus a few small you know what.  
Hoarau: Yes.  
Mercenary: And eight 25 kg containers. Plenty.  
Hoarau: That should keep you going.  
Mercenary: It's a sizeable amount.  
Hoarau: The more we have the better it is.  
Mercenary: At this stage we must be very careful of the telephones.  
Hoarau: Yes.  
The early conversations concerned mainly the problem of clothing the mercenaries. Uniforms were considered important for morale and for impressing the islanders.

During one conversation with the mercenary recruiter in Durban, Hoarau was asked to send through another consignment of uniforms

arriving. From time to time Hoarau and Chow would leave the hotel carrying bulging plastic bags.

But things began to go wrong for the plotters. Chow discovered his home in Wembley was bugged and not too long afterwards another bug was found in Hoarau's hotel room. It was also discovered the telephone had been tapped.



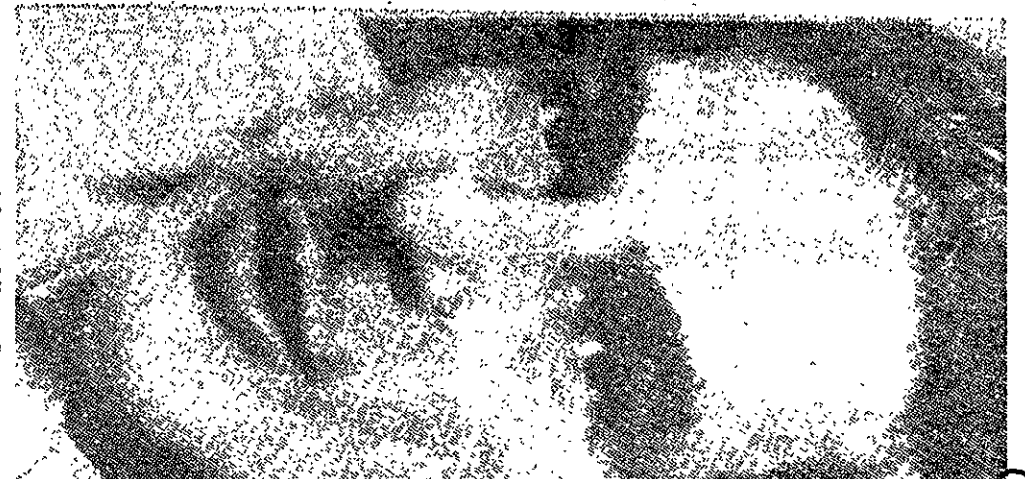
Camille

Having settled the sartorial problem, Hoarau and his group turned to the main concern arming anybody who has been searched at Heathrow, the most security minded airport in Europe, it seems that the exiles collected weapons from South African Airways cargo stored there.

A spokesman for SAA pointed out that its cargo landing in London was handled by British Airways which was responsible for it. Calls from Hoarau were asked to send through another consignment of uniforms

arriving. From time to time Hoarau and Chow would leave the hotel carrying bulging plastic bags.

But things began to go wrong for the plotters. Chow discovered his home in Wembley was bugged and not too long afterwards another bug was found in Hoarau's hotel room. It was also discovered the telephone had been tapped.



President Albert Rene

Subsequently she returned to South Africa and went into hiding. Hoarau began to relay the bad news to conspirators around the world.

"The authorities now know we have a campaign. They will be out to retrace the steps from South Africa.

I will need a part of the world where they will give me a resident's permit," he said.

Since the remarkable events at the hotel the Seychelles authorities claimed Asher and his companion Simon Denon were South African mercenaries. Denon, they said, recently returned to the Seychelles from South Africa.

## TAPED: Asher's secret call to London

By Dirk de Villiers

THE South African authorities were suspicious, Mike Asher of Durban told the Seychelles plotters in London over the phone, and so "we have to play this very, very carefully."

I listened to Asher's voice on a tape played in London this week, one recording a conversation between him and a conspirator in the Carlton Tower in London.

This was one of several conversations monitored by Scotland Yard and London Sunday Times reporters. Gerard Hoarau was code-named Jack. A man named Camille used the name Roberts.

The tape recording of Mike Asher's conversation from Durban to someone in London was not always clear, but I picked out the following sentences: "I want to give you some points to consider...there is quite a lot of awareness from our authorities, so we have to play this very, very carefully...the plot was questioned where he had been...I have spoken to the old man in the organisation...tell the people on the island to take it very easy until I arrive...I will take my lady with me (a reference to his girlfriend Yvonne Palmer, it is thought)...I was questioned by the old man from Pretoria."

Mike Asher asked the London man to tell the organisers on the island when he would arrive there.

Between October 16 and 23, he said, which coincided with his death when he was blown up by a bomb.



By Lesley Friedman,  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The former Seychelles President, Mr James Mancham, has abruptly cancelled appointments and gone into hiding as rumours mounted here the Seychelles Government was pushing for his extradition.

The Seychelles is thought to be about to request the extradition of several exiled Seychellois after the bungling of the latest coup attempt.

Mr Mancham spent last week on holiday in Germany. "I'm going to show my son some cities," he said, but returned to Britain on Friday for a dinner party.

After he agreed to an interview yesterday Mr Mancham disappeared. Sources close to Mr Mancham said he was "unreachable." His telephone was switched to an answering service and any efforts to reach him at his home failed.

About the same time, former Seychelles news vendor Mr Paul Chow — another key figure in the tortuous coup drama — became incommunicado.

Mr Chow has been accessible to the Press up to now, answering questions and speculating on who might have bugged his Wimbledon home.

# Seychelles plot Stew simmers

Stew 11/182

At first his wife said Mr Chow had gone out "for an hour or so." Many hours later she said she had not heard from him.

A Foreign Office spokesman said: "I am not aware of any request for the extradition of any people mentioned in recent reports."

The Foreign Office at first insisted a possible extradition request was a matter for the Home Office. The Home Office in turn insisted such a request was a matter for the Foreign Office.

Mr Mancham did not feature in many of the discussions which took place in the R220-a-day Room 412 of the Carlton Tower Hotel said to have been hired by the plotters.

Although he was seen entering the hotel on the same day the plotters became aware their conversations had been bugged Mr Mancham told the London Sunday Times he had been unable to get into the room.

Room 412 was taken by a Seychellois, Gerard Hoareu (31), reported to have planned the previous abortive coup bungled by Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare.

Mr Hoareu, jailed by President Albert Rene for plotting to overthrow the government, flew to London from South Africa on September 30.

Mr Hoareu is a leading member of the self-styled Seychelles resistance movement, MPR. He has said he would like to be President should Mr Rene ever be overthrown.

Mr Hoareu, code-named "Jack" during the room 412 discussions, laid out a two-level plot.

The first level involved the destabilisation of the Seychelles which would be followed by shipping 300 mercenaries in South Africa to tackle President Rene's forces, augmented by 300 Tanzanian soldiers. The London Sunday Times, which exposed the plot, was adamant

for a formal request for the extradition of four men (including Mr Mancham and Mr Hoareu) had been made by President Rene.

The request is unlikely to succeed, as President Rene has imprisoned political opponents without trial in the past.

More details of the plot — thought to have been South African financed — have emerged. The international cast is even more colourful than first suspected.

The plotters had links with an Italian entrepreneur called Mario Ricci, a member of the Moroccan Royal family and a rich nephew of the late Shah of Iran.

No one is yet certain who planted the bug in Room 412, but the likeliest candidate remains the Italian Secret Service.

The Italians could be seeking the favours with President Rene. Extensive oil deals covers have been



Mr James Mancham . . . abruptly cancelled all appointments.

made around the islands and a decision will soon be made on which governments and companies can have oil fields.

Mr Mancham denied any knowledge of the possible coup although he supported the exiles in principle.

However, it is clear from the tapes the exiles hoped he would lend respectability to the coup.

Mr Mancham's own uncertainty about his

role and his exclusion from the bugged hotel room makes it almost certain a major split has developed in the right-wing Seychelles Resistance Movement, with the Kingpin now being Mr Hoareu.

Mr Hoareu and fellow exiles, Mr Chow and Eddie Camille, have sent a lawyer's letter to the Sunday Times denying a report they had smuggled arms or explosives into and out of Britain.

Xes

CAPL Times 4/11/82

# Newspapers charged

JOHANNESBURG. Three newspapers — Rapport, the Sunday Times and the Rand Daily Mail — will be prosecuted for reports dealing with alleged National Intelli-

gence Service involvement in last year's unsuccessful coup in the Seychelles.

They will be prosecuted in terms of the Protection of Information Act, according to the Deputy Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Dr J A van S D'Oliviera.

He said yesterday summonses had been sent this week to South African Associated Newspapers, publishers of the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Times, their editors, Mr Rex Gibson and Mr Tertius Myburgh respectively, and Mr Eugene Hugo, who reported on the coup.

Summonses would also be sent to Rapport-Uitgewers, the publishers of Rapport; the newspaper's editor, Mr Sakkie Perold; and a Rapport journalist, Mr Eddie Botha. — Sapa

# Seychelles

plot: 3 ①

SM 4/11/82  
released

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The three men arrested in connection with a plot to overthrow the Seychelles Government have been released.

Scotland Yard said yesterday. The three have gone home. No charges will be brought against them.

The men were arrested for questioning by the anti-terrorist squad this week after the bugging of room 412 of the Carlton Tower Hotel.

Scotland Yard has not named the men, but the Seychelles Consul General in London, Mr. Robert Delpech, confirmed that they were Seychellois exiles Mr. Paul Chow, Mr. Gerard Hoareau, and Mr. Edmond Camille.

## ADMITTED

Seychelles President Mr. Albert Rene has admitted his government was responsible for the electronic surveillance of room 412.

The Foreign Office said yesterday that the Seychelles had not officially informed it of this admission.

"Until we hear from them we cannot comment," a spokesman said.

In a statement released through an Italian news agency on Tuesday night, President Rene said the intelligence operation had resulted in the discovery and exposure of a plot to use mercenaries recruited in South Africa to overthrow the Seychelles Government.

AY NOVEMBER 5 1982

# Seychelles coup plot: <sup>ARGUS</sup> Three go free <sup>5/11/82</sup>

## Argus Bureau

LONDON — The three men arrested in connection with a plot to overthrow the Seychelles Government have been released.

Scotland Yard said on Wednesday that the three had gone home and there would be no charges.

The men were arrested for questioning earlier this week following the bugging of room 412 of the Carlton Tower Hotel.

## CONFIRMED

Scotland Yard has not named the men, but the Seychelles Consul General in London, Mr Robert Delpech, confirmed that they were Seychellois exiles, Mr Paul Chow, Mr Gerard Hoareau and Mr Edmond Camille.

The President of the Seychelles, Mr Albert Rene, has publicly admitted his government was responsible for the

electronic surveillance of the hotel room

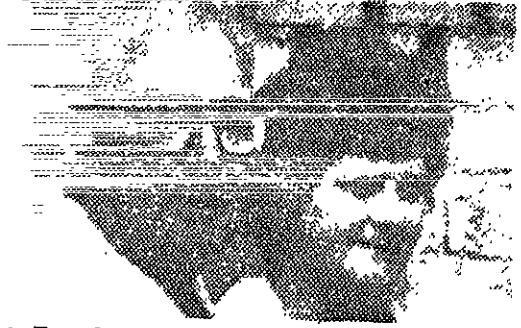
In his statement, released through an Italian news agency on Tuesday night, President Rene said the intelligence operation had "resulted in the discovery and exposure of a plot ... to use mercenaries recruited in South Africa to overthrow the government in the Seychelles"

## 'EXPLODED'

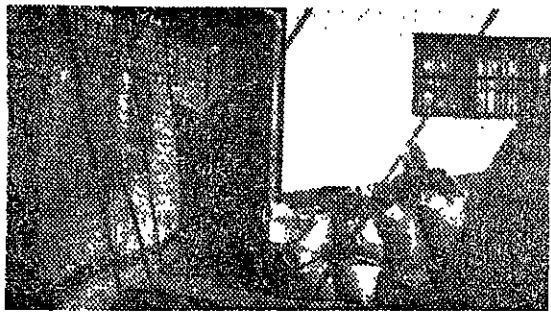
He asked, "How would the British Government have reacted if the conspirators' bomb had exploded aboard the British Airways plane while being transported to the Seychelles?"

President Rene was referring to the deaths of two men, South African Mike Asher and Seychellois Simon Denousse, following a bomb explosion on a beach on the islands last month.

# THE DURBAN CONNECTION IN BOTCHED COUP No 2



Bezuidenhout and his wife Martha



The backyard shack in Durban North



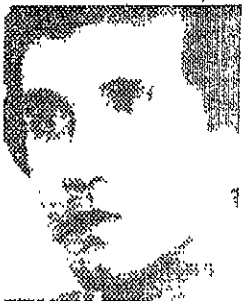
Garth Middleton



Mike Asher



Gonzague D'offay



Gerard Hoarau

# THE BACKYARD BUTCHERY PLOT

paper or other material in examination room instructed. Communicate with other person except the inv- is to be torn out. handed to the com- or before leaving the exclusion from the


A DINGY room in an overgrown backyard behind a butcher's shop in Durban North was the secret headquarters for some plotters of the overthrow of the Seychelles Government of President Albert Rene.

By  
**RON GOLDEN**

It was from inside the yard, sealed off by huge steel doors and high walls, that Durban man Mike Asher, killed last month in a car explosion in the Seychelles, telephoned Seychellois exiles in London intent on deposing President Rene.

One recorded call Asher made was to the plush R220-a-night Carlton Tower Hotel in Knightsbridge where the Seychellois were based.

A Sunday Tribune investigation this week based on a Durban telephone number obtained from a bugged call in London and allegedly between Mr. Asher and the Carlton Tower led to the Umbhanga Rocks Drive Butchery on the fringes of suburban Durban.

The butcher genial Boet Bezuidenhout and his wife Martha were astonished and almost unbelieving when told the telephone at the back of their premises had been used for plotting the coup attempt.

But both he and his wife had noticed that in the past month or two they saw two men — and sometimes more — had been driving into the back yard, unlocking the gates and going inside.

One of them was bearded, they said, Mike Asher frequently grew beards and had one when he went to the Seychelles.

Mr. Middleton, Mr. Asher's former employer in his import-export business, lives in Station Ridge Road about a five-minute stroll from the plotters' headquarters.

He told the Tribune during a chat by his pool-side: "At this stage of the game I am almost 80 percent certain Mike was bumped off. I am going into this whole business and I will find out the truth."

There has been speculation Mr. Asher may have been apprehended after arriving in the Seychelles from Durban and murdered for the role he was allegedly playing.

Mr. Middleton would not disclose his theories about why he believed Mr. Asher had been murdered and had not died as a result of accidentally setting off explosives in the bomb-filled car in which his body was found after a midnight blast on a lonely Seychelles beach in the middle of last month.

One of the movement's leaders, Gerard Hoarau, a former senior civil servant in the islands who until recently lived in Durban, was one of the prime movers in last November's abortive coup attempt by Colonel

Mike Hoare and his mercenaries.

Mr. Hoarau, who lived in a small flat on the Victoria Embankment, was also a kingpin in the latest botched coup and was based in the Carlton Tower in London coordinating plans.

The Tribune was told by a Durban man this week he had seen a letter from the Govern-

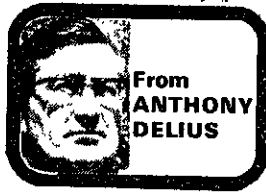
ment telling Hoarau his re-admission to South Africa would have to be examined.

Another Durban man and Seychelles exile, Gonzague d'Offay, was told in a letter from Marie Perle Merwe, director of the Internal Affairs department, she must curtail certain activities or face the possibility of being deported.

# Africa unable to emerge from its swamp of debt

Cape Times 8/11/82

LONDON. — The world is in a financial mess. The Third World is comparatively in the worst mess of all, and if its nations begin to renege on the debts they have been allowed to accumulate there could be a collapse of the banking system among the developed nations and therefore in the world as a whole.



Africa does not owe the world's lenders anything like as much as the nations of other continents, but it is in the worst financial position of all and its hopes of pulling out of its swamp of debt seem less than those of any other part of the globe.

By Africa I mean the states south of the Sahara including South Africa. The latest estimates made at the world financial meetings held in Toronto this year are that the Third World's total debt to national and international lending agencies amounts to \$525 000 million. Africa, south of the Sahara, owes about one-eighth of this, or some \$65 000 million.

## To pay interest

In a number of African states the authorities are being forced to borrow from whatever agencies will lend the money simply in order to pay the interest due on the sums previously borrowed.

For various reasons Africa has two-thirds of the world's poorest states, and these add up to about one quarter of the states on this continent alone, that is 16 out of 52.

No doubt this is due to the speed and manner in which the various former European colonies were given their independence, a speed and manner even worse than duplicated by the South African government in creating Bantustans, hitherto unrecognized as lawful states by the world community.

All this gives a weight of poverty to Africa south of the Sahara that, as the world system of finance is now constituted, ensures the continuance of poverty for its peoples for generations if not centuries ahead.

But the general effect of the great wastes of poverty lying about this continent is that in the long run they spread poverty

to their neighbours. As the world recession continues so the brighter successes among its states, such as Kenya, Ivory Coast, Malawi, Nigeria and South Africa, get afflicted by the economic and social wasting diseases now so rampant among the worst cases, Tanzania, the Sudan, Uganda, Chad, Burundi and so on. Unemployment and under-employment plus inflation are growing throughout the continent from the Cape to Cairo.

No doubt a goodly part of the Third World is now turning to the International Monetary Fund for help in the crisis, but here again the number of nations in Africa doing so exceeds the numbers in other parts of the world. Zaire is returning to the IMF for the third time, Zambia for the second time, Ghana and Tanzania are resuming talks, Malawi and South Africa have made urgent approaches.

Already the lending world is at odds about how to handle its biggest economic crisis since the 1930s. Debts have got so out of hand in Mexico, even with all its oil and other developments, that this country owes the world more than the whole of sub-Saharan Africa put together.

If Argentina, Brazil and Chile are added into the account, as the major debtors in the area, Latin America is getting on for a debt more than four times that of Africa.

Of course the major provider of lending cash in the world, whether through the World Bank, IMF, IDA, or the Bank of America and various private banks, is the US. At present Washington is pursuing a "tight-money" policy both at home and abroad, and at first set its face entirely against expanding the international money available for borrowing.

At least it held this position until it discovered the breath-taking size of its neighbour Mexico's debt and realized how its

own private banks would be affected if Mexico — and perhaps others close by — did not service what they owe.

Now the Americans are prepared to see the world's international total on loan expand to 25 percent more than formerly. Britain and Germany, with less to lose, are willing to see the lending total go up by half. Only France, which

reforming the world's financial system. Here might be an approach to the global new economic policy that practically the whole Third World has been pleading for for years. The Nigerian Finance Minister, Victor Masi, agrees at any rate that the functioning of the IMF "needs to be overhauled".

The fact is that whether the world money on hand



Mr Robert Muldoon... seeks world financial reform

Even if the present crisis means only that for some years ahead developing states are going to mark time by "rescheduling their debts" — in the same way as a mortgagor gets his loan extended in time when the interest goes up — the weight of international debt seems unlikely to come down.

South Africans, of course, may not consider themselves to be in the same financial boat as their fellow-African states. Pretoria's finance men may believe that they will be considered to be beyond Africa and among the big league of debtors, along with Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and so on. It is believed that, simply because their debts are so big, these nations must be saved first by the world, whatever happens to the less developed nations with lowlier prospects.

On the other hand, as the present world recession shows increasingly clearly, the nations, rich and poor, are finding themselves ever more locked together as the century moves on, if it is not to be in war then in economic and trading matters. And your neighbour starts just across the river or the desert.



This continent has two-thirds of the world's poorest nations

has always been comparatively a large lender to poor countries, agrees with the world's borrowers that the amount available for loan should be doubled.

The New Zealand Prime Minister, Robert Muldoon, no favourite among the black nations because of his refusal to forbid rugby relations with South Africa, earned himself favourable interest at a Commonwealth meeting by proposing an international meeting for

for a loan is going to be doubled or merely increased by a quarter, it will only be lent if the borrower agrees to IMF conditions. A great part of Africa south of the Sahara, including South Africa, is going to have to abide by the stringent IMF economic rules that states such as Ghana and Tanzania were kicking against only recently. The proposal to spend a third of its funds by the IDA on African projects will also be subject to this.

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gulator.

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- All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

date liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

# OAU faces threat of break-up

Shaw  
10/11/82

By Henry Reuter  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

NAIROBI — In African capitals doubts are being expressed about whether sufficient Heads of State to keep the Organisation of African Unity in business will attend this month's reconvened OAU summit meeting in Libya despite compromise moves on the Western Sahara Controversy.

The refusal of 19 OAU member states to sit down with the controversially admitted 51st OAU member, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, was advanced as the main reason why the July

and August OAU foreign ministerial and summit meetings in Tripoli failed to raise the necessary quorum of 34.

The SADR has now "voluntarily and temporarily" agreed not to attend the reconvened meeting, due to begin on Monday.

Its chief opponent, Morocco, has said it will attend only if the OAU agrees irreversibly to call for a ceasefire in Western Sahara and the holding of a self-determination referendum among the people of Western Sahara.

But, even if the Western Sahara crack in the facade of African

unity is papered over by such expedients, this month's meetings may still be aborted by the fact that many African nations will not go to Tripoli because it is in Libya, and because a successful summit would mean the election of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi as OAU chairman.

Libya claimed that 23 heads of state turned up for this year's aborted Tripoli meetings and that a further eight were "represented," leaving the summit three short of a quorum.

This claim was disputed. The Libyan figure included, for example, Chad, which it

said could be represented by its charge d'affaires in Tripoli. Since then, Mr Hissen Habre one of Colonel Gaddafi's greatest political enemies, has become the unchallenged Chadian leader.

Other implacable enemies of Colonel Gaddafi, following his attempts to undermine their governments, include the heads of state of Egypt, Sudan, Senegal, Gambia, Gabon, Somalia, Zaire and Uganda.

Similar feelings about him and the OAU chairmanship are believed to exist in Morocco, Mauritania, Cameroon, Liberia and Upper Volta.

Another reason why many countries will stay away from Tripoli is that the SADR offer to "withdraw" from the meetings, made under pressure from its greatest backer, Algeria, offers no solution to the dispute over its admission to the OAU in the first place.

This decision was taken by the OAU Secretary General, Mr Edem Kodjo, at last February's Foreign Ministers' Conference in Addis Ababa without consulting the OAU Chairman, Mr Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, or anybody else.



## OAU SUMMIT ① Heading for Tripoli

Fm 12/11/82

A new date has been set for the 1982 Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit — November 23, in Tripoli. This is despite Sudanese and Egyptian objections to Muammar Gaddafi's chairmanship and threats not to attend the meeting in Libya.

Their absence, however, is unlikely to deprive the OAU of the quorum needed for the summit. Efforts to hold the meeting in August failed because more than a third of member states boycotted the conference on account of the admission of the Sahara Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) to membership, which they opposed. (The SADR was proclaimed by Polisario guerrillas fighting Morocco for control of the Western Sahara.)

The compromise on the summit was reached only after the Polisario agreed "voluntarily and temporarily" not to participate. It took a good deal of arm-twisting from Algeria — Polisario's principal sponsor, together with Libya — to get this concession. For the moment both radical and moderate OAU members agree that the survival of the organisation is more important than any principle regarding Polisario's membership. It remains to be seen whether this consensus will outlast the

Foreign Ministers' meeting, scheduled for the week starting November 16.

There are plenty of controversial issues left, including the choice of a new Secretary-General. The present incumbent, Edem Kodjo, stands little chance of being re-elected, partly because he is considered responsible for the crisis surrounding Polisario's admission. This year even the unanimity usually expressed on southern African questions may be in danger, with opinion divided over the Swazi land issue.

Mbabane's supporters may come up against the one OAU principle which has been regarded paramount over the years: that national boundaries inherited at independence are inviolable.

This has helped to limit territorial disputes between neighbours. Some leading OAU members, including Nigeria, point out that the fact that Swaziland's land claim involves a non-member — that is, South Africa — makes no difference because, they argue, it is not SA's borders which are in dispute, but its policies.



NEW plans to reconvene the aborted 19th summit of the Organisation of African Unity which was to have been held at Tripoli in Libya in August are once again in jeopardy.

When the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic announced that it would withdraw 'voluntarily and temporarily' from a new summit meeting decisions were made in Algeria to hold the new summit in the near future — in the third week of November.

It was a dispute over the decision to admit the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) to the proposed August meeting that caused 19 African states to boycott the meeting and so prevent the formation of the necessary quorum.

While the presence of the SADR was the main cause of the 'defections' the fact that Col Gaddafi of Libya would be elected as the 1982-83 chairman was also a factor.

**New obstacle**

Now a new obstacle has presented itself—the presence of two 'heads of state' to represent Chad. Among the delegates who did arrive at Tripoli for the

① **New OAU summit plans foundering**

ill-fated summit in August were Goukouni Oueddi, the former president of Chad who had received help from Col Gaddafi, and Hisseine Habré the man who has since replaced him and has been recognised as the new head of state.

**'A hoax'**

According to reports from Kinshasa, the capital of Zaire, representatives of the 36 countries which attended the recent Franco-African summit meeting will not reverse their decisions regarding the recognition of President Habré as the Chad head of state.

And from Morocco, which had been one of the prime movers in the August boycott, Press reports reflecting official government opinion

state that the announcement of the SADR's decision to withdraw was nothing more than a 'hoax'.

'How', writes the official newspaper *L'Opinion*, 'can a group of mercenaries, not recognised by the Oau announce a "voluntary withdrawal" at a time when they have not been admitted, have neither legal existence nor representation.

'No compromise is possible and nothing can save the OAU from breaking up'

The article referred back to a decision taken at the 1981 summit meetin Nairobi that the future of the peoples of the former Spanish West African territory should be decided by a referendum.

**Objections from Somalia**

From Nairobi it is reported that President Siad Barre of Somalia has appealed to African heads of state to boycott the proposed new meeting of the OAU at which the chairmanship of the OAU is to be handed over to the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

**Violated**

Somali radio has reported that President Barre said Colonel Gaddafi had violated the OAU charter by pursuing 'terrorist and anarchist' policies against various foreign countries.

'Somalia's view is that if Gaddafi is chosen chairman of the OAU, it would undoubtedly result in Africa being exposed to a lot of embarrassment due to Gaddafi's bad leadership,' the state-run radio quoted the president as saying. (Sapa-AP, Sapa-Reuter)

es



stantin Chernenk, a biologist, might take Politburo was also member of the Politburo or a new chief. —

committee in the next few days

The Soviet political system lacks any firm procedure for changing leaders. The death of Mr Brezhnev may in the long run spell the end of the careers of those whose rise to the top was due entirely to their association with him, the analysts believe.

The result may be the departure in the next year or so of a whole generation of Brezhnev-appointed officials in their 60s and 70s from the Central Committee and the Government.

Yesterday's 15-page obituary address to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people quoted directly from Mr Brezhnev's last speech, delivered on November 7, to emphasise the continuity of Kremlin policy.

In his November 7 speech, he warned that any aggressor against the Soviet Union would inevitably be met by 'a crushing retaliatory strike' and it was this passage which was quoted word for word in the address by his successors

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# OAU countdown to its make-or-break meeting

By Henry Reuter  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

TRIPOLI — Libyan officials, in a more optimistic frame of mind than four months ago, have begun the head countdown in Tripoli for this year's second attempt to stage the Foreign Ministers' and summit conferences of the Organisation of African Unity.

Thirty-four Ministers, or their stand-ins, are needed for a quorum. Their five-day meeting is scheduled to begin at 5 pm today. By late yesterday only 10 Foreign Ministers were in Tripoli or known to be on their way.

Representatives of Mali, Zambia and Mauritius arrived on Saturday. Delegates from Senegal, Upper Volta, Niger, Gambia and Benin shared a Senegalese aircraft which landed yesterday. The Foreign Ministers of Morocco and Sierra Leone were reported to be en route.

Libya is confident at least 40 Foreign Ministers will be represented.

If a quorum is reached, the Ministers' main task will be to prepare an agenda for a November 21-26 summit meeting.

Both meetings were aborted in July and August when the OAU was split on the issue of recognising the membership of the controversially elected Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic.

The SADR has since been pressurised into staying away from this month's reconvened meetings. Morocco's announcement that it will attend, as a result of the SADR's absence, may give a lead to many of the 20

states which boycotted the earlier conferences rather than sit down with the SADR.

While preparations for the last meetings were less frenetic than for any summit since the OAU was launched in 1963, the atmosphere in Tripoli this weekend was positively dreary.

Even the usual "welcome" signs had not been erected by last night. Accreditation arrangements had not been fully worked out and few ordinary Libyans were aware they were about to host a conference which would make or break the machinery of inter-African co-operation.

If any SADR delegates are around, they are lying low, well aware it will take very little to trigger off a ministerial exodus.

Although some 300 OAU staff have flown in from Addis Ababa, by last night no agenda for the ministerial conference had been issued.

If the Ministers' meeting gets started, a major item on its discussion list will be the poor response of African countries to an "African charter on people's and human rights."

This document was produced two years ago and it demands Africa's acceptance of such principles as respect for human life and integrity; the right to liberty and security; freedom of religion, expression, assembly and participation in government; and the rule of law.

It was disclosed yesterday only 14 of the 51 OAU states have signed the charter.

# Closed start to OAU session

TRIPOLI — The 39th Organisation of African Unity Foreign Ministers conference opened in grand style in Tripoli last night with 44 delegations present — surpassing the required quorum of 34.

Incidents which marred the occasion were a mass insult to Libya's non-African diplomatic corps and sharp differences between the OAU secretariat and Libyan security men over the admission of the international Press which, against all OAU precedent, was kept out of the opening session.

Indications to journalists standing outside in the rain that all was not well within came when the diplomats solemnly marched out — only five minutes after trooping in.

They had been told by their hosts, invitations notwithstanding, no non-African diplomat would be allowed to attend the opening session.

## PAVEMENT

Having given their chauffeurs instructions to return much later, the envoys of Britain, West and East Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Italy, South Korea, the Soviet Union, China, France and Brazil stood around on the puddled pavement for an hour, waiting to be fetched.

Behind the closed doors, Botswana Foreign Minister, Mr. Archie Mogwe was handing over the ministerial conference chairmanship to his Libyan counterpart.

Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi bitterly attacked American, French and British attitudes towards Africa in a keynote address.

The official Libyan news agency, Jana, quoted Colonel Gaddafi as saying: "I cannot accept the humiliation of the African nationals and the workers concerned in Britain and America."

It further said he pointed out "the obvious contradictions in the policy of the colonialist countries, which despise black nations on the one hand and allege friendship with the African countries on the other." — The Star's Africa News Service, Reuter.

# The unwanted hungry refugees

By Iain Guest

Eight thousand hungry refugees, mostly of Rwandese origin, are now huddled at the border between Uganda and Rwanda in increasingly wretched conditions, according to UN relief officials in Geneva.

The 8 000 are waiting at two border crossing points just inside Uganda. Six thousand are at Kaglumba, just across from the famous national park of Akagera in Rwanda, and the remaining 2 000 further west at Gatuna. The problem of the

Rwandese has now developed into the most pressing refugee crisis inside Africa facing the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

In addition to the crisis at the border, the agency faces growing pressure from the two governments. The Ugandans have consistently played down the exodus and accused the UNHCR of exaggeration. The Rwandans, who have now taken in 45 000 refugees, refuse to take any more unless the

UNHCR can guarantee their resettlement elsewhere — something that would represent a complete break of policy in dealing with African refugees.

Nicholas van Praag, a UNHCR official who visited Rwanda recently, described the scene on the Ugandan side at Kaglumba as "pitiful." Other relief officials here say that Rwandese villages were seen burning inside Uganda several days after the October 27 joint meeting, confounding claims by the Ugandans that the refugees are re-

turning to Rwanda of their own accord.

The agency's protests have been treated with stultified indifference by President Obote ever since the UNHCR representative in Kampala, Mr Tom Unwin, alerted Western journalists to the crisis. Mr Unwin has reportedly been forbidden to visit the border area. The UNHCR's role is further precluded by the fact that the Rwandese will qualify technically as refugees only once they cross a frontier. Inside Rwanda, the 45 000

refugees have imposed an intolerable strain on the government, and many of their cattle have died. The Rwandese have privately let it be known that they would accept at most 10 000 for permanent resettlement, but they are unwilling to take more through fear that the refugees — mostly Tutsis — would upset the country's delicate racial balance, and are insisting that the 6 000 at the border will be admitted only if the UNHCR can guarantee their resettlement abroad. — The Guardian.



Obote studied indifference.



May 17 11/78

By Henry Reuter  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

# Chad issue may open old rift

TRIPOLI — The Organisation of African Unity Foreign Ministers' meeting became bogged down yesterday when an all-day debate on who should represent Chad left the question unresolved. Delegations from the

Chad Government of Mr Hissen Habre and of the Government in exile of former President Mr Goukouni Oueddei sat facing each other in the foyer while the Ministers wrangled for eight

hours without reaching agreement. The Ivory Coast challenged the impartiality of the issue of the conference's Libyan chairman, Mr Abdel Ath el Obeidi, and was among several countries which threatened

to quit the conference if Libyan-backed Mr Oueddei's delegation was seated. Other delegates expressed misgivings that, if Libya forced through the recognition of the Queddei delegation, the OAU would once again

be split as it had been over the recognition of Polisario's Western Sahara Government. The dispute caused earlier attempts to stage OAU Foreign Ministers' and summit meetings to be postponed for lack of a

quorum. The debate will be resumed today. The atmosphere in Tripoli was tense last night amid growing fears that the outcome of tomorrow's debate could make or break both the Foreign Ministers' conference and the OAU summit meeting scheduled for next week.

# Gaddafi shocks the OAU

By Henry Reuter,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

TRIPOLI — An attack on one of the basic tenets of the OAU charter by its chairman-elect, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, caused a score of African Foreign Ministers attending the OAU Ministerial conference here to seek guidance from their governments yesterday. The attack came in a closed-door speech in Arabic in which Colonel Gaddafi, who is due to become OAU chairman when its summit meeting convenes in Tripoli next Tues-

day, called for revisions of African national boundaries as inherited from colonial regimes. Describing such boundaries as "artificial", Colonel Gaddafi said border disputes should be settled by an African court of justice appointed by the OAU. He went on to vow that during his term as OAU chairman he would adopt a positive and non-traditional approach to such problems, which would be a "turning point in the march of the OAU."

His statement has caused considerable diplomatic disquiet.

## Revision of borders call

Since its inception in 1963 the OAU has on many occasions been able to preserve peace between member states only by the rigid enforcement of the principle of the acceptance of colonial boundaries, as enshrined in its charter. There are fears that an attempt by Colonel

Gaddafi to change this principle could split the organisation and result in a resurgence of border wars all over the continent. Some African diplomats here believe their Heads of State might feel so strongly on this issue that they will decide to boycott the OAU summit meeting and again deny Colonel

Gaddafi the chairmanship for lack of a quorum. Some Foreign Ministers have also expressed concern at remarks made by Colonel Gaddafi in his opening speech, in which he criticised the 42 African states which attended the October Franco-African summit meeting in Kinshasa. Colonel Gaddafi suggested that the Kinshasa conference was an attempt to undermine the OAU, and launched a bitter attack on its host country, Zaïre, for restoring diplomatic relations with Israel.

He also hit out at the United States, Egypt, Somalia and Sudan and accused the US of sabotaging Libya's earlier attempts this year to stage the OAU Foreign Ministers' and summit meetings. If Colonel Gaddafi is elected OAU chairman next week he will hold the office for only six months.

May 25 next year — the 20th anniversary of the OAU's founding — has been fixed as the firm date of next year's summit, in Conakry, Guinea, at which President Sekou Toure will succeed to the chairmanship.

# Seating dispute holds OAU

TRIPOLI — The Organisation of African Unity foreign ministers' conference yesterday struggled through the third day of talks centred on a dispute over the seating of two Chadian delegations, each claiming its right to represent the country.

In scenes reminiscent of the August stalemate over the seating of radical North African guerrilla front Polisario, which led finally to the postponement of the last OAU summit, business was halted as delegates sought agreement on the Chad issue.

Conference host Libya backed seating the rebel delegates instead of the official representatives of the Chad Government, which has been recognised by more than 40 countries since it was inaugurated in October.

The dispute appeared complicated by Libya's new found influence within OAU. Libyan head of state Colonel Moammar Gaddafi will become the organisation's chairman when the summit starts on November 23.

Delegates held talks through the night and early yesterday but failed to reach a compromise. Adoption of a 29-item agenda, including resolutions on the Palestinian question, Namibia and South Africa as well as pressing economic and social projects, was suspended.

"It is still Chad and I am afraid it will still be Chad for some time to come," an OAU information official said.

The rival delegations already are in Tripoli. One represents former guerrilla leader Mr. Hissene Habre, who was chosen President in October after his forces defeated the army of Mr. Goukoni Weddeye, the deposed president who now runs a Libyan-backed parallel government in northern Chad.

Some 40 countries recognised Mr. Habre's government. But radical countries such as Libya, Congo and Ethiopia still support Mr. Weddeye and their delegates were lobbying for his men to take the official seat.

Conference sources said the OAU secretariat invited Mr. Habre's government for the Tripoli meeting, but Libya sent out the invitations for Mr. Weddeye. — UPI

# Tripoli summit faces a new crisis

By Henry Renter,  
The Star's Africa News  
Service

TRIPOLI — The threat of a new impasse for the OAU loomed here yesterday when the Foreign Ministers' conference remained deadlocked after two days of debate on who should represent Chad at the meeting.

Against Libyan attempts to seat a delegation from ex-president Goukouni Oueddi, 17 countries were insisting that only the delegation sent here by the de facto government of Hissen Habre could represent the country.

As tempers became heated several delegations threatened to walk out of the conference, claiming that contrary to Libya's bid to seat Mr Oueddi's government-in-exile the OAU had no right to decide who should be in power in any OAU member state.

## INSISTED

Seventeen countries insisted on recognition of the Habre delegation while 10 countries demanded the seating of the Oueddi delegation.

Botswana has declared that it remains neutral in the dispute. Lesotho and Mauritius

have not attended the recognition debates and 14 other delegations have not yet declared their positions.

Suggestions by some of the pro-Oueddi states that a compromise could be reached by barring both Chadian delegations were angrily rejected by pro-Habre speakers.

The continuing deadlock has played havoc with the foreign ministers' schedule.

They had expected to prepare 29 resolutions by Sunday for submission to the OAU summit which begins on Tuesday.

## EMERGENCY

Emergency plans have now been made for three working committees to divide the work of drafting the resolutions between them.

The new impasse is the second crisis this year to threaten the 1982 OAU summit.

An attempt to hold the summit in Tripoli in August was postponed when rival factions clashed over the admission to the OAU of the Polisario front from Western Sahara. It was later agreed that the Polisario delegation stay away.



Getting tweaked up for tonight's battle are Miss (left), and Miss

## Wine travelled well...

The Star-Bureau

NEW YORK — When it comes to a good red wine, the Americans and French are always eager to demonstrate their international goodwill.

Even to the point of using a Concorde to hustle a case or two of the first Beaujolais Nouveau of this wine season, fresh from France, and serve it to grateful — and surprised — American connoisseurs at a New York hotel within hours.

Under what officials deemed an "emergency situation," the truck carrying the cases of wine was given a police escort.

## Miss U in the

LONDON — Green-eyed Miss Trinidad and Tobago has ousted Miss UK in the final betting for tonight's Miss World contest.

Althea Ingrid Rocks, a 22-year-old accounts clerk with a Cleopatra hairstyle, is 6-4 favourite.

Miss UK, 20-year-old Della Dolan, is down to second favourite at 4-1 after leading the field all week.

But blonde, leggy Della was not needed by the boost for Cleopatra.

"What the bookies say has nothing to do with who wins," she said last night.

Third favourite at 9-2 is Miss Switzer

# Psychopathic killer dies in hail of IRA bullets

Own Correspondent  
BELFAST — Lennie Murphy a psychopathic sectarian killer the police could not trap, died at the hands of his worst enemies — the IRA.

But he died quickly and relatively cleanly — in a hail of bullets — whereas his victims often innocent Cath-

The Provos' Belfast Brigade announced yesterday that it had "executed" the man they called the "Master Butcher."

His victims were murdered with knives, hatchets, cleavers and pick-axes. One had cyanide slowly poured down his throat.

of throat slashings because of an almost insane hatred of Catholics.

He got his psychopathic "kicks" from torturing the victims — at least three of whom he killed personally.

Murphy was freed from prison in August after serving six years



# China's new <sup>(A) (C)</sup> African <sup>from 1911/82</sup> assault

CHARLES MITCHELL  
reports from Nairobi

AFTER nearly a decade of casual indifference, China has opened a major assault on Africa. Its weapons are diplomats, acrobats and aid.

Failures and mistakes marked China's African policy in the 1960s and 1970s, but indications now are that it is making a comeback — and a hit — with financially troubled countries on the continent.

Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang has scheduled a seven-nation African tour in December, described by diplomats as a signal that China is once again taking Africa seriously.

For almost two years, China has been laying the groundwork.

In May 1981, four new vice-foreign ministers were appointed to spearhead a new African drive.

Its diplomatic presence in Africa has been beefed up.

And aid packages have been signed with Somalia, Kenya and Zimbabwe.

Diplomats term China's aid policy "opportunistic."

Its comeback from its dismal early record has been fuelled by growing mistrust of Soviet demands on aid recipients and the Reagan Administration's policy of constructive engagement with South Africa.

"Soviet and US aid packages take years for delivery and are so tied up with strings that a country feels it sells its soul for them," an African diplomat said.

China has been quick to take advantage.

But, diplomats believe China hopes to quietly establish at least a potential source of badly needed raw materials, abundant in Africa.

But, China's comeback trail has been tough.

In the early Seventies, China plunged into Africa in a big and unprepared way.

But on a visit to Africa Premier Chou en Lai practically ruined China's chances for good with one remark.

"Africa is ripe for revolution," he said.

African leaders shuddered. They mistrusted the Chinese for years as "exporters of revolution and instability".

But, diplomats and Chinese officials agree that China's military aid to Africa is now almost so small it is insignificant.

"We export people, not machinery or technology," Mr Li Chengwei, of Nairobi's Chinese embassy, said of his countries aid packages. — UPI.

S. 59 11/182  
**Chad issue threat  
to OAU summit** ①

The Star's Africa  
News Service

TRIPOLI — OAU Foreign Ministers remained deadlocked here last night on the issue of which of two rival delegations should represent Chad.

Three days after the start of the Foreign Ministers' conference none of its business had been dealt with and fears were growing that once again the Foreign Ministers' conference and the OAU summit meeting due to follow it next week would be aborted.

Compromise suggestions that both delegations — from the Chad Government of Hissen Habre and the government-in-exile of ex-President Goukouni Queddi — should either be seated or excluded from the conferences have been angrily rejected

by both sides.

Most of the 44 delegations present are demanding the exclusive recognition of the Habre team on the grounds that an OAU precedent has been to recognise the government in power following Africa's many coups and civil wars.

Spokesman of the Libyan-backed Oueddi delegation, Mr Noor Adam Bakr, was trotted out by the Libyans to address a Press conference last night.

He accused the OAU peacekeeping force in Chad of failing in its duty to protect the Queddi Government.

Late yesterday in a bid to save the conferences the Libyans were seeking support for a proposal that the Chad seating dispute be held over for next week's summit meeting.

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# It's a new deal for women

IF THE woman who rings up your purchases on Monday seems somewhat more congenial than usual, it could be that she knows that at the end of the week or the month her pay packet will be substantially plumper.

November 15 is the day when thousands of women in the commercial and distributive trade will benefit from new wage determinations which eliminate discrimination on the grounds of sex and impose an increased minimum wage for both men and women, with women's increases bringing their wages to the level paid to their male colleagues.

The move is in response to an amendment to the wage act last year which outlawed wage discrimination of any kind, either on grounds of sex or race. As a result, when any wage determination is revised, the wage board is bound to remove any discriminatory pay scales.

Categories affected by the new determination cover such diverse occupations as alteration hands and chauffeurs, clerks and managers and include the all-important sales personnel, cashiers and till packers.

The move, coming at a recessionary time, has caused a certain amount of concern among employers — some of the increases are as high as 49 percent — but several major retailers said the increases would make little difference, since they had always paid well above the minimum.

Increases may not be significant in big stores, where sex discrimination is generally absent and wages tend to be above the regulated minimums.

But the increases could cause problems for smaller businesses. Small shops do a large share of the retail business. In just one category — purveyors of groceries, toiletries and confectionaries — these shops represent 42.4 percent of the trade country-wide.

Mr Mike Wright, Chairman of the Association of Employers (Assem), which represents the retail trade, cautiously welcomed the move, pointing out that wages in the commercial and distributive trade had been very low, especially as far as women were concerned, and that the retail trade in South Africa was traditionally a woman's field.

"It's been a healthy increase. The people it is going to be most important to are people at the bottom end of the scale." But "it's going to prove very costly to close the field."

Mr Richard Blackwell, General Manager, Personnel, of the OK group was unperturbed about the increases, saying it would affect his company very little.

"We have no problems at all in terms of general assistants because we are so well above the wage determination anyway."

"He only area in which the OK was in a position to be affected is the wage determination."

Mr Wright was not unexpected. "We knew it was coming. The wage board meeting finished in May and we had a shrewd idea of what its decision was going to be."

Mrs Emma Mashinini, general secretary of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (Ccaawusa), hailed the move towards non-discrimination as "a good thing. The most important thing is the rate for the job and that it's not sex that counts. We'll wait and watch and see if companies are going to do it and when they are going to do it. We have a lot of women in the CDT so we think it will be a great achievement."

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# New seating row threat to OAU summit plans

TRIPOLI. — A second major dispute in nine months halted the Organisation of African Unity's preparations for their 19th summit yesterday.

OAU Foreign Ministers, meeting to plan the November 23 summit, cancelled a scheduled morning session on Wednesday after a row broke out over where to seat two rival Chad delegations — and efforts in hotel lobbies throughout Wednesday night failed to resolve the crisis.

Libya's UN chief representative, Mr Ali Treiki, said the problem was political. The rival delegations represent deposed ruler Mr Goukouni Weddeye and new leader Mr Hissene Habre, who took power five months ago.

The OAU cancelled the 19th summit meeting in August over a seating dispute between Morocco and the Polisario Front, who represent guerrillas fighting for control of the western Sahara, a former Spanish colony annexed in 1971. Morocco led a 21-nation boycott of the summit in August.

Mr Habre's government swept to power after capturing the capital, Ndjemena, in June, and is supported by the powerful Franco-African lobby of the OAU, while Mr Weddeye is backed by more radical states like Angola, Congo, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Libya.

About 40 OAU members officially recognise Mr Habre's government. Mr Weddeye, driven into exile in Algeria, set up an opposition government in October in the desolate regions of the northern Chad desert near the Libyan border.

Mr Habre's government has been invited by the OAU Secretariat, while Mr Weddeye was invited by Libya, the host country, conference sources said.

The sources said Libya, chairman of the Foreign Ministers meeting, was pushing heavily for acceptance of Mr Weddeye. Togo, Ivory Coast and Zaire have indicated they would walk out if Mr Habre's government is not seated, sparking fears of a mass walkout jeopardising the full summit.

Libyan troops once fought alongside Mr Weddeye's army to defeat Mr Habre, a former Foreign Minister in Mr Weddeye's government of national unity set up by the OAU in 1979 to end 20 years of tribal and civil war in Chad.

Libya pulled out in November 1981 in favor of the OAU's first peace-keeping force. Mr Weddeye's government fell seven months later. — UPI.

those categories had been evening out in recent years. In those categories in which employees were paid less than the new statutory minimum, the difference could be as high as 13 percent.

which were paying at wage determination levels (which, in some cases, were as low as R129 a month), deserve to be caught out a little later.

of a ploy said. "If the creat there They crea. min ulon smz... which were paying at wage determination levels (which, in some cases, were as low as R129 a month), deserve to be caught out a little later.

"though in many instances we are paying the market rate, which is well above the minimum wage." Mr Staegemann agreed with those who said that the move could hardly have come at a better time.

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which were paying at wage determination levels (which, in some cases, were as low as R129 a month), deserve to be caught out a little later.

## Chad seating row disrupts OAU talks

TRIPOLI. — A dispute over Chad disrupted a meeting of African Foreign Ministers for the fifth day yesterday, but the Organisation of African Unity said this would not affect a full OAU summit scheduled for next week.

The OAU Foreign Ministers were meeting this week to set the stage for the full 19th OAU summit next Tuesday, but the dispute over seating a delegation from Chad crippled the session and widened a split between moderate and radical states.

There are two Chad delegations competing for the country's seat at the Foreign Ministers meeting and at the heads of state conference.

One is from the five-month-old government of former rebel leader Mr Hissine Habre and the other

from the deposed government of President Goukouni Weddeye.

Mr Habre, who enjoys apparent widespread support among the 40-nation Franco-African bloc, was invited to the summit by the OAU secretariat. President Weddeye, who has set up a shadow government in northern Chad, was invited by the host country, Libya.

While Ministers debated the credentials of the opposing factions, the two Chad delegations exchanged insults and accusations, each trying to convince countries of their right to hold the seat.

At least four countries — Zaire, Ivory Coast, Togo and Senegal — have indicated they will boycott the summit if Mr Habre's delegation is not seated. — UPI.



# Attend the OAU summit, Moi urges leaders

Room 22141/82 (1)

**Mali Correspondent**

**NAIROBI.** — The Organisation of African Unity's long-serving chairman, President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya, has said he would go to the African leaders' summit in Libya next week, despite reports that the OAU ministerial meeting had been suspended.

President Moi appealed at the weekend to all heads of state to attend the Libyan summit.

"In view of the recurrent problems facing the continent, it is imperative that all invited member states consider next Tuesday's Tripoli summit as a crucial one and attend to tackle the pending issues," he said in Nairobi.

"African leaders must have realised by now that power politics, if allowed to penetrate the organisation, will permanently wreck the solidarity of Africa.

"I am going to Libya for the summit whether or not the Council of Ministers is unanimous in the preparation of the agenda."

Until the weekend it looked as though the Libyan summit would come off this time, and a quorum of presidents attending might be achieved.

Last August the summit collapsed because a quorum could not be achieved over the issue of Western Sahara's representation.

This weekend 14 countries walked out of the Council of Ministers over the issue of Chadian representation. Two delegations from Chad are vying for the seat, one representing Hissene Habre's government at Ndjamena, and the other representing the Libyan-backed government of Goukoni Weddye, in Bardai, Northern Chad.

The ministers' meeting has been deadlocked since it opened five days ago, and Sapa-Reuter quotes Morocco's Foreign Minister, Mr M'Hamed Boucetta, as saying in Rabat yesterday that it had been suspended.

According to the Moroccan News Agency (Map), Mr Boucetta returned to Morocco last night, along with the Foreign Ministers of Liberia and the Comoros and the head of the Djibouti delegation.

The Foreign Ministers of Senegal, Ivory Coast and Gambia were also reported to have left the meeting. Niamey Radio said Niger's Foreign Minister had also returned home.

Fourteen moderate states walked out of the ministerial session on Friday.

2. The definition of money in many articles is a consensus on a 'money' to consist of deposits. Other definitions of money. Money is a store of value and importance of it exists as an alternative asset. An increase in the interest rate of interest ends up making more illiquid. If not doing so, the rate of exchange is increasing, and interest rate will increase. (Money is an essential function could serve just demand for money interest rate on

The difference and time deposits drawn in banks (through banks and the latter bears an interest, but cannot be

withdrawn immediately. That is the definitional difference, however, in the real world, this difference is diffused as many banks transfer accounts from time deposits to demand deposits with little or no time lag. This illustrates a major point, that

## Bid to break OAU impasse

TRIPOLI - African heads of state started arriving in Tripoli yesterday hoping to find a solution to a deadlock over Chad which threatens the second collapse of an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit in four months.

A week-long Foreign Ministers session to prepare an agenda for the summit due to start today broke off last week after a showdown between moderate and radical states over who should represent Chad at the meeting.

African diplomatic sources said yesterday heads of state representing the moderate bloc would seek a meeting in the next 48 hours with Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi to press him to drop his opposition to the new Chadian government of Hissene Habre.

The moderate states rejected a Libyan-led proposal at the Ministerial session that the Chad seat remain vacant until the summit discussed the matter - saying Mr Habre's government was the legal administration of Chad. Stalemate on the issue prompted a 14-nation walk-out of the Ministerial session which deprived it of the required 34-state quorum.

Delegates were concerned that the summit itself would be in jeopardy if the same pattern were followed by the heads of state.

Meanwhile, the Mail's Africa Bureau reports from Lusaka that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda who had earlier postponed his departure for Tripoli, had decided to fly to the Libyan capital today.

Zimbabwean leader, Mr Robert Mugabe, left Harare for Tripoli yesterday.

The OAU summit meeting takes place two months after the abortive Tripoli summit in August which collapsed after a Moroccan-led boycott over the admission of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic to the organisation. - Sapa-Reuter.

① Com 23/11/82  
has been the concern of there has been no notion. Some consider needs plus ~~time~~ demand deposits in the definition. Interpretation of the function of account, a unit of exchange. The of value is that it being other, interest holdings respond to increase in the rate even holders to become ity cost has increased in money being a median e rises, so will transaction demand for money will account is not an good in the economy unit of account.) The a function of the national income. demand deposits the former can be I bears no interest vices as a form of interest.

# OAU quorum is still 14 short

The Star's Africa News Service

TRIPOLI — Twenty African heads of state had arrived in Tripoli by last night for today's OAU summit meeting, leaving it 14 short of a quorum and the Libyan hosts doing an anxious headcount at the Tripoli international airport.

Libyan officials still had high hopes, however, that the summit would start on time.

Each new arrival was given an emotional welcome and conducted to the sound of klaxon

horns and the roar of motorcycle escorts to downtown hotels.

At the OAU Press centre Libyan officials handed out copies of a "Tripoli Declaration" drawn up by heads of state and government after the failure of the attempt last August to convene the summit in Tripoli.

Signed by Africa's radical leaders, who called their informal meeting, held after the continent's moderate leaders had gone home, "The Great African Conference," the declaration attacked South

Africa in 18 of its 28 resolutions.

Apartheid, Namibia and the linkage of Cuban withdrawal from Angola to Namibian independence, the South African military presence in Angola, a demand for an oil embargo on South Africa and a call for African financial and material aid for Swapo, the ANC, PAC and the Frontline states were included in the declaration.

If the quorum of 34 is not achieved, Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi is expected to

promote his call for an Organisation of African Progressive states to embrace as many as possible of Africa's left-wing countries.

● OAU chairman, Kenya President Daniel arap Moi, called a meeting this morning of heads of all 20 delegations which have arrived.

It was believed that at the informal meeting President Moi would disclose the outcome of private talks with Colonel Gaddafi on the question of Chad representation.

OAU ①

leaders

torn by

strife

TRIPOLI. — The Organisation of African Unity's 19th summit failed to open yesterday because of a deadlock over Libyan objections to seating a delegation from the new pro-Western government of Chad.

Libya's white seaside conference hall was deserted as the 4pm (1500GMT) opening deadline slipped by, with African leaders locked in informal meetings in the city's Grand Hotel, the headquarters for most of the delegations.

Libya's leader, Colonel Muammar Gadafi held an urgent meeting with three of Africa's most prestigious presidents yesterday afternoon, but the meeting failed to produce a compromise that could allow the summit to open on time.

Col Gadafi held the talks with the Kenyan and Nigerian presidents, Daniel Arap Moi and Shehu Shagari, only hours before the scheduled opening of the summit.

Tanzania's radical President Julius Nyerere, one of the OAU's founders, also sat in on the meeting, African diplomatic sources said.

The sources said that despite rumours, no solid compromise had as yet been put forth and fears were mounting that the summit might not take place at all.

There has been no official word from the OAU as to when, or if, the formal meeting would take place.

The sources described the meeting as probably one of the most important in the organisation's 19-year history.

The pro-Western leader of Chad toppled a government supported by Libya five months ago. ● President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia left for Tripoli yesterday morning as part of a six-nation group appointed to whip up support for a reconvened meeting following the collapse of the August summit. Before he left, a spokesman for the president appealed to other countries to heed the call by President Moi to attend the summit.

● The Tunisian Foreign Minister, Mr Beji Caid Essebsi, arrived in Tripoli yesterday to strengthen the hand of OAU members backing the Chadian regime of President Hissen Habre. Mr Essebsi will be joined by Premier Mohamed Mzali, who will head the Tunisian delegation at the prospective summit -- UPI.



UNIVERSITY OF EXAMINATIONS

# Chad still holding up OAU summit

Star 24/1/82 (1)

All answer books must be numbered

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First Name(s)..... COLIN

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Degree/Diploma/Certificate for w  
you are registered (e.g. B.A., B.Sc.)

Subject..... ECONOMICS 1  
(to be copied from the heading)

Paper No.....  
(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

By Henry Reuter  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

TRIPOLI — The OAU summit meeting failed to open on schedule last night after a day of intensive negotiations on who should represent Chad.

Conference sources disclosed that President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania — previously regarded as a supporter of the radical group of states seeking to oust Hissen Habre's Chad government from the summit — had come out in favour of seating Mr Habre.

He was reported to have joined the OAU chairman, Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi

and President Shehu Shagari of Nigeria to try to persuade the Libyan hosts to seat Mr Habre at the summit.

Moderate states decided at an informal meeting in a Tripoli hotel room to make no concession to radical states' demands that Mr Habre should withdraw and the Chad seat be left vacant, or that it be filled by former President Goukouni Oueddi.

Negotiations were continuing informally and were said to be at "a very delicate stage." Hopes that the summit meeting could be held were receding.

After lunching with Dr Nyerere, Mr Shagari, Mr Moi and other

moderate leaders Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, who will become the OAU chairman until May 25 next year if the summit is convened, was reported to be adamant in his refusal to seat Mr Habre or Mr Habre's Vice President, Mr Idriss Miskine.

Conference sources said the moderate leaders were considering possibilities of convening the summit, with or without Colonel Gaddafi's agreement, by acting on the advice of the OAU committee on Chad that Mr Habre represented the country's legitimate government.

POST OFFICE

But Libyan officials arranged a news conference for Mr Goukouni's ally in the Chad power struggle, Southern Chad leader Wadel Kamogue

Mr Kamogue advanced a novel reason for the impasse and possible resultant break-up of the OAU.

The Ethiopian Post Office, he said, had by mistake sent the invitation from the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa to the capital N'djamena instead of to the northern border town of Bardai where Mr Goukouni's forces are now centred.

Even if the Chad representation problem had been resolved it is doubtful that the summit could have convened with the necessary quorum of 34.

NOTE CAREFULLY

1. Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
2. Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
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WARNING

1. No books, notes, piecerial may be brought unless candidates ar
2. Candidates are not candidates or with gillator.
3. No part of an answer
4. All answer books r missioner or to an i examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

8705 25/1/82

# China shows new interest in African continent

DAR ES SALAAM - China seems to be taking an increasing interest in Africa as an arena to counter Soviet influence and to assert its claim as leader of the Third World.

The Chinese Prime Minister, Mr Zhao Ziyang, is to visit seven African countries early next year, according to foreign diplomats in Peking. China has not officially announced the visit, but the envoys said Zhao would go to Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Guinea, Zaire, Zambia and Tanzania.

He will be the first Chinese premier to visit this continent of 485-million people since the late Mr Chou En-lai went to Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana, Mali, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia in 1963-64 and pronounced Africa ripe for revolution.

Under Chairman Mao Tse-tung about half of China's foreign aid went to Africa, a continent of have-nots with 20 of the world's 30 least developed countries.

But since Mao's death in 1976, China has slackened its aid to the Third World and concentrated its limited resources on building its own economy and strengthening ties with the United States and Western Europe.

Western diplomats based in Tanzania, the major African beneficiary of Chinese aid, said they believe Zhao's visit may mark the beginning of a renewed Chinese commitment to Africa.

"China had been cutting back on economic assistance and the size of diplomatic missions in Africa because of its many problems at home," remarked one Western envoy. "But in the last month or so, I get the feeling that this is reversing."



Mr Ziyang... to visit seven countries.

He cited, in addition to Zhao's visit, China's establishment of diplomatic relations with Soviet-backed Angola in September, heightened interest in independence for Namibia and in Tanzania the signing of several new aid agreements.

In Somalia, China agreed in August to build a "political education" college in the capital Mogadishu. On October 24, the Somalis officially opened a hydroelectric project on the Juba River, which was begun by the Soviets in the early 1970s and completed by the Chinese.

The Soviets abandoned the dam project in 1977 when they switched its backing to Ethiopia in a war over the disputed Ogaden region of southeastern Ethiopia. The Chinese made a fresh start on it in 1979.

Zhao summed up China's aims in Africa earlier this year when he told the Guinea-Bissau head of state, Mr Joao Bernardo Vieira,

during a visit to Peking that China would do its best to help developing countries change "the unjust international economic order".

China's record in Africa, like the Soviet Union's, has been spotty, with neither carving out a clear sphere of influence.

China sided with the losing guerilla factions in the Angolan civil war that accompanied independence from Portugal in 1975. The Soviet-armed MPLA, with the help of some 15 000 Cuban troops, won.

But in the Rhodesian war, which gave birth to black-ruled Zimbabwe in 1980, China came out on top by being the main arms supplier of Robert Mugabe's guerillas. Russia backed the fighters of Joshua Nkomo, who came a poor second in pre-independence elections.

Since Zimbabwe's independence, Chinese money has been tight, as the Prime Minister, Mr Mugabe, found last year when he paid his first official visit to Peking and came away with less in aid pledges than he had hoped for.

While the Soviet Union has tended to aid only leftist governments and then mostly with military hardware, China has forged ties with a broad spectrum of countries - ranging from rightist, pro-Western Zaire and Morocco to socialist Tanzania and Mozambique.

Chinese aid to Africa is estimated at R2 300 million between 1970 and 1977 - before the cutback.

China's biggest overseas aid project was the construction between 1970 and 1976 of the 1 859-km Tanz-Zam railway from Zambia's copper belt to Tanzania's Indian ocean port of Dar es Salaam. - Associated Press.

# Top SAAN men in dock today

CAPE TIMES 25/11/82

## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The trial of South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) and some of its senior staff on allegations of having contravened the newly-promulgated Protection of Information Act — alternatively breaking the Official Secrets Act — will begin in the Johannesburg Regional Court today.

The trial was postponed on Tuesday in the Johannesburg Regional Court by Mr J A van Dam.

The State alleges that SAAN, owners of various publications, unlawfully

allowed two of its newspapers, the Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Times, to break the law by publishing certain information.

It is further alleged that SAAN, its managing director, Mr Clive Howard Kinsley, the editor of the Rand Daily Mail; Mr Richard Alexander Gibson, 51, the editor of the Sunday Times; Mr Albert Tertius Myburgh, 48, and a journalist, Mr Eugene Nilen Hugo, 39, all of Main Street, Johannesburg, collectively contravened the Protection of Information Act or alternatively the Official Secrets Act.

## Seychelles

According to the charge sheet, the company, its managing director and the two editors unlawfully allowed a report written by Mr Hugo on the attempted coup in the Seychelles to be published by the two newspapers during April this year.

The State claims the two newspapers unlawfully printed, published and distributed information to the public which prejudiced the security of South Africa.

It is further alleged that the accused wrongfully published information they had received in the form of a document while they should have known that its publication would have been prejudicial to the security of the Republic.

for a number of labour the apprentices so we have with a standard This week and more and this year never train what was to hold to seem to will now train T. U. practices have the possibility of also in the future but in practice there will Secondly the legal problems in train there is 577 of been mostly repeal job reservation that it interests as well. Then there is the Mine and Workers Act. This is discriminatory in that only a person with a job ticket may hold and date in the act it says that only whites may hold these tickets. Then there is the Black Workers Building Act which says that only whites may hold skilled jobs in certain areas. Then we have the

The departmenting blacks are days away until the only people trained apprentices but now none young-to school many white. Many white. because present allowed now these do maybe they a lot of the protection in doing each, this facilitates more skilled workers don't know of skilled workers were + still are with the new African workers definition act. This has there are still 5 The gov has sent away with these and Workers Act. This is discriminatory in that only a person with a job ticket may hold and date in the act it says that only whites may hold these tickets. Then there is the Black Workers Building Act which says that only whites may hold skilled jobs in certain areas. Then we have the



# Impasse at OAU may be broken

①  
S765  
25/11/82

By Henry Reuter  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

TRIPOLI — Hopes that the OAU summit meeting finally will be held in Tripoli soared last night when Africa's moderate states reached a compromise with Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi to break the impasse over the seating of the Chad delegation.

The agreement was reached at a last-ditch informal meeting.

OAU spokesman Mr Peter Onu said that only the delegation of Mr Hissen Habre's government would be authorised to occupy Chad's seat, but Mr Habre would be asked to absent himself voluntarily from the summit meeting and to announce this abstention publicly.

No attempt would be

made to propose any other delegation to represent Chad at the summit.

The compromise is identical to a solution offered early this week by the moderate states and rejected by Colonel Gaddafi.

President Habre's reply was still awaited late last night.

But Mr Onu pointed out that even if the impasse were removed the heads of state would, on present registrations, still be without the quorum of 34 necessary to convene the meeting.

By late last night only 32 member states had registered, he said, and attempts would be made immediately to persuade Zaire, Equatorial Guinea and Cameroon, which had delegations in Tripoli but had not registered, to do so.



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN  
EXAMINATION ANSWER BOOK

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

<p style="text-align: right;">RBM 25/11/82</p> <h1 style="text-align: center;">Urgent talks fail to end OAU deadlock<sup>①</sup></h1> <p><b>TRIPOLI</b> — A summit of the Organisation of African Unity appears on the brink of breakdown for the second time in four months because of a deadlock over Chad.</p> <p>Delegates said yesterday little progress was made in intensive overnight talks on resolving the issue, which caused a 14-nation walkout from a Foreign Ministers' meeting in Tripoli last week and their subsequent collapse.</p> <p>The Kenyan President, Mr Daniel Arap Moi, the current OAU chairman, was preparing to leave for Nairobi yesterday because of a failure to narrow the gap between moderate and radical African states on the dispute, Kenyan delegates said.</p> <p>The Libyan Foreign Minister, Mr Abdelato Obeldi, said he was still awaiting the response of several delegations to suggested compromises. The summit was due to open on Tuesday.</p> <p>Moderate states insist that the Western-influenced government of Mr Hissene Habre, which ousted the Libyan-backed administration of Mr Goukouni Oueddei in June, should represent Chad at the conference.</p> <p>But Libya and its allies wanted the Chad seat to remain vacant because the OAU had backed the Goukouni Government at its Nairobi summit last year to end the civil warfare</p>	<p>that has afflicted Chad for almost 20 years.</p> <p>The presidents of Kenya, Zambia, Nigeria, Tanzania and Sierra Leone and Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, met until the early hours of yesterday to see if progress could be made, delegates said.</p> <p>Col Gaddafi returned later in the morning to the seafront hotel where the informal talks were being held, but left soon after without making any statement.</p> <p>Some delegates said it appeared not enough sufficient states would back a compromise solution to give the summit its required two-thirds quorum.</p> <p>A previous attempt to hold the summit in August broke down when 21 states refused to attend because of the OAU membership of the Polisario Western Sahara independence movement.</p> <p>Delegates said the compromise involved the voluntary withdrawal of Mr Habre's delegation from the current session.</p> <p>But Col Gaddafi insisted Mr Goukouni's self-styled National Salvation Government, proclaimed in northern Chad last month, should also issue a statement saying it was withdrawing from the talks.</p> <p>This was unacceptable to many OAU nations because it would imply that Mr Habre's and Mr Goukouni's governments were on the same level, they added. — Sapa-Reuter.</p>	<p>external</p>
		<p>(3)</p>
<p><b>Threat for Zanu worker</b></p> <p><b>HARARE.</b> — The Zanu-PF provincial chairman for Matabeleland South, Mr John Mbedzi, has received a threatening letter he believes came from "bandits" who allegedly shot at him on November 13.</p> <p>On the day of the shooting, Mr Mbedzi had stopped at a Gwanda petrol station where he talked to a group of whites about "the evils of celebrating UDI".</p> <p>Shortly after he drove off to attend a party seminar a car with a South African registration number followed him, he said.</p> <p>There was a chase during which a single shot was fired. A bullet hit the rear window of Mr Mbedzi's car.</p> <p>Mr Mbedzi received the threatening letter on Tuesday. It said: "We are sorry the bullet missed you. We will get you before Christmas."</p> <p>Mr Mbedzi has handed the letter to the police. — Sapa.</p>		

Paper No. .... / .....  
(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

## NOTE CAREFULLY

1. Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
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4. Do not write in the left hand margin.

## WARNING

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2. Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
3. No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

**Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University**

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CITE TIMES 25/11/82

# Black townships boycott bread

Staff Reporter

A SPOKESMAN for the United Women's Organization said yesterday that the boycott of bread in black townships has been carried out on a large scale.

These are the only areas where the boycott has been carried out on a large scale," she said.

Large supermarket chains in Cape Town said their bread sales had not been affected.

The week-long boycott was called by various labour, student and women's organizations in protest against the October 1 bread price increase. They have urged the government to reintroduce the old prices.

A spokesman for Checkers in Mitchells Plain said he had not been aware of the boycott and bread had been sold out.

Mr John Barry, general manager of Pick 'n Pay, Western Cape, said bread sales had not dropped but had increased considerably.

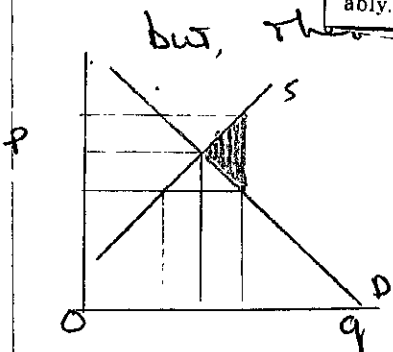
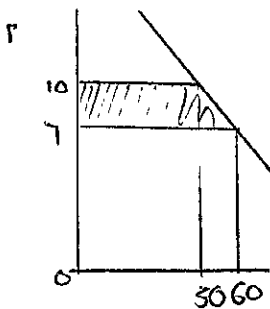
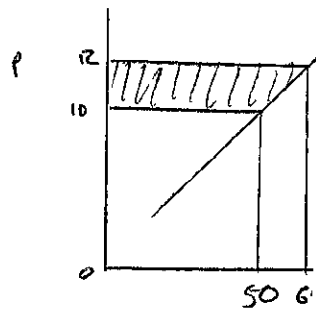
"We are the only chain store selling bread at the old prices - white bread at 15c less than the other supermarkets and brown bread at 20c less. Because of this, we have had a steady increase in sales since we went into the bread boycott," Mr Barry said.

Mr A boxer senior buyer of Pick 'n Pay's Western Cape supermarkets, said the sale of bread had grown by 60 percent in the case of white bread and 41 percent for brown bread compared with November last year.

"If one looks at our figures for the first weeks of November, the sales of white bread have increased by 11 percent and brown bread by 15 percent since the first week of November," he said.

A spokesman for OK Bazaars in Mitchells Plain said the branch was still taking normal orders from the bakery and no change had occurred in bread sales since the start of the bread boycott on Monday.

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# Black Africa hit by worst crisis yet <sup>5 hrs</sup> 25/11/82 <sup>(1)</sup>

ABIDJAN — Black Africa, which depends on exports of its raw materials, is in the grip of the worst economic crisis of the post-colonial era.

Western economists say the past two years have seen the most serious decline in prices of commodities, from strategic metals to cash crops, since most African nations became independent in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

As a result, the continent's revenue from exports has been slashed so deeply that many weak nations are

close to bankruptcy and cannot meet their increasing debts. They are cutting down imports to bare essentials.

"Overall, growth has come to a halt. In many cases it is now negative. Far from diminishing, the gap between rich and poor nations is now fast expanding," said a senior African politician.

The economic collapse has affected most states, and the International Monetary Fund has launched rescue operations, imposing painful measures such as currency devaluations, which govern-

ments sometimes see as politically unacceptable.

Thinly-populated oil-producers such as Gabon, the Congo and Cameroun have been largely spared, but Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, with estimated oil revenue of R11 030 million this year, is facing problems because of the world oil glut.

Nigeria will have to borrow R5 056 million abroad in 1983 for capital expenditure, while a further R2 247 million would be required to cover an anticipated

balance of payments deficit.

In mineral-wealthy Zaire, foreign debt is R6 516 million and debt servicing is costing over R1 034 million a year.

In Zambia, which relies on copper exports for 90 percent of its income, the economy has declined by two percent a year for the past four years.

Kenya, whose main exports are coffee and tea, has been forced to restrict imports to a trickle because of lack of foreign exchange.

On the other side of the continent, Ghana has no foreign reserves and spends R459 million — half its yearly earnings from cocoa and gold exports — on oil.

In neighbouring Ivory Coast, drastic cuts in government spending followed the drop in coffee and cocoa prices. Foreign debts are close to R6 740 million and repayments are expected to be nearly R1 213 million next year, close to 40 percent of export earnings. — Reuter.

allow for trade whilst with the use of the Edgeworth box analysis we can see that trade is mutually beneficial for both the parties concerned.

The centralised system does not take the needs of the individual into account whilst in the price system the individual can satisfy his needs. The centralised system tries to determine the needs of the individual, if it will supply more food to a large family than to a small one.

In conclusion the price system is more efficient and equitable than a centralised system; even though a centralised system may be efficient in its distribution and allocation of resources it does not imply equality.

US

# OAU turmoil after Chad rejects deal

①  
26/11/82

**TRIPOLI.** — The Organisation of African Unity was in disarray yesterday after the Chad Government rejected a proposal requiring its "voluntary" absence from a scheduled OAU summit meeting in the Libyan capital.

The summit has been blocked by a group of 17 moderate African countries — enough to prevent a quorum — boycotting the meeting to protest a Libyan veto against a delegation from the Chad Government of President Hissene Habre.

A radical group of nations spearheaded by Libya had refused to seat President Habre, calling him an instrument of "American imperialism". Instead they backed deposed Chad leader Mr Goukouni Weddeye, who has established a rival government in northern Chad near the Libyan border.

Delegates from Sierra Leone, Mauritius, Zaire and Congo told reporters President Habre's rejection of a proposed compromise apparently ended all hope of convening the summit in Tripoli.

"The question is where does the OAU go from here," said one delegate.

A Nigerian official said Nigerian President Shehu Shagari was pursuing efforts to persuade Mr Habre to change his mind.

In Paris Mr Habre's Foreign Minister, Mr Idriss Miskine, announced that Chad "categorically rejected" the compromise proposal put forward late on Wednesday by a meeting of 32 delegations.

Mr Miskine told the Press the regime of President Habre was the only legal representative of Chad and it had no reason to accept conditions diminishing its role inside the OAU. He called on African countries to "defend the legality" and boycott the OAU summit.

"The last-minute compromise is categorically rejected by our delegation and by our country," Mr Miskine said.

"There is no comparison between Chad and the Saharans. Chad is a founding member of OAU who seeks neither its admission or a reconfirmation."

A dispute over the seating of the Polisario Front guerrillas fighting against Morocco's annexation of the Western Sahara had thwarted the convening of an OAU summit in Tripoli earlier this year.

Mr Miskine said: "We are willing to take our seat. We are not pulling out. This last-minute compromise is null and void. We are calling on all African countries present in Tripoli and defending the legality and the OAU charter's principles, not to sit down alongside Africa's enemies".

OAU leaders had gathered for the expected start of their 19th summit yesterday after a compromise proposal which, it had been hoped, would end the dispute over Chad.

Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi was scheduled to assume the rotating OAU chairmanship at the opening session. Libyan troops fought for Mr Weddeye against President Habre's forces. — Sapa-AP and UPI.

# OAU summit <sup>①</sup> collapses again

875 26/4/82

By Henry Reuter  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

TRIPOLI — The 19th summit conference of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) collapsed last night for the second time in four months.

The failure was announced by a grim-faced Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi. He told nearly 30 heads of State and Government: "It is over. We have not been able to raise a quorum."

The OAU quorum is 34.

The announcement followed a day of attempts by the incumbent chairman, Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi to persuade African leaders to rush delegations to Tripoli.

Earlier Chad President Hissene Habre

had rejected a compromise solution to the 10-day impasse over the seating of the Chad delegation which had also aborted the meeting of OAU Foreign Ministers.

The "solution" provided for Mr Habre's delegation to be the sole Chad representative at the summit meeting, but called on Mr Habre to agree not to take up the seat.

It was learned here tonight that due to a delay by the Libyan telecommunications office in transmitting a message from Mr Moi to Mr Habre urging him to accept the compromise, Mr Habre's vice-president, Mr Id-riss Miskene, publicly rejected the compromise in Paris before Mr Habre had received the message.

# Hoare's mercenaries to be released today

*CARE Tracks 27/11/82 (1) (2)*

**Own Correspondent**  
DURBAN. — Mercenary leader Colonel Mike Hoare's 34 rank-and-file accomplices — each jailed for six months for their role in the Air India Boeing hijacking on September 25 last year — have spent their last night

behind bars and will be set free today.

A Prisons Service spokesman confirmed yesterday that the men's "good behaviour" had earned them the right to parole in accordance with penitentiary practice.

They were all due to be released together from the new Johannesburg Prison at an unspecified time this morning.

The men's personal possessions — such as the civilian clothing they had been wearing at the time they began serving their sentences — would be returned to them but they would be issued with new clothing if it was required, the spokesman said.

They would be given second-class rail warrants to whatever destination in South Africa they chose.

Meanwhile, a question mark hangs over the men's immediate employment possibilities while it is not known how many of

them have jobs to return to or start at.

Most, if not all, the men — whose ages range from 22 to 52 — are understood to be broke on account of the staggering legal fees required for their defence in the Supreme Court, Maritzburg.

## Names

On July 30 the men were each sentenced to six months (with a further 54 months conditionally suspended) for endangering the aircraft after boarding at Mahé Airport for a flight to Durban.

South African unless otherwise stated, with ages at the time of the beginning of the trial, they are: Robert Jones-Davies, 23 (UK), Andrew Thomas Standish, 22 (Zimbabwe), Patrick John Eurelle, 32, Christo Hillebrand, 27, Bernhard de Vos, 27, Louis Anthony Boucher, 22, John Vincent Mackay, 25 (UK), Sven Helge Forsell, 38 (Austria), Jan

Olaf Sydow, 41, Stephen John Biddlecombe, 23 (Zimbabwe), Richard John Stannard, 28 (Zimbabwe), Nicholas Wilson, 23 (UK), Peter Anthony Duff Hean, 30, Kevin Trevor Beck, 27, Jochemus Louis Dekker, 27, Frederick Lourens Gouws, 22, Kevin Nicholas Barnes, 23 (UK), Barry Francis Gibbon, 26 (USA), David Charles Greenhalf, 22 (Zimbabwe), Johannes Lodewikus Pretorius de Beer, 25, Patrick Glynn Barry Henrick, 25, Erns Lodewyck Deetlefs, 24, Keith MacLeod, 26, Desmond Walker, 27, Donald Peter Kenny, 45 (UK), Desmond Jurgens Botes, 52, Kenneth John Kelly, 33 (Australia), Kurt Georg Horst Priefert, 38 (West Germany), Peter Rohwein, 43 (West Germany), Simon Torquil Willar, 25 (UK), Jacob Adrian du Toit, 22 (Zimbabwe), Alex Deacon, 25, William Dunlop Paul, 46, and Alan Aston Mann, 30.



# Bleak outlook for OAU after summit collapses

27/11/82

TRIPOLI — The future of the Organisation of African Unity appeared more uncertain yesterday than at any time in its 19-year history after the second collapse of its annual summit in four months.

The breakdown, which this time came over who should take the Chad seat, underlined the polarisation of the OAU's radical and moderate blocs and cast doubt on whether it can continue in its present form, delegates said.

There was a growing feeling the OAU should hold an extraordinary summit to discuss what the purpose and the scope of the OAU and its chairman should be, some delegates said.

Some ministers said pri-

vately the real reason for the collapse of the summit was a suspicion among moderate states that the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, would use the OAU chairmanship — which he would have assumed had the summit been successful — to promote his own revolutionary policies and national interest in the region.

Twice-deprived of the chairmanship, he was due to take over from Kenya. On Thursday night, a bitter Col Gaddafi blamed "imperialism" for the talks breakdown.

Col Gaddafi blamed Washington, Paris and London and their "agents" for the failure of the summit and accused France of ordering its former

colonies in Africa to stay away.

Yesterday France, however, rejected the Libyan leader's charges.

"It is unthinkable to talk of any interference" by France, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Meanwhile in Lusaka the government-owned national daily, the Zambia Daily Mail, has deplored the confusion in Tripoli, the Rand Daily Mail Africa Bureau reports.

The Zambia Daily Mail said what was happening in Tripoli was "childish, revolting and shameful" and condemned Chad for not agreeing to the compromise put forward to save the talks. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI.

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against what. The biggest problem facing these societies is for unemployment and the VPF to a certain extent can help solve this problem by revealing other economic problems where employment could be required.

Diagram? 200V (2)

① S. Express 23/11/82

# Portuguese Africa forges an alliance on trade and finance

**CAPE VERDE** — Seven years after independence, Africa's five Portuguese-speaking nations are forging what could be one of the continent's strongest alliances.

Angola, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde became independent of Portugal in 1975.

Now they appear to be taking a course radically different from Africa's former British and French colonies. They are trying to co-ordinate their national policies on foreign affairs, trade and finance.

The five have maintained steady contact with each other as a group. Top-level meetings began on the Atlantic island of Sao Tome in 1976.

As the international recession buffeted their fragile

economies, the presidents of the five nations met recently in the steamy capital for their third and apparently most successful summit.

Mr Samora Machel, whose Frelimo party governs Mozambique, declared: "Despite the great distances (between the five states)... our capitals live at the same rhythm, share the same joys and the feeling that (at the summit) we have come together with our true companions."

The summit ended with an 11-page declaration that showed close agreement among the five on regional, African and international affairs. They also pledged to work together in the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations and the non-aligned movement.

The five agreed to seek to

adopt Portuguese as their official working language.

Among the most pressing problems facing the five is the conflict in Namibia.

Angola has led the region's Frontline States in backing Swapo.

The five presidents of the former Portuguese colonies denounced South Africa's attacks in Angola and charged that Pretoria finances, trains and directs Mozambique's active Rightist rebels, the Mozambican National Resistance.

Western powers hope to woo Angola and Mozambique from their close ties with the Soviet Union, and the five presidents' clear signal of greater interest in the non-aligned movement is expected to give the group stronger negotiating powers.

Co-ordinated foreign poli-

cy positions among the five former Portuguese colonies would directly increase the roles of the group's weaker members, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe in related negotiations.

Lisbon now supplies equipment and weapons to the Mozambican army it fought for 10 years. Portuguese military advisers train Mozambican officers, a move that African diplomats said had not pleased the Kremlin.

Portugal is apparently closer to its former African colonies than any other ex-colonial power on the continent. All five delegations reported they have improved relations in direct, bilateral dealings with Lisbon in the last two years. — Sapa-AP.

# The year Africa prefers to forget

HARARE — The year 1982 has been one most African countries would prefer to forget. Not only was there unprecedented economic depression and hunger on the continent but a severe political blow was dealt to the Organisation of African Unity.

The OAU, the symbol of Pan African Unity, was torn apart, perhaps irrevocably, when it twice failed to convene its annual summit meeting.

The OAU is due to celebrate its 20th anniversary next year but as 1982 drew to a close there were doubts in some quarters that it would survive to do so.

In a continent where coups are often more successful than elections there were at least six abortive coups but only one successful one this year.

Two significant changes of leadership came about freely and fairly.

In June the people of Mauritius threw out an immaculately free and peaceful election the government of Sir

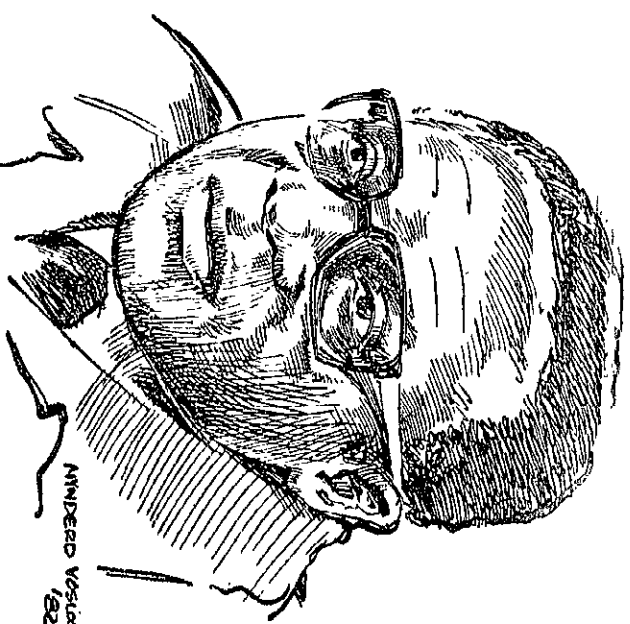
Pretoria is destabilising the region economically and politically to keep its black neighbours dependent on South Africa and discourage support for the ANC.

One of these leaders, President Kaunda of Zambia, courageously talked to South Africa's Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, under a marula tree on the Botswana border to try to persuade him to change his policies with no apparent success.

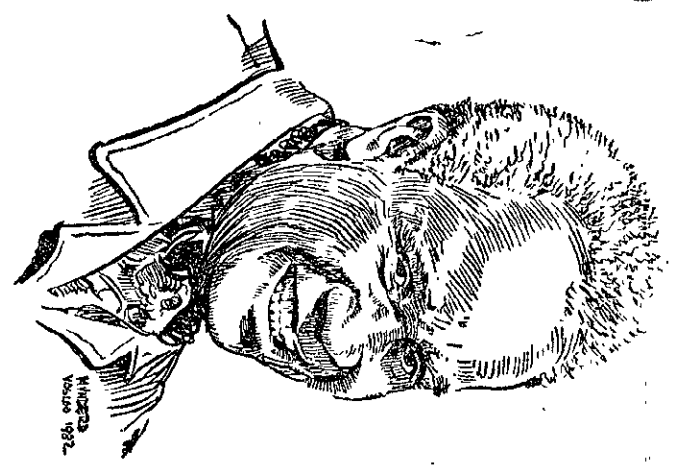
Zapu leader, Mr Joshua Nkomo, reached new heights with the capture in July of six foreign tourists whose fate is still unknown.

However, in recent months, Government forces appear to have gained a greater measure of control in Matabeleland.

In Malawi, despite increasing claims of an upsurge in opposition to the leadership of Life President Kamuzu Banda, the President, believed to be 82, re-



Robert Mugabe . . . a year of security problems.



Kenneth Kaunda . . . talks under a marula tree.



Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings . . . back to power in Ghana.

## Abortive coups, wars, poverty, depression and hunger

### By David Thomas, The Star's Africa News Service

tensively over Somalia's support for the Ogaden secessionists.

Aside from the takeover of the Ghana government by Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings — which actually

happened a few hours before 1982 was rung in — there was only one other successful coup in Africa.

In November a group of non-commissioned officers and other ranks toppled the Upper Volta government of Colonel Saye Zerbo and installed a new Provisional People's Salvation Council.

There were at least half-a-dozen unsuccessful coup attempts, including one in Kenya, long considered to be one of Africa's more stable countries.

What has devastated Africa more than anything this year has been the world economic recession.

The mineral market, which in the past has been mainly responsible for keeping many African countries with at least some foreign currency, has crashed to the point where prices are often lower than production costs.

Zambia is keeping its once lucrative copper mines from closing by direct government assistance so that its thousands of politically important miners can keep on working.

and gas 9 5

and peaceful election  
the government of Sir  
Seewoosagur Ramgoolam that had ruled since independence in 1968.

And in relatively prosperous Cameroon President Ahmadou Ahidjo voluntarily resigned in favour of his Prime Minister, Mr Paul Biya.

Optimism that 1982 would see an internationally accepted settlement in Namibia faded as the negotiations snagged on the American and South African insistence on a Cuban pull-out from Angola.

The low-key bush war in Namibia and Angola moved closer to conventional warfare with the deployment of more sophisticated weapons.

On South Africa's eastern borders the African National Congress stepped up its attacks on targets in South Africa.

Swaziland, despite the death of King Sobhuza II, intensified its efforts to curb ANC attacks from its soil.

In Mozambique anti-government action by the rebel Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), allegedly backed by Pretoria, spread, and increased significantly.

Now many of the country's vital main roads are impassable without military escorts and railway lines are frequently blown up.

The economies of neighbouring Zimbabwe and Malawi have been badly hit by the MNR disruption of their shortest and cheapest trade links with the outside world.

Leaders of Frontline states became louder in their accusations that

with no apparent success.  
The Harare Government saw South Africa's hand behind the mysterious blowing up of the country's air strike force and said a South African spy ring was unearthed in Zimbabwe's Central Intelligence Organisation.

A shoot-out in Zimbabwe's south-eastern lowveld left three white South African soldiers dead. Pretoria said the soldiers, all former Rhodesians, had entered Zimbabwe on a private and unauthorised mission.

Zimbabwe's own post-war internal conflict between the Government of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and dissident forces loyal to the

liberation Army, also allegedly backed by and operating from South Africa stepped up its attacks on government targets.

In North Africa the 20-year-old Chad civil war ended, perhaps only temporarily, when rebel leader Hissene Habre marched into N'djamena. However, 1982 saw no end to other major conflicts, notably those in Western Sahara and Ethiopia's secessionist-pledged territory of Eritrea.

The conflict between the Adis Ababa government and Somalia has been stepped up in recent months, as

# Men who harnessed the winds of change.

...but wars, coups and passing years take toll

**HARARE.** — Among the leaders of Africa today are several ageing figures who serve to remind this continent of its revolutionary past, when nationhood was still a dream.

Presidents Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, 60, Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, 79, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, 58, and a handful of others are among those who first harnessed the wind of change in the early 1960s.

Dozens of first-generation nationalist leaders — teachers and doctors who became “freedom” fighters and politicians — brought colonial Africa to independence from Europe during the next 15 years.

## Pan African goodwill

Since then, assassinations, a dozen wars and more than 50 coups have taken their toll. Eighteen of the 30 leaders who founded the Organisation of African Unity in 1963 in a glow of Pan-African goodwill were later deposed.

But 15 of Africa's 50 continental and island nations are still ruled by the men who led them to independence. It is a surprising number on a continent where few have solved the problem of how to pass on power peacefully, where boundaries drawn by colonialists group warring tribes within nations and where poverty intensifies political conflict.

## Issues at home

Some of these rulers did not go to Libya for the 1982 OAU summit, cancelled for the second time in a quarrel over seating rights. Some were preoccupied with issues at home or unwilling to step into the disputes that now divide Africa.

As a group, African leaders have compiled a record of longevity unequalled on more peaceful continents, where electorates regularly vote presidents in and out of office.

Nyerere, one of Africa's socialist experimenters has been ruling Tanzania for 19 years. He talks wistfully of retiring, but there is no obvious successor.

King Sobhuza 11 of Swaziland was the world's longest-reigning monarch after Britain's Queen Victoria when he died in August in his 62nd year on the throne. The royal family is reportedly preparing an 11-year-old son as his successor.

Haile Selassie controlled Ethiopia as Emperor for 44 years until 1974, when he fell to a military coup. He died in military custody.

The coup left Africa with three kingdoms — Swaziland, Morocco and Lesotho — and nearly 20 military governments. With few exceptions, all Africa's leaders rely on authoritarian methods to retain power.



Nyerere



Kaunda

Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah told a reporter: “We wear a crown of fear as leaders. Africans don't see political opposition in any other light than as a constant threat.”

Nkrumah, once one of Africa's brightest stars, was speaking in Conakry, Guinea, where he died in exile in 1972 after being overthrown during an economic crisis.

David Dacko, Central African Republic's first President, was twice deposed, the second time by the army last year.

Two veteran leaders of former French colonies escaped the African cycle of violent overthrows and surprised their colleagues by resigning. President Leopold Senghor, after 20 years as Senegal's poet-statesman, yielded to Prime Minister Abdou Diouf two years ago and brought about one of the continent's rare peaceful transitions.

President Ahmadou Ahidjo of Cameroon stepped aside this month for Prime Minister Paul Biya after 22 years in office.

“For a continent sadly renowned for its political instability and elimination of leaders through coups and assassinations, it is refreshing to witness the reality of peaceful and constitutional retirement and succession,” the Herald newspaper in Zimbabwe said in an editorial tribute to Ahidjo.

“When a dictator has been too long in power, he sees enemies where none exists ... the truth might be that he has contributed all he can ... but he will not go, and we have coups.”

Zimbabwe's Mr Robert Mugabe is the newest of Africa's first-generation leaders, having come to power in April 1980.

Zimbabwe still has a multi-party state, but Mr Mugabe has vowed to establish a one-party system, like those in nearly all African nations.

## Tired old men

“Only true democracy can save our continent from rule by tired old men who have run out of ideas,” the Herald said.

Mauritius, an island member of the OAU, provided an example in June when Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister throughout 14 years of independence, was defeated in an election. It was a rare African transfer of power through the ballot. — Sapa-AP.



Selassie



Mugabe



Sobhuza

NEW YORK — Development experts in Africa and among the international donor community have been shocked by the evidence of sub-Saharan Africa's serious economic condition.

Documenting these feelings of discouragement and dismay are the statistics on Africa's dismal economic progress to date and poor development condition. A recent World Bank report points out that in the 20 years or so since African countries gained their indepen-

# AID teaches Africa how best to farm

dence, there has been little or negative economic growth per capita.

Food shortages and resulting malnutrition aggravate already serious health problems for most Africans. Infant mortality is substantial-

ly higher in Africa than in Asia or Latin America.

As an African economist said at a recent conference on African development, "the past strategies of African and donor governments have been a failure; new approaches are needed."

During the rule of the Reagan Administration the Agency for International Development (AID) has tailored its priorities to deal with the African crisis. Agriculture, policy reform, building institutions for technology transfer, and private sector development are the four cornerstones of assistance policy in Africa. They reflect the belief that resource transfers alone are not sufficient if the condition in Africa is to be turned around.

United States assistance to Africa has increased substantially. The administration's request to the Congress for fiscal year 1983 is 84 percent greater than aid to Africa was in 1979. Much of this growth has occurred under the current administration.

Over half of this assistance is for agricultural development — nearly double the amount available for agricultural programmes three years ago. A

similar expansion is occurring in reforestation and fuelwood production — an integral part of the agricultural system. Increases in agricultural productivity are basic to African economic growth — to export earnings, employment, and food availability for rapidly growing populations.

The key to agricultural productivity is agricultural research — practical, farmer-oriented research. Until recently there has been little research on

small farmers — the backbone of African economies.

Over the next several years, AID will be carrying out — in concert with African regional and national organisations and other international donors — a comprehensive approach to developing new technologies for food production and to intensifying their application by African farmers.

By linking the basic research and extension services, a sound institutional base can be

**A huge American programme aims to drag sub-Saharan agriculture into the 20th century — and in so doing, to save millions from starvation.**

African food production as most research programmes inherited from the colonial period have emphasised export crops.

New production technologies developed in Africa for African farming conditions are vital, but institutional capabilities in Africa are seriously underdeveloped.

AID, through American universities and agricultural organisations, is now working in 36 countries on agricultural research and related education of Africa's millions of

laid for future agricultural growth. The process will take another 15-20 years, but the possibilities for changes in Africa's economic condition and wellbeing of the African people are dramatic.

Similar progress is being made in health programmes in Africa. Closely associated with improved health services will be an expansion of family planning assistance as more and more African governments adopt population policies. — From The Christian Science Monitor.



A young Mali boy leads a horse pulling a plough for a peasant farmer. Modern technology must be introduced — and quickly.





President Kaunda... among those who harnessed the winds of change.

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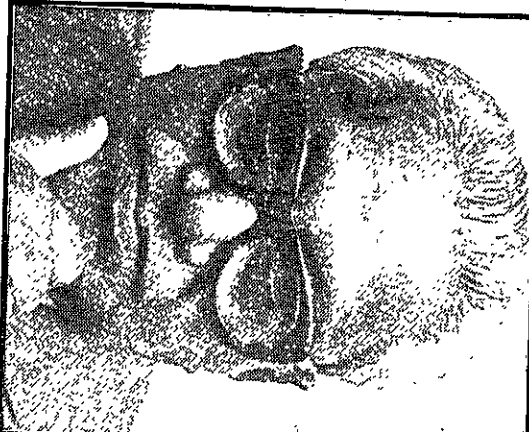


LEOPOLD SENGHOR

As a group, African leaders have an unequalled record of longevity as rulers of nations. Throughout the turbulent years of post-independence many have been displaced, but many have remained in power since the 1960s. Few have been removed through the ballot, reports JOHN EDLIN from Harare.



KING SOBHUZA



SEEWOSAGUR RAMGOOLAM



JULIUS NYERERE

# Old hands of African politics

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Rwandans claim an officially inspired campaign of terror to drive them from home

# Latest <sup>1</sup>refugee trouble spot

KIGALI — Julius Kamujisha was preparing for university entrance examinations last month when his best friend urged him to run for his life.

Today he is part of the world's newest refugee problem.

The lanky, 21-year-old youth is one of 45,000 people of Rwandan ancestry who fled their homes in neighbouring Uganda during what they contend was an officially inspired campaign of house burning, looting, cattle rustling and murder.

Wealth is calculated in cattle and the loss of herds led to at least several suicides.

Julius's uncle, Mr. John Rwabishari (35), saw more than 150 of his cows taken, said the would-be college student. "His best solution was to kill himself."

But none of the dozens of refugees and foreign relief officials interviewed in two camps could con-

firm a report by Mr. Osseini Fassasi, the representative in Rwanda of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, that at least 35 committed mass suicide.

Rwanda, Africa's most densely populated country, shut its border when the sudden influx of refugees from south-western Uganda threatened to upset its social and ecological balance.

Camps have been set up inside the Akagera National Park and the adjoining Mutara Hunting Park.

The refugees accuse leaders of the Uganda People's Congress, government officials and army troops of mounting a terror campaign to drive them out of the country.

Ugandan President Milton Obote has flatly denied that his government in Kampala, the capital, gave any order to expel the Kinyarwanda-speaking residents.

But numerous refugee accounts depict an action

that would have been difficult to carry out without the assent or participation of state officials.

President Obote was receiving medical treatment in Italy when the anti-Rwandan campaign began in early October. Speakers at political rallies said Acting President Paulo Muwanga gave the expulsion order, according to the accounts. Mr. Muwanga, vice-president and Defence Minister, is a powerful politician who has been reputed to act independently of President Obote.

Many say the campaign was triggered by an outbreak of cattle rustling and the killing of two Ugandan investigators sent to the area to look into the cattle thefts — both blamed on Rwandans.

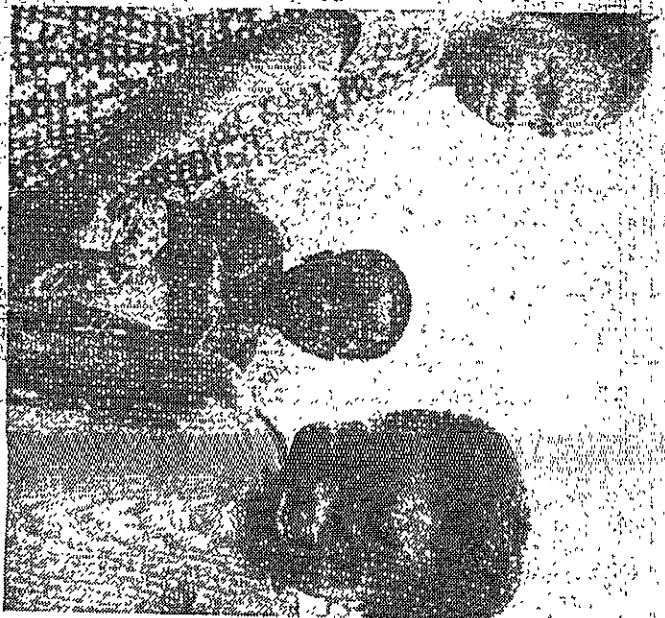
The strength of anti-Rwandan sentiment was reflected in a speech on October 29 by Mr. L. K. Makatu, chairman of the district council in Mbarara, the administrative centre for south-western Uganda. He called the Rwandans "dangerous criminals, killers, smugglers and saboteurs".

But relief officials and diplomats in Kigali, the Rwandan capital, said the move against the minority was probably motivated by resentment of the Rwandans' relative affluence.

Rwanda and Uganda have held talks on the problem but no decision has been made on where the refugees should go. The issue is to be discussed in Libya this month by Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana and Mr. Poul Hartling, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, said Mr. Fassasi.

The refugees cannot remain in the parks because of possible harm to wildlife and the poor quality of the soil for farming. And what agricultural land there is elsewhere in Rwanda has long since been taken.

An immediate problem is the scarcity of grazing pastures for the 45,000 cattle the refugees brought with them. — Sapa-Associated Press.



His future, like that of many of the Rwandan refugees, is uncertain — but he still manages a shy smile for the camera.

POLAND

By Henry Reuter of  
The Star's Africa News  
Service

**TRIPOLI** — The string of aborted Organisation of African Unity meetings this year has raised the question — with greater urgency than before — of whether the organisation has a future or if it has, as presently constituted, outlived its usefulness.

In the short term the outlook is dim.

The 12-state committee set up in Tripoli to make a third attempt to convene the 19th summit meeting of heads of state and government will probably try to do so before the end of next month for the simple reason that the charter stipulates that they shall meet at least once a year.

But although Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi has again offered to host it the committee will have to bear in mind that the odds against achieving a quorum in Tripoli will be even longer than in August or this month.

Not only does the original stumbling block — the refusal of one-third of OAU member states to sit with the Polisario's Western Sahara government — remain, two more have been created.

#### CHAIRMANSHIP

The first is the refusal of some of Africa's radical states to recognise the Chad government of Mr Hissene Habre.

The second is the reluctance of many members to see the OAU chairmanship pass to Colonel Gaddafi.

The Libyan leader's declaration that any future summit meeting in Tripoli will seat Mr Habre's rival, Mr Goukouni Oueddi, was an odd way of extending a welcome back to the considerable majority of OAU states who had agreed that Mr Goukouni had no claim to the Chad seat.

The venue for the 19th summit was, in terms of the OAU's rules of procedure, fixed at last year's summit meeting to be Tripoli but the rules make no provision for the leader of the host country to become OAU chairman.

They simply stipulate that at the beginning of each session the assembly shall elect a chairman.

#### PRACTICE

In recent years it has become practice for the leader of the host country to become chairman and to take on the functions of spokesman for Africa.

One way round the various impasses would be to call an extraordinary summit meeting to deal with them.

But the charter insists on a two-thirds majority support for calling an extraordinary session and on the present showing this would be very hard to obtain for anything — except perhaps for a condemnation of South Africa.

It appears, therefore, that on the issues of the recognition of Western Sahara and Chad the OAU has locked itself into its own charter pending military solutions to the problems.

#### IRONY

The irony is that most — if not all — its member states want the OAU to go on.

While it is considered to have done very little to strengthen African unity it is regarded as an extremely useful forum which by "jaw, jaw, jaw" has often managed to avert "war, war, war."

In the informal talks among African leaders in Tripoli this month there was a strong opinion that the simple and obvious way out of the OAU's present difficulties was to wind up the Organisation as now constituted and start afresh.

This would have similar objectives and ideals but would profit from 19 years of OAU experience.

It would have a revised charter and rules of procedure, a heavier emphasis on economic co-operation, as against politics, and a permanent base in one of the more accessible African countries at which all its meetings would be held, expenses being shared.

There have been suggestions that a new start on such lines would bring about the euphoria that formerly reigned and bring new life and hope to what has become a tired, weary, wornout and reluctant assembly.

#### ANC PRAISED

At the weekend 31 OAU member-states commended the ANC for its intensified armed attacks on economic and military targets in South Africa and the country's coloured and Indian communities for rejecting "the regime's divisive manoeuvres aimed at unlifting the anti-apartheid patriotic front and co-opting them as allies in the repressive war against the blacks."

The declaration condemned the Reagan Administration's policy of friendship and alliance with South Africa and in particular its economic, military and nuclear collaboration.

#### ACTION

It called on OAU states and African trade unions to take "appropriate action" to help mobilise public opinion for the enforcement of anti-South African trade sanctions.

It declared there could be no peace, stability and security in Southern Africa until apartheid was eradicated and the system replaced by a non-racial democratic state.

● Zimbabwe is pushing for changes to the OAU constitution to make it possible for the organisation to meet without a two-thirds quorum. The Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, disclosed this in Harare at the weekend after his return from the Tripoli summit.

Has the OAU  
outlived  
its usefulness?

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