SANCTIONS
1977
The cost of sanctions

What will happen if current threats at the UN and in European capitals become reality and SA is subjected to an economic boycott?

Aart Spandau, professor of business economics at Wits, suggests that things will be bearable, although standards of living could drop drastically.

In a paper presented at the NDMF’s Business Outlook conference in Johannesburg this week, Spandau explores the possible effects of trade and investment boycotts.

Using an input-output model devised by one of his colleagues, Yehuda Uziel, Spandau examines the effects of both a 20% and a 50% drop in foreign investment (on 1976 figures). The former would cause total disposable income in SA to fall by R101m, while the latter would cause it to fall by R247m. Applying Spandau’s figures to Reserve Bank income data, the FM calculates that a 20% investment boycott would reduce disposable income by 0.5%. A 50% boycott would reduce it by 1.3%. Spandau says that a 20% boycott would result in an increase in unemployment of about 37 000 (11 368 of those affected being whites). With a 50% investment boycott, joblessness would rise by some 90 000 (27 344 whites).

But Spandau is nevertheless optimistic about the SA economy’s resilience: “I would... maintain that, in all likelihood, a total investment boycott in 1976 would not have decreased SA’s GDP by more than 5% and that the additional unemployment would not have exceeded 40 000 in the case of whites and 80 000 in the case of non-whites.”

“In contrast,” he argues, “a trade boycott would be considerably more expensive. In 1976 a 50% trade boycott would have reduced SA’s exports by R4 280m, and this would have meant a deterioration in the balance of payments of R3 746m. More than 1,110 people would have become unemployed.”

British unemployment

Spandau estimates that personal incomes would also have dropped, evidently by as much as 14%.

He goes on to consider the effects of boycotts on the boycotters, and quotes calculations which suggest that a boycott of SA would increase Britain’s unemployment by 70 000 and reduce its exports by £600m.

Spandau argues that a successful boycott of exports would be difficult to uphold. There are just too many loopholes.

If a boycott were successfully imposed, how would the SA economy fare? Not too badly it would appear - at least initially. But after an easy stage of import displacement and import substitution, Spandau says that things would tighten up. The lack of foreign know-how and competition would tend to decrease efficiency, resulting in “high cost industrial establishments”.

Spandau also acknowledges the psychological and strategic considerations attached to boycotts. For one thing, net emigration from SA would increase.

What should be done? Spandau briefly mentions the restructuring of black education, changes in African land tenure rights in urban areas, the electrification of Soweto and the elimination of job reservation.

He concludes that until job reservation and other discriminatory measures are removed, “the danger of an economic boycott cannot be set aside”.

Netherlands-SA Sanctions loom?

This week saw the first appearance of the controversial Sanctions Bill in the Dutch Parliament. The Bill aims to empower government to enforce “international resolutions, recommendations or agreements” regarding sanctions without having first to pass legislation for each action.

The driving force behind the Bill is a Labour Party MP who has worked on it for years since it was disclosed that Dutch interests were involved in the sanctions busting Rhodesian tobacco trade.

Although it arises out of southern African issues, the Bill is a general one, raising several new points in Dutch law. This, rather than the SA implications, is why it will be bitterly contested.

In vain, the influential Central Bureau for Overseas Economic Relations submitted several objections to the Parliamentary commission preparing the Bill. The Bureau wanted a separate Act of Parliament to be passed on each occasion sanctions are demanded. It also wanted the Netherlands to act only in co-operation with all EEC partners.

The Parliamentary commission was not sympathetic. The draft Bill has, however, been altered to allow a parliamentary veto of any particular set of sanctions. And government, while recognising that a unilateral boycott is useless, will consult with - but not be bound by - its EEC partners.

A major problem is legal liability. Normally Dutch citizens living outside the Netherlands are not bound by Dutch law, but government is prepared to make an exception in the case of the Sanctions Bill. Dutch citizens living in SA and involved in trade with Rhodesia could therefore be liable to prosecution in the Netherlands.

The Bill has a long way to go before it becomes law, but it is one more sign of growing international pressure on southern Africa.
Economics II

Microeconomics

D. Rees
horrible memory, the Dutch refused to accept as SA ambassador in The Hague a man who they claimed had been a Nazi sympathizer.

The next decade, nevertheless, was a period of detente. In 1951 a Dutch-SA cultural agreement was signed, government missions travelled between Pretoria and Amsterdam, and emigration to SA was encouraged and even subsidised. The Dutch also supported SA in the UN.

The shooting at Sharpeville on March 21, 1960 — when Dutch-born Hendrik Verwoerd was Prime Minister — once again strained cultural and blood ties and led to the first Dutch criticism of SA in the UN. Subsequent attempts, mainly by the Christian Democrats, to restore the relations were frustrated by repeated visa refusals by Pretoria.

From then onwards relations deteriorated. In 1965 the Dutch hesitated over, and lost to the French, an order to manufacture submarines for the SA navy — a process repeated 10 years later with the Koeberg nuclear reactor order.

In 1973 Labour Party leader Joop den Uyl became Prime Minister in a coalition which included the Christian Democrats. With the portfolios for Foreign Affairs (Max van der Stoel) and Development Aid (Jan Pronk) also held by Labour, political attitudes towards SA hardened noticeably.

Swapo's grant

With Pronk's approval, Swapo has received an annual grant of R500,000 since 1975. In June this year, Den Uyl received Swapo leader Sam Nujoma and in September he met Tambi.

The FM learns from Dutch diplomats sources in SA that Den Uyl met with Tambo for an "informative discussion" at the latter's request. "During the meeting," says a spokesman, "it was made clear that the Dutch government considers the ANC to be an anti-apartheid group rather than a liberation movement. "It was also made clear that the Dutch government maintains a policy aiming at speedy and fundamental changes by peaceful means. The sum granted to the ANC is humanitarian aid to be spent on the erection of a school and clinic project in Tanzania."

The ANC leader's visit to The Hague symbolises the fact that the Dutch are distancing themselves more and more from their white progeny in SA and aligning themselves more closely with the black majority. The recent suspension of the cultural agreement (FM September 30) and the announcement in Parliament earlier this month by Van der Stoel that the travel subsidy for emigrants to SA should be cut, underline this trend.

Moreover, the Free University of Amsterdam has severed its links with Potchefstroom University, while, amidst much controversy, the two Reformed Churches are strengthening their contacts with their black daughter churches in the Republic. Groups favouring continued dialogue with white SA have a powerful voice in the churches. But when the secretary-general of the Hervormde Kerk, Albert van den Heuvel, was again refused a visa by Pretoria a short while ago, the contention that white SA does not want critical dialogue was strengthened.

Despite these trends, trade between SA and the Netherlands has grown apace. Dutch exports to SA have risen more than threefold since 1969 — to R148m last year, imports from SA have grown fourfold to R127m last year. However, total trade with SA accounts for less than 10% of Dutch trade with Africa as a whole.

Dutch investment in SA is estimated at roughly R170m.

The Dutch are now beginning to reach the reluctant conclusion that political and moral pressure has done little to bring about change in SA. The emphasis is now moving towards economic pressure, a shift with which even the Catholic Democrats show signs of concurrence.

Accordingly, practical steps are being taken towards restricting trade and other economic ties. Early this year the two major banks, Amro and Algemene Bank, announced they would make no more loans to SA government institutions until many changes occurred.

Two months ago an export permit was refused for a Fokker aircraft destined for South West Africa (FM August 25). It was felt, the FM learns, that the aircraft might be used for military purposes. "There is now, however, a general policy 'not to co-operate' in issuing export permits for SA."

The question which now arises is whether the Dutch government can persuade or compel the business sector to go along with its tougher stance against apartheid. Certainly it can count on support within the trade union movement. Although the small Protestant Christelijke Nationale Vakvereniging believes that things like the EEC Code of Conduct can loosen apartheid, the more powerful Socialist and Catholic Federatie van Nederlands Vakverenigingen supports tougher economic action.

Economic sanctions

Although the Dutch government has felt from the beginning that the EEC Code of Conduct is flawed by its lack of enforceability, it is committed to attempt to fulfill its obligations under it.

The Dutch are now going even further, however. Last month Foreign Minister Van der Stoel was in New York raising the question of mandatory economic sanctions.

Says a Dutch diplomat in Pretoria: "It must be understood that what is being heard from the Netherlands — and from the rest of the Western world — is a signal to indicate the urgency of the situation in the hope that the SA government will indicate clearly which road it is following away from racial discrimination."

The impact in the Netherlands of the banning of The Black People's Convention and other black organisations, and last, but not least, of Beyers Naude, is likely to be catastrophic for PM Vorster's government. And there can be little doubt that it will overflow into Germany, France, Scandinavia and the UK.

Financial Mail October 21 1977
Dutch attitudes have changed from solidarity with the Athlone to the opposite. What now? More leaks in the dyke.

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Dutch attitudes have changed from solidarity with the Afrikaner to active opposition to apartheid. What next?

Time was when the young Queen Wilhelmina sent a ship to rescue the embattled Paul Kruger and take him into exile. In 1977 her daughter, Queen Juliana, announced in her speech from the throne that the Dutch government considered mandatory economic action by the UN Security Council against SA to be justified.

And last month Juliana's Prime Minister, Joop den Uyl, received the acting president of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo, and promised him R190,000 in aid for refugees from Soweto.

The change from solidarity with white SA to active opposition has not been easy for the forebears of the Afrikaner nation. Nor has it so far prevented trade between the two countries from increasing rapidly. But the possibility that it may now do so is yet another dark cloud looming on SA's foreign affairs horizon - and now looming all the more darkly in view of government's massive clamp-down on black organisations this week.

At the time of going to press, the FM was unable to confirm or deny reports that the Netherlands has slapped an embargo on SA ships and goods.

Post war admiration in the Netherlands for General Smuts and SA was climax ed in 1947 by the first KLM flight to Johannesburg. The first sign of tension in the relations between the two countries appeared shortly after the Nationalists came to power in 1948: with the Nazi occupation of the Low Countries still a...
horrible memory, the Dutch refused to accept as SA ambassador in The Hague a man who they claimed had been a Nazi sympathiser.

The next decade, nevertheless, was a period of reconciliation. In 1951, a Dutch-South African cultural agreement was signed, government missions travelled between Pretoria and Amsterdam, and emigration to SA was encouraged and even subsidised. The Dutch also supported SA in the UN.

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From then onwards relations deteriorated. In 1966 the Dutch hesitated over, and lost to the French, an order to manufacture submarines for the SA navy - a process repeated 10 years later with the Koeberg nuclear reactor order.

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done in SA by French firms”.

The FM’s Paris correspondent was told by the ministry of finance that future policy on export guarantees related to sales to SA would be based solely on economic considerations. The FM learns that the ministry, which is under the direct supervision of Prime Minister Raymond Barre, and ultimately controls export credits, will resist any political pressure from the Quai d’Orsay.

- In the Netherlands, the chairman of the Amsterdam Rotterdam Bank (Amro) J R M van der Brink, said that he was “happy” with the steps proposed by the Dutch Government in reaction to the clampdown in SA.

These steps include Dutch support for UN imposed sanctions and the possibility that Dutch nationals who don SA military uniforms will be deprived of their citizenship.

- On the other side of the globe, in Australia, the dean of the diplomatic corps, Joe Forace, created a stir by refusing to hold a reception for the new SA ambassador, John Oxley, who was last week greeted by cries of “Go home racist” when he arrived to present his credentials to Governor-General Sir John Kerr.

Normal protocol requires the dean to hold a reception for new heads of mission. But Forace — who is the Maltese high commissioner — was evidently instructed by his government earlier this year not to deal with SA representatives. This led to his declining to hold a farewell reception for the retiring SA ambassador, John Mills.
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The South African Government has been conducting a discreet opinion poll among top British businessmen to discover their views on the South African regime.

The Government is using an unusual emissary, a South African “international trade consultant”, Mr. Jacques Lorraine, who works part-time for the South African Foreign Trade Association.

Mr. Lorraine, who first came to Britain 18 months ago, started a business consultancy firm in March called Jacques Lorraine and Partners.

The only partner is his wife, and the registered office is in Mount Street, Mayfair, the address of his solicitors. The capital of the company is £150.

He places great emphasis on discretion and confidentiality. He said he had approached about 50 businessmen and politicians in the past four months and had sounded out about 20 of the major companies with large holdings in South Africa.

He was not willing to name any of them.

“These discussions are on the basis of strict confidentiality. This is all legitimate, strictly above board. It isn’t secretive, but it is privileged information,” he said.

So far, his reports back to the Foreign Trade Association can have given little encouragement to the Government.

“They have spoken to have been devastatingly frank,” he says. “They say that they think it’s immoral to allow such pressure to have any effect. That they ought to make a stand and not give in. But after all, they say, we’re in business.”

Broadly, Mr. Lorraine says, the view of British businessmen is that they want Britain and South Africa to be good friends but that they are dismayed at the path the National Party Government appears to be taking and that unless South Africa cools off, there could be serious problems.

Two businessmen said they had been left with the strong impression that Mr. Lorraine represented the Government but he insists that he works solely on behalf of the Foreign Trade Association.
Raising US loans faces snags over SA companies

Business

Sunday Express

27.9.97

20

just don't fly

Michael Scott...
Sanctions won't kill us—PM

NEW YORK — The South African Prime Minister, Mr Vorster has said the proposed United Nations sanctions against South Africa would hurt, but "certainly not kill." He told Newsweek magazine he was "very confident" about the future of his nation.

"We believe in self-government for the blacks, and they have that at the moment (in the homelands). And as far as (homeland) viability is concerned "the fact is, the standard of living of the South African black is from two to five times higher than that of the rest of Africa."

Asked whether South Africa could get along without cheap black labour, Mr Vorster said: "We can get along, but they'll starve if we don't employ them."

As for whether the UN votes sanctions against his country to force black majority rule, Mr Vorster said, "I'll be a fool if I say to you that it won't matter or it won't hurt, but it certainly won't kill." — Sapa-AP
Not enough, Carter told on sanctions

Eugene Hugo
WASHINGTON — President Carter is still under intense pressure to take more drastic action against South Africa than his Thursday announcement foreshadows.

Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations committee’s Africa Subcommittee — Senator Dick Clark, has already voiced his disappointment that the President did not announce a wide range of unilateral measures in the economic field.

And yesterday, the chairman of the Congressional-black caucus Warren Mitchell told reporters the President’s arms embargo against South Africa “is not enough.” He urged “total economic sanctions.”

DISAPPOINTED

In a statement after conferring with House Speaker Thomas O’Neill, he said he was disappointed that President Carter had not announced stronger action.

Mr. Mitchell said he saw the resolution approved by the International Relations Committee on Thursday as “only the first step” toward a total policy against the racial actions of the Vorster Government.

The caucus wants the administration to take these steps: downgrade the US mission, remove US commercial, defense and agricultural attaches, end working agreements in the fields of treasury, defense, duty tax, credits to US companies and support, elimination of Export-Import Bank guarantees for loans to US companies trading, and investing in South Africa.

NORMAL RULES

Mr. Mitchell went to Mr. O’Neill to arrange for a house vote today on the resolution denouncing the South African Government and calling on President Carter to take “effective measures.”

He said he thought the caucus had the votes to pass the resolution even though it will require two-thirds consent to suspend normal rules to take it up.
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — A tense battle of wills between the West and Africa began at the United Nations yesterday over a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, reports Hugh Roberton.

In a packed and husked Security Council chamber, the Western powers triple-vetoed three of the four draft resolutions against South Africa which had been proposed and sponsored by African countries.

And the Africans, expressing bitter disappointment at the vetoes, forced a last-minute adjournment of the debate and prevented a vote on the Western-sponsored arms embargo draft resolution.

POINTLESS

At one stage the council became embroiled in a fast-moving, but apparently pointless, wrangle over procedure, evoking the comment from United States ambassador, Mr Andrew Young that "nobody can be as pleased as what is happening here as John Vorster."

The Africans told the council that they could not accept the Western draft resolution — already substantially changed in an attempt to accommodate the wishes of the 47 African members of the UN without "further consultation."

And, they added, it was unlikely that they would accept the draft resolution without moving amendments — and thus almost certainly inviting further confrontation with the West.

DIFFERENT

The Western draft resolution finally submitted to the council was substantially different from the working paper circulated among African countries last week and over the weekend.

It abandoned the previous idea of limiting the embargo to six months — something which the French Government had apparently insisted on.

Both France and West Germany had spoken of a binding arms embargo on South Africa.

Apparently to compensate France for the abandonment of the six-month limit, the revised Western document made no mention of the revoking of licences for the manufacture of foreign-designed weapons in South Africa, or the revoking of contracts as had the original Western proposal.

African reaction to the final version of the Western draft resolution was immediately hostile.

The Africans are insisting that the resolution include provision for the revoking of licences and the revoking of "contractual arrangements" to provide weapons.

While there is general agreement among four of the five Western countries on the Security Council to go along with

Mr R von Wechmar of West Germany who backed a binding embargo.

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these demands, France is said to have given a firm and categorical warning of a veto of any resolution which included licences and contracts.

And France, unquestionably the most individualistic and temperamental of the Western countries on the Security Council, apparently "expressed some misgivings about the dominating role of the United States."

The three African draft resolutions triple-voted by the Western powers demanded harsh sanctions against South Africa, including a mandatory arms embargo in perpetuity, a ban on new foreign investments, ban on import and export guarantees, and other economic sanctions.

The one African resolution approved by the council — unanimously — was a brief one expressing the council's abhorrence of the South African Government's racist policy, but not calling for measures against the country.
UK paper hits at sanctions 'humbug'

LONDON. — British support for mandatory arms sanctions against South Africa is humbug, the London Daily Mail said yesterday.

"The official reason for this embargo is that South Africa is a threat to world peace," it said.

"What arrant hypocrisy! This is. There are areas of the globe far more likely to suck the great powers into another war.

"The Middle East is the one that most readily springs to mind. Yet Britain, America and Russia are all busy servicing the military requirements of one side or the other - Arab or Israeli.

"The truth is that South Africa is being singled out for a UN embargo not because Mr Vorster's regime poses a unique threat to international peace, nor even because apartheid is more especially evil than other tyrannies.

"What we are seeing is a competition between the Soviet Union and the United States to woo the emerging black African states.

"That is the underlying reason for the arms embargo. It is humbug to pretend otherwise."

The Daily Telegraph said: "Will the horrific blood-letting and terror still being inflicted on Cambodia by the war criminals who call themselves its government inspire talk of economic sanctions?"

"We know the answers only too well. There is increased Nigerian trade to be gained from denouncing South Africa, but little percentage in Cambodia."

Zambia's permanent representative at the UN, Miss Gwendoline Konje, said sanctions would be difficult to enforce because the world body did not have the necessary machinery.

"It would be up to the individual nations to observe them," - Sapa-AF.
NEW YORK. — The South African Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, has said that the proposed United Nations sanctions against South Africa would hurt, but "certainly not kill."

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Asked whether South Africa could get along without cheap black labour, Mr Vorster said: "We can get along, but they'll starve if we don't employ them."

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NEW YORK. — Three out of four African resolutions against South Africa now before the UN Security Council were likely to be vetoed by Western powers, US sources said yesterday.

They said they expected Benin, Libya and Mauritius, the sponsors of the resolutions, to insist that the council vote on them yesterday.

After the voting, council members would work out a compromise resolution for a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa on the basis of a rough draft being promoted behind the scenes by the US and other Western countries, they said.

The only African resolution they thought would be accepted was the demand that South Africa lift the bans on organisations and the news media "opposed to apartheid."

The sources, who did not want to be named predicted that none of the other three resolutions would be adopted.

One calls for a cutoff of trade with, investments in and loans to South Africa. Though not binding, it asks countries to report what they have done by next April and envisages a council meeting in May for "further action as appropriate."

Both the other resolutions invoke Chapter Seven of the UN Charter, under which the council can order mandatory action against a country found to be threatening international peace.

One could become the basis for a later effort to expel South Africa from the UN. It says South Africa has "persistently violated" UN Charter principles and its actions "constitute a grave threat to international peace and security."

Under the charter, such a threat can trigger enforcement action, or sanctions, and any UN member that has persistently violated charter principles may be expelled by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council.

The other resolution would have the council, acting under Chapter Seven, demand that all countries stop shipping arms to South Africa.

It is more forcefully worded than the Western draft, put forward by the US, Canada, Britain, France and West Germany.

The US, Britain France triple vetoed a resolution to expel South Africa in 1974 and a resolution for a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa in 1975. — Sapa-AP.
US threatens uranium ban, says report

By GUY BERNARD
WASHINGTON. — The Carter Administration is considering putting a halt to exports of low-grade uranium fuel rods to South Africa, it was reported yesterday.

US State Department officials said shipments of highly-enriched uranium to the Republic had already been stopped. The fuel now under threat of being cut off is the uranium requested by South Africa for use in two large nuclear power plants being built by a French consortium.

The "did-didn't" argument between President Carter and the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, about Mr Vorster's statement on atomic explosions continues.

On Friday, President Carter said again that Mr Vorster had in both a public statement and a private message to me "unequivocally committed himself not to design nor produce, nor to test any atomic explosions at all, either peaceful or warlike.

The White House announced that no specific details on an arms embargo against the Republic would be released until after a United Nations resolution on the matter is passed.

Once the UN has acted a White House directive will be issued that "will contain specific instructions regarding contracts, materials covered, and other areas of interest."

The State Department is preparing a list of "gray area" material that could fall under the arms embargo.

Officials said it could include heavy-duty trucks, certain types of computers and executive-type aircraft used by the South African Air Force.

The president of the Atomic Energy Board, Dr A J A Roux, yesterday said he could not judge the authenticity of the report, "except it and have no reason to prevent its publication," he said.
THE American decision that Ambassador Bowdler will eventually return to Pretoria, and the three-way UN veto, make good sense. The United States and other Western governments will achieve more meaningful change in South Africa through contact and dialogue, than by diplomatic isolation.

Indeed, it seems likely that direct contact and controlled pressure from the West will increase, rather than diminish, as a result of Steve Biko's death, the recent bannings and suppression of the World.

The nature of this pressure will determine its success. There are genuine fears among ordinary and reasonable South Africans that radical political change will bring chaos; that while it is possible to become much more deeply involved in joint decision-making, there is a real risk that sudden and too-simplistic change in South Africa's social and political dynamics could send the entire nation, black and white, skidding uncontrollably into a constitutional smash-up. This fear may have a significant influence on the election.

White South Africans, who must ultimately share their wealth and power, have the goodwill needed to achieve change. But they reject solutions which will place them entirely at the mercy of the majority, where they may lose everything.

This is an understandable fear, and it would be foolish to discount it. If the West is interested in achieving real and peaceful change from within, it must recognise the danger of pushing Pretoria to the point where diehard advocacy leads us all, lemming-like, into confrontation and destruction.

The Western three-way veto clearly recognises the futility and potential disaster lurking behind the Afro-Asian sledgehammer approach. So does Andrew Young's statement last night that the US is not seeking to isolate the Republic or asking whites to forsake what they have helped to build. It is this kind of realism and restraint, and only this, which can make pressure for peaceful change effective.
Britain accuses Gabon of sanctions busting

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A secret report from the British Government to the UN Sanctions Committee accuses Gabon, the current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, of contravening systematic evasion of sanctions by Rhodesian air transport companies.

Exports of Rhodesian beef and other goods were, according to the report, routed via Libreville Airport and Gabon-registered companies. Imports from Europe into Rhodesia passed along the same route.

The report asks for travel restrictions to be imposed on 23 people, 18 of them British, involved in the sanctions-breaking operations. If this were accepted, these people would be prohibited from entering any country which implements UN sanctions on Rhodesia.

Gabon is not just current chairman of the OAU. It is also, by recent election, one of the African members of the Security Council.

Nevertheless, the allegation is not in essence new. As early as 1973, the UN Sanctions Committee had its first discussion of a report that a Rhodesian Plane with the call sign TANGO ROMEO was engaged in sanctions-breaking operations through Libreville.

There was a further, more detailed report in November, 1975, also from Britain, which has been virtually the only nation whose Government intelligence network has been directed to detecting and exposing sanctions-busting.

At that time, it was said that a DC-8 aircraft, reportedly acquired, had been given a repainting job in Salisbury Airport and was operating for a company registered in Gabon, but believed to be Rhodesian owned — AFFRETAIR (La Compagnie Gabonaise d'Affrétements Aériens).

In 1976, another British note said that AFFRETAIR was a cover organization controlled from Salisbury by a Rhodesian airline, AIR TRANS-AFRICA.

At this time, roughly the middle of last year, AFFRETAIR were said to be operating five aircraft, with two DC 8s, two DC7s and a CL44, bought by various subtrades in the United States, Belgium, and Luxembourg.

WIDE NET

The DC8s were flying regularly with Rhodesian beef for Gabon and the Ivory Coast, to Amsterdam to pick up imports for Gabon, but in fact flown back directly to Salisbury.

The net was spread very wide, with AFFRETAIR planes flying Rhodesian goods, by various devices, to South American countries as well as a few African countries, including Zambia, Zaire, Malawi, Nigeria, Ruanda, and Kenya.

Some of the aircraft also made regular calls in Europe.

The UN, acting on the reports, sent a series of Notes to Gabon, to which Gabon made no reply, until 22 May, when the Gabon Government announced that AFFRETAIR had been dissolved and all links between Gabon and Rhodesia ended.
West, blacks clash at UN

Haggling aids SA

Hugh Robertson

New York

Haggling between the West and the Africans over an arms embargo against South Africa has let South Africa off the hook in the Security Council.

With no agreement in sight, there were even outbreaks of open hostilities. The British Ambassador, Mr Ivor Richard, normally the most placid of men, described the latest African demands as "farical."

A clearly annoyed French official accused radical African states of playing politics, with the role of the majority in South Africa and another Western diplomat remarked:

"This is outrageous. It is an abuse of the Security Council.

At the centre of the confrontation is a Western draft resolution calling for a non-subsidy arms embargo against South Africa under Chapter Seven of the UN Charter.

This is precisely what African countries have been demanding for years — but they began to demand far more once they felt the West was prepared to agree to an embargo.

As it is, the Western powers have substantially changed their original proposal for a resolution in an attempt to accommodate the demands of the four African members of the UN.

They agreed, for instance, to scrap their original plan to limit the embargo to a six-month period and agreed to what would be an embargo in perpetuity.

Licences

But the Africans were demanding a ban on nuclear cooperation, the revoking of contractual arrangements — even though such a step would offend the legal system of just about every Western country — and the revoking of licences to manufacture weapons in South Africa.

The Western powers, and especially France, are apparently not prepared to endorse a resolution which, in effect, would force armament manufacturers to renge on existing contracts.

And they have pointed out to African countries that revoking licences is not a magic wand which would miraculously stop the South African Government from manufacturing weapons of foreign design.

"We have warned the Africans that they are trying to place South Africa beyond the law, and that this would be infinitely less constructive than if we were to maintain those licensing arrangements which enable us to have some clout in Pretoria," one Western official said.

The French are showing signs of exasperation and, according to one African account, are threatening to vote "the whole damned thing."

The only point of agreement was to meet again today.

- West "impatient with Swaqa." — Page 20.
NEW YORK — While the United Nations debates sanctions, South Africa's four diplomats at the world organization go about their business seemingly as if nothing out of the ordinary were happening.

And, despite all the torrid rhetoric in the debating chambers, they are treated in return with diplomatic correctness — frequently even warmth — by their colleagues from other countries and by UN officials.

There might be an occasional barbed comment in the bustling delegations lounge — but it could come as easily from the not-to-be-interfered-with South Africans as it might from the often interneer special black Africans.

The South African four have not been seen anywhere near the Security Council chamber during the debate on South Africa nor, since the country was excluded from the General Assembly and its ancillary bodies in 1974, are they ever seen there.

But they listen carefully to speeches on South Africa through a "squeak box" broadcasting system linked to their well-secured offices a block away from UN headquarters.

But their most important activity is lobbying and keeping contact with those countries still prepared to conduct a dialogue, albeit surreptitiously, with Pretoria.

Throughout the sanctions debate the South Africans have resisted the temptation to respond in statements to the huge volume or documents about South Africa issued daily.

Instead, they have given Western newsmen whose professional standing is above international political "background briefings" on the situations.

This has proved to be a far more effective relationship than the strategy adopted by the Department of Information, whose activities in the United States are apparently in disarray following the bannings and arrests of October 19.

There is no Department of Information representative attached to the UN. This is probably why, in their slow but steady way, the South African four have managed to maintain such all-round good relationships despite the present circumstances.
Thank you.

Molecular Biology Building, UCT.

Daily log sheets to be completed every session and submitted to TEACHING METHODS UNIT, Room 305.

Signature (Tech. Manager):

Remarks (Technical Manager):

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Who saved us?

from those?

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Election Commentary

It is only a matter of time now before the Nationalists start the disinherited and touting for votes. The abolition of the Nationalist Party has been a long time coming and we have been waiting for it for a long time. The Nationalist Party has been in power for too long and it is time for a change. The Nationalists have been using discrimination and violence to keep their power and it is time for an end to this.

Dr. Kekana: Our government has more than twice the number of MPs than the other parties. This is a weak government and it is clear that it was brought into power when it had a majority during the last election. How big a majority does it have? How many people did it win? The Nationalists have been using violence and discrimination to keep their power and it is time for an end to this.

Macombola: We need a government that will work for the people and not just for its own interests. The Nationalists have been using violence and discrimination to keep their power and it is time for an end to this.

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Department of Faculty

No. of Students

Language taught

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Language taught: Daily Log Sheet

Faculty of Arts
Consensus on arms ban

NEW YORK — Security Council members moved today towards adopting by consensus a measure that would make South Africa the first member-state subject to UN action, receiving threats to world peace, reports Saps.

The 15 members were to have a closed meeting today to iron out what they called minor technical difficulties in a draft resolution calling for a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

The measure would probably be adopted tomorrow, most of them said. They were awaiting word from the French government.

Some African members, however, thought adoption would come tonight. Hugh Robertson writes that France still has deep reservations about the new proposal, drawn up after a week of confrontation, but has apparently undertaken not to veto it in the security council.

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Yesterday's consensus was reached after African countries had substantially modified their extreme demands of the past week in the face of determined Western, and especially French, resistance.

The French had threatened to veto any resolution which called upon countries to revoke contractual arrangements for the supply of weapons or spare parts to South Africa.

They had also stood firmly against African proposals calling on countries to revoke licences for the manufacture in South Africa of foreign-designed or patented weapons or parts.
Sanctions would hurt US steel

50,000 American jobs depend on exports to SA, writes HARRY ELLIS.

A key factor in President Carter's policy on South Africa is the major dependence of the American steel and chrome industries on chrome ore and other metals from that nation.

"Put economic sanctions on South Africa," says E F Andrews, vice-president of Allegheny-Ludlum Industries, Inc, of Pittsburgh, "and you deny yourself close to 90 percent of the world's supply of chrome, because Rhodesia already is under sanctions."

So far President Carter is committing the US only "to support strong sanctions against the sale of arms to South Africa," including a prohibition on the sale of spare parts for weapons.

Already the US and Britain adhere to a voluntary ban on weapons sales to South Africa, and the policy enunciated by President Carter fails far short of economic sanctions against the South African regime.

Mr Carter did say, however, it is "proper for (the US) to enhance or reduce our trade" with another country, depending on its attitude toward basic human rights.

South Africa is a principal supplier to US industry of chrome, manganese, vanadium, platinum, and other metals essential to a wide variety of industrial processes.

Currently, said an official of the General Services Administration (GSA), the US Government "is in a deficit position" on stockpiles of chrome ore and the platinum group of metals needed by the US defence industry.

"We don't have enough of these metals," the official said, "to meet emergencies."

Private industry, in any case, could not draw on US strategic stockpiles, maintained by GSA, unless President Carter gave emergency clearance.

"You must," says Mr Andrews, "have 11.5 percent chrome (which provides the anticorrosion element in steel) or you cannot have stainless steel. Chrome has been called the most unsubstitutable metal in the world."

Of US imports of raw chrome ore last year, according to US Government figures, 38 percent came from South Africa, 17 percent from the Soviet Union, 17 percent from Turkey, 3 percent from Rhodesia, and scattered supplies from elsewhere.

The US has virtually no chrome. By an odd combination of geology and politics, South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Soviet Union -- according to US government estimates -- possess 99 percent of the world's known reserves of platinum, 98 percent of vanadium (used as a toughening element in steel), 99 percent of chrome, 98 percent of gold, and also much of the world's reserves of manganese, asbestos, and diamonds.

South Africa is a major US customer, having bought 1.35-billion dollars worth of American goods last year. Government economists reckon more than 50,000 American jobs depend on exports to South Africa.

The US last year bought 925-million dollars worth of goods from South Africa. Through August of this year, US sales to South Africa had fallen 18 percent below the 1967 level, according to a US Commerce Department official, while American imports from South Africa were up 37 percent -- reflecting in part, perhaps, the US ban on imports from Rhodesia.

When, with President Carter's support, the Rhodesian embargo was enacted last March, proponents argued that the United States could replace Rhodesian chrome with ore from South Africa, the Soviet Union, Turkey and other sources.

Steel industry concern over possible loss of critical supplies from South Africa comes at a time of hardship for American steel firms, with thousands of workers laid off.

The Bethlehem Steel Corporation, the nation's largest steel maker, reports a 477-million dollars net loss in the third quarter -- largest quarterly deficit ever recorded by an American corporation.

Steel industry leaders are pressing for some form of protection against steel imports from Japan and Europe. So far Mr Carter, buttressed by his chief trade negotiator, Robert S Strauss, is holding out against import quotas, but has ordered the US Treasury to enforce antidumping laws strictly.

Such a system could be of considerable assistance in the development of agriculture in the homelands while it could also provide white farmers on uneconomic units with an additional income without giving up the security of their farms, their training and experience.

In conclusion it is important to state that any development program should be initiated and executed in a dynamic way. No halfhearted effort in modernised agriculture or co-operative farming could succeed.

The demonstration effect of a few well organised co-operative farming enterprises could be so great that it could stimulate the formation of more and more co-operative farming ventures which could lead to an acceleration of agricultural development.

Literatuurlys/...
US urged to lead SA ban

ATLANTA — Mrs. Coretta Scott King, widow of former civil rights leader, Mr. Martin Luther King, has called for a worldwide trade ban against South Africa and has asked the US to take the lead.

Mrs. King, who serves as a member of the US delegation to the United Nations, said recent actions of the South African Government, "further curbing the already limited rights of black majorities in that country, are morally reprehensible to every person who believes in freedom and social justice."

African and Western nations at the UN remain deeply divided over the extent of the arms embargo against South Africa.

Mr. Andrew Young, US ambassador to the UN, said in Washington that the triple veto by the United States, Britain and France in the Security Council had been a "bad experience" for the US.

This had, he said, caused years of suspicion between Africa and the West to emerge. "When we had to vote against things with which we agree."

In a closed informal meeting the African nations reintroduced hard-line amendments to the Western draft for the embargo. — Sapa-Reuters-AP.
A narrow shave

It is indeed ironic that a South African should have drafted the UN Charter's preamble. It commits the UN to "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small." So remote was General Smuts, the world statesman, from problems at home that he never foresaw what a Frankenstein the UN would become for his country's racial policies.

White politicians from Vorster to Egpin are having a field day making electoral capital out of world pressures on SA and the present discomfiture of the Carter Administration, as it recoils from matching tough words with tough actions. Indeed, the Americans have been embarrassed by having to join the British and French in using their vetoes to stave off demands from the Third World for economic sanctions under Chapter 7, Article 4(1) of the Charter.

Before either military or economic action can be taken by the UN, the Security Council must make a declaration under Article 39 that a "threat to the peace" exists.

As we went to press the West was desperately trying to avoid such a declaration. Instead it was trying to get African agreement to a compromise proposed by Canada and West Germany. This merely says that the acquisition of arms by SA (not its internal policy) presents a threat to peace. The threat could then be removed by halting arms supplies.

The Western powers were terrified of an Article 39 declaration because, as Denis Venter, assistant director of the SA Institute of International Affairs, points out, it would be "extremely difficult to retract." A process would be set in motion that would lead ineluctably to economic sanctions. And if those failed to force SA to change its ways, military action under Article 4(2) SA has always insisted that its internal policies are a domestic matter and thus no concern of the UN, and that a declaration under Article 39 would be "illegal."

But as Wits law dean John Dryer points out, the Security Council is not a judicial but a political body. As such, it does have the legal right to decide that a situation within a state constitutes a threat to peace.

It is clear from statements by top Carter men that the Americans take the view that there is indeed a risk of international conflict over apartheid. National security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski claimed a few days ago that there was a danger of bitter conflict if urban guerilla violence broke out in SA and guerilla groups in neighbouring countries stepped up pressure. He also warned that the Cubans, already involved in Angola, or the Russians, could become entangled.

SA takes the view that it would be these foreign powers rather than its own internal policies that would be causing the threat to peace.

SA argues that it will sort out its domestic problems on its own. Will it? Apartheid has been around since 1948 and earlier. It has been an issue in the UN for three decades, ever since India objected to SA's treatment of its Asian population.

During that time apartheid has not been relaxed, but intensified and extended, while tougher and tougher action has been taken to suppress internal opposition to it.

In the meantime, black Africa has become more strident in its attacks on apartheid, while economic links between the West and black Africa have become more and more important. Thus pressures which Carter is now exerting against SA are not only a reflection of his human rights policy: they also arise from American self-interest.

As Andrew Young pointed out this week, the UN has "$1.5 bn worth of trade a year with SA", but "$6 bn with Nigeria". The growing importance of black African states as Western trading partners has the inevitable result that the Western powers are now much more susceptible to pressures from these states than in the past.

The Americans also want to protect their economic interests in SA, but the crucial point is their belief that in the longer term only fundamental political change here will achieve that end.

It is precisely because of its interests in SA that the US applies greater pressure to SA than to other countries - what SA calls "double standards". As Young points out again, there are 436 American corporations involved in the SA economy. "If we had 436 American corporations involved in Uganda, if we had nuclear relationships with Uganda, if we had billions of dollars invested in Uganda, I guarantee you there would be a whole lot more pressure on Idi Amin coming from this government. We do not have any relationships with Uganda.

Venter and Dugard... Pandora's key is in the lock

Financial Mail November 4 1977
CHAPTER VII OF THE UN CHARTER

ACTION WITH RESPECT TO
THREATS TO THE PEACE,
BREACHES OF THE PEACE, AND
ACTS OF AGGRESSION

Article 39: The Security Council shall
determine the existence of any threat
to the peace, breach of the peace, or
act of aggression and shall make rec-
ommendations, or decide what mea-
sures shall be taken in accordance with
Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or re-
store international peace and security.

other than the purchase of coffee.”

What now?
The Western vetoes have given SA a
breathing space — but no more than
that. As Venter observes, if there is no
internal change “economic sanctions
could become a possibility. It would be
difficult for the West to resist them from
a moral point of view”.

Dugard concurs: “The Africans have
not got everything they wanted, but they
have got more than in the past. SA has
been very lucky to get off so lightly this
time. Pandora’s box has not yet been
opened but the key is in the lock.”
I still back foreign investment, Buthelezi says

African Affairs

CHIEF Gatsbyi Buthelezi told the Mercury last night that he had not withdrawn his support for enlightened foreign investment. "My stance on foreign investment, which I have articulated many times, has not changed. I have said that this is an issue that should be decided by the people who are starving.

"My people are voting for foreign investment with their feet, e.g., they queue for jobs that are becoming harder and harder to find."

Referring to world sanctions against South Africa he said: "I do not unconditionally support sanctions.

Choice

"But, given a choice between sanctions and bloodshed I would naturally choose sanctions." Chief Buthelezi said he was rather disillusioned with sanctions as applied by the West.

He pointed out that Rhodesia had survived for 12 years in the face of so-called sanctions. However, he would support sanctions if applied properly by the whole world. "But only as an alternative to bloodshed."
Gatsha backs sanctions

DURBAN — The Zulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, yesterday supported sanctions against South Africa and withdrew his support for foreign investments here, according to a newspaper interview.

He said this was in reaction to the serious situation caused by the recent government actions against virtually all black opposition bodies, organisations and leaders.

After consultation with his Cabinet, Chief Buthelezi declined to attend yesterday’s Pretoria “summit” involving Mr. Vorster, government officials and homeland leaders.

Chief Buthelezi said that in the past he had encouraged foreign investment because his people were in desperate need of jobs.

He now felt international sanctions were the only way South Africa would salvage “what was left of the opportunity for peaceful change.”

The only way the West could retain the respect of Africa was by applying sanctions.

“The Third World has consistently accused the West of conniving with the governments of Rhodesia and South Africa. The West can no longer remain ambivalent and still retain the respect of the Third World,” he said.

“While we know that sanctions will hurt blacks more than whites, we would rather accept this hardship than continue to suffer wholesale arrests, banishments and the kind of thing that has happened to Biko, Mduli and others.

“Sanctions are better than bloodshed and the stage has now been reached where people should support such action, even if they did not do so before.” — SAPA
Bonn cuts
insurance
guarantees

West Germany is starting to turn the screws in trade with South Africa through a disclosure that the Bonn Government intends halving credit guarantee insurance for its exporters and investors.

However, the effects are unlikely to have any great impact on two-way trade, or investment, by Germany in South Africa. This is the view of leading South African businessmen. However, the move—whi -

It is likely that the West German move will be interpreted as a political move to appease pressure groups from Germany, the European Community and the world in general.

The Bonn Government has recently come under fire for its policies that are seen as being detrimental to South Africa's economy. The move to limit credit guarantees is seen as a way of making South African exports less competitive.

Dr. Dietrich Klicker, general manager of the South African German Bank, said today that the move would not significantly affect trade between the two countries. He pointed out that the move was a response to pressure from German interest groups, particularly in the West German Bundestag, to limit the amount of money that could be loaned to export-oriented businesses in South Africa.

The move is seen as a way of encouraging German companies to invest more directly in South Africa rather than relying on the export market.

The Economic Council for the West German Embassy in South Africa, Mr. Dieter Sasse, said the move was a positive step in the right direction. He said that the move was necessary to ensure that the German economy continued to grow and develop.

The move is seen as a way of reducing the dependence of the German economy on exports and encouraging domestic investment.

The move is expected to have a significant impact on the South African economy, particularly in areas such as textiles, chemicals and machinery.

The move is also expected to have implications for the South African rand, which is likely to depreciate against the German mark in the short term.

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Botha: SA prepared for fair changes

CAPE TOWN — The Government was prepared for changes in the Republic which it considered to be fair and just, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr N. F. Botha, said here last night.

He said he was prepared to recommend changes, some of which would be unpopular for South Africa, but the Government would never agree to the right of existence of the white man in South Africa to be threatened. He said there had been changes and 'did not deny that others were, perhaps, necessary.'

He agreed more could be done, but said what had been done had been done in a very short time.

Addressing a public meeting in the Cape Town City Hall, and referring to America, Mr Botha said: 'Don't push aside the hand of friendship extended to you.'

South Africa had not declared a diplomatic war against the United States or any other country, but was saying without apologising: 'We are not prepared to agree to the destruction of our right to govern ourselves.'

South Africa was not prepared to be sacrificed merely to soothe the guilty consciences of people who had done wrong against Coloureds and others in their own countries.'

'Don't weaken your friends and strengthen your enemies. Give us credit for our sincere efforts to find a solution and eliminate conflict.'

Turning to the PFP, Mr Botha said it had said: 'On the one hand it was against black majority rule, but also against white minority rule.'

This meant the PFP was either hoping to mislead the blacks by making it impossible for them to achieve black majority rule, or that the PFP naively believed the blacks would be satisfied with a system in which they constituted a statistical majority without power.

'Responding to a question on whether the Government deemed bannings without trials to be fair and just, Mr Botha said: 'Under normal peaceful conditions, without the dangers of riots and killings and bloodshed and the burning of other people's homes, then such actions would be unjust.'

'In view of the abnormal conditions prevailing, the Government had no option but to make use of the exceptional and far-reaching measures,' he said. — SAPA.

(News by D. Perse and J. J. Roosendaal, Van Der Stel Building, 56 Burg Street, Cape Town)
Regional

‘Pressure on SA slows recovery’

CAPE TOWN. — Greater international pressure on South Africa will probably cause any recovery in the economy to occur "most gradually," the Bureau for Economic Research at the University of Stellenbosch says in its latest opinion survey report.

"Further sacrifices and discipline will therefore be required on all levels and in all sectors over the next few months. "Although the economy has undergone a period of painful adjustments and a return to greater discipline over the past 18 months in particular, and although this action is yielding positive results, current conditions are obscured by greater international pressure."

While the upswing in the business cycle was expected towards the end of the first quarter next year, it would begin to gain any real momentum only towards the end of the year. Then only, in effect, would it be felt by the entrepreneur in the private sector.

"Although a certain measure of relaxation is essential in the sharply restrictive economic policy stance that is currently still adhered to, it should be implemented extremely selectively and relatively slowly. This procedure is necessary to prevent the economy from having to combat more serious problems of another nature at the end of 1978 than at present," the bureau says.

"If it is assumed that the measures in the relaxation package will contain attempts to stimulate import replacement and exports as well as greater expenditure on housing, relatively small adjustments in salaries and wages in the Government sector and decreases in the liquid asset requirements of banks, a real growth rate of between 2.5% and 3% in gross domestic product (compared to from 1.5% to 2% in 1977) is foreseen."

"In addition, it is expected that the increase in consumer prices will continue to be high, but at between 9% and 9.5% in 1978 at any rate lower than the estimated 11% average in 1977."

The greatest restriction as regards relaxation remained the position of the net reserves.

"Given the current international attitude to South Africa, it is probably unrealistic to accept anything better than a neutral capital account during 1978. This implies that any upswing in net reserves over this period will have to come from a surplus on the current account of the balance of payments."

In spite of optimism among gold merchants about the price of gold, it seemed that total export earnings next year would probably increase much more slowly than this year. — Sapa.
Arms embargo imposed on SA

THE UNITED NATIONS Security Council yesterday imposed a mandatory and comprehensive arms embargo against South Africa — the first such sanctions ever levied against a member of the world body.

The resolution, a compromise between five Western powers and hardline black African states, was approved unanimously, 15-0, by the council. It goes into effect immediately.

The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, last night told Sapa the embargo was incitement to violence and would stiffen the resolve of South Africans to defend their country.

The unprecedented move was in response to South Africa's latest crackdown on black leaders, other dissidents and The World, newspaper in the wake of controversy over the death of black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, reports UPI.

Any impact the embargo will have remains questionable, however. South Africa already produces much of its own arms and experts say it could become fully self-sufficient in weaponry.

"The embargo was the council's first punishment of a UN member in its 32-year history. The UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, called it "clearly an historic occasion."

The embargo calls on UN members to stop selling SA all types of military and police equipment, armaments, patent rights, spare parts and technology for nuclear weapons.

NEW YORK

The mandatory embargo has been imposed under the world body's charter to "assist" by the UN council. It means all 148 other UN members are obligated to please the world body's charter to "assist" by the UN council. There are no penalties for violations, although offending nations themselves could be subjected to sanctions.

Already at least one country seems to be wavering.

Israel yesterday refused to say whether it would abide by the embargo.

"The resolution and its implications will be studied and Israel will draw its conclusions like any other country," a Foreign Ministry spokesman said minutes after word about the vote reached Jerusalem.

Sapa reports that the Secretariat-General, Dr Waldheim, has been asked to report to the UN by May 1 on the implementation of the resolution.

At the UN itself the arms embargo was seen yesterday as a largely symbolic gesture of protest.

Meanwhile in Pretoria, last night the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha said, South Africa was not a threat to peace, and the resolution and a previous one condemning South Africa were examples of hypocrisy in the institutions of the international community.
The oil flow must be stopped, said the OAU's Secretary-General, according to a report in The Times. The minister said that the oil flow was not a fair exchange of assets between nations. He warned that the flow would only stop when the oil was no longer needed.

The minister also mentioned the importance of international agreements in stopping the flow of oil. He called on the United Nations and the African Union to take action to stop the flow of oil.

Commenting on the recent trip to Cuba, the minister said that the visit had been successful in establishing a new international relationship. He added that the visit had also been an opportunity to discuss the importance of the oil flow with Cuban leaders.

The minister also mentioned the importance of the oil flow in the context of the current political situation in the region. He said that the oil flow was a source of revenue for the region and that it was important to ensure that the revenue was used in a responsible manner.

The minister concluded by saying that the OAU and the United Nations must work together to stop the oil flow and ensure that the region's resources are used in a sustainable manner.
Boycott: 'SA could survive decade'

WASHINGTON — United Nations ambassador Andrew Young has acknowledged here that South Africa is "amazingly independent" and could survive a total boycott for a decade.

This comes after last week's United Nations' mandatory arms embargo against South Africa — an embargo in which Mr. Young played a crucial role in forcing a compromise with the Third World.

However, appearing at a health lecture series, Mr. Young had some hard words for South African Prime Minister Mr. Vorster.

Insisting that South Africa was not a monolithic society, Mr. Young said: "I think there is in South Africa not just Vorster, who is very much intellectually on the hill, but enough people with courage and confidence in their own society to give a different kind of leadership to that country."

This is the hardest criticism to date of Mr. Vorster from the American ambassador to the UN who has earned himself a reputation as a moderate.

And if Mr. Young's feelings about Mr. Vorster reflect those of the White House — which they often do — renewed speculation about the Prime Minister seeking a Washington meeting with President Carter must fade into the realms of wishful thinking.

When this subject was first raised some three weeks ago — ostensibly under the guise of talks on SWA/Namibia — the consensus among administration and congressional sources was that the US would have to "call out the marines" to handle security for any such visit.

It was made very clear at the time that the Carter Administration could just not afford politically to meet Mr. Vorster. Since then, there has been the clamp down on dissidents to add to the bad publicity over the death of Steve Biko.

In any event, administration sources told The Star Bureau they knew of no such request from the Prime Minister — expressing doubts at the same time whether an articulate politician like Mr. Vorster would set himself up for a deliberate snub in the present climate between the two countries.

Owen has doubts

LONDON — The British Foreign Secretary, Dr. David Owen, says he does not share the optimism of some African states that sanctions could bring South Africa to its knees.

Speaking to the London Heads of Mission of the member states of the Organisation of African Unity, Dr. Owen regretted that there had not been greater unity between the OAU and the Western powers in the recent Security Council debate.

For example, he said, several states had suggested that all forms of nuclear cooperation with South Africa should be stopped.

The Foreign Secretary assured the OAU representatives that Britain would not be a "laggard" on South Africa, but it had to look beyond mere rhetoric.

On Rhodesia, Dr. Owen said that there could be no question of a straight transfer of power to African hands without the test of the ballot box to determine where mass support really lay.

He went on: "An election is essential during the transitional period, because, with the African nationalists divided, a solution can only come in this way."

He stood by his contention that the Anglo-American initiative was still "on course" although he did not deny that there were "immense difficulties ahead."

Until all parties were agreed to the package as a whole, Britain would not be in a position to return to the Security Council or to enact legislation for Rhodesia's independence.
Dutch take new look at policy

Andre Meyerowitz

THE HAGUE — Holland’s relations with South Africa were reviewed at a Cabinet meeting here yesterday.

Ministers in Mr Joop den Uyl’s Government studied documents compiled by the Finance, Economics, Social Affairs, Justice, Immigration and Foreign Affairs departments.

Holland has promised a review of policy towards South Africa as a result of last month’s clampdown on dissident organisations and individuals in the Republic.

The Dutch ambassador to Pretoria Mr Ru Froger, who was recalled on October 21, is still having consultations with top officials here, though he is expected to return to South Africa soon.

No decisions were announced after yesterday’s Cabinet meeting but a statement may be made within a week or two.

The Government has meanwhile moved to implement the Common Market’s code of conduct for subsidiaries of European firms in South Africa.

The Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Max van der Stoel, and the Economics Minister, Mr R F M Lubbers, have written to all Dutch companies with interests in the Republic.

Their joint letter says the Dutch Government believes a policy aimed at emancipation of blacks is more than ever necessary for South Africa.

Companies there can, and must, make a contribution towards this, the letter says.

The Government has asked business and labour leaders to join it in talks on policy towards South Africa in the light of the EEC code.
Iran won’t lose in SA oil-cut, says writer

LONDON — The Shah of Iran is likely to gain only international applause if he cuts off Iranian oil supplies to South Africa, it is suggested.

Yet, as Peter Calvocoressi, the British author and publisher, points out in an article in the London Sunday Times, the Shah is unlikely to lose anything either.

“Iranian deliveries to South Africa are a mere 4.5 percent of Iranian oil exports and could be sold elsewhere or simply left to appreciate in the ground,” he writes.

For all its wealth and strength, Iran is an isolated country forever exerting itself to play a role close to the limits of its capacities, says Calvocoressi.

Set apart by race, religion and inclination, it needs to look out for measures which can win international applause at no cost.

OPEC

And by cutting off oil to South Africa it would please its Opec partners. Moreover, there would be no other producer to step in and steal the business. “The Arabs and Nigeria certainly would not. Venezuela and Indonesia almost certainly would not.”

South Africa, consuming about 320 000 barrels of oil a day, would immediately be thrown back on its reserves, which Calvocoressi estimates at two years’ stocks at most.
SA faces new church campaign

LONDON.—Britain’s churches are being marshalled to lead a new national campaign against the South African Government by persuading major banks to end further loans, and the Government to stop export credits to companies operating in the Republic.

An ecumenical organisation, End Loans to South Africa, has written to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Donald Coggan, the general secretary of the British Council of Churches, the Rev Harry Morton, as well as other denominational leaders urging a renewed and united campaign to increase pressure for economic sanctions on South Africa.

Efforts are expected to be made at the autumn session of the general synod of the Church of England, which opens today in London to raise the security crackdown in South Africa.

The issue is not listed on the agenda of the four-day session, but feeling is running high in some church circles that the established church cannot allow such developments, particularly involving leading churchmen, to pass without some comment from the Anglican parliament.

The new campaign is significant for the international support it carries.—D.N.C.
German envoy to see Botha

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The West German Ambassador, Mr Hans-Joachim Eck, is scheduled to see the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R F Botha, tomorrow regarding relations between South Africa and West Germany.

Mr Eck returned to South Africa at the weekend after being recalled by his government for consultations following the widespread bannings and closure of the World newspapers.

The United States Ambassador, Mr William Bowdler, has also asked for a similar meeting with Mr Botha but an audience has so far not been granted.

Mr Bowdler did not want to elaborate on his discussions with South Africa's Washington Ambassador, Mr Donald Sole, and their reported joint pledge to repair the damaged relations between South Africa and the US.

"We do want to improve relations and we hope measures will be taken here that will permit improved relations."

Mr Eck also confirmed that his meeting with Mr Botha would be about West Germany's relations with South Africa.

The Dutch Ambassador, Mr Rudolph Froger, who was recalled to the Hague by his government after the bannings and closures of newspapers, is expected back in South Africa this weekend.

A Netherlands Embassy spokesman in Pretoria yesterday said the Dutch Government was in the process of reviewing its policy towards South Africa but he could not say whether Mr Froger would seek an audience with Mr Botha on his return to South Africa.
Republic won’t be seriously hurt — PM

HEIDELBERG: — The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said last night that the countries responsible for the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa must take the blame if this resulted in attacks on South Africa or in violence within the country.

The embargo imposed by the United Nations Security Council last Friday was tantamount to an open invitation to violence, he told a packed public meeting in Heidelberg.

While South Africa had made provision against such an eventuality and would not be seriously hurt or brought to her knees by it, the Security Council had given notice that they were withholding arms from South Africa.

"They must not be surprised that some foolish and misguided nations will take that as an invitation to attack South Africa."

"They must also not be surprised that those irresponsible elements within South Africa take that as an open invitation to create violence in South Africa," he said.

"If people get hurt in the process, South Africa must not be blamed for it, but those who have inclined people to demand of South Africa what South Africa is not prepared to give."

Mr Vorster said the mandatory arms embargo would not seriously hurt South Africa, and neither would any future oil embargo.

"There are those in the world outside who believe that with this mandatory arms embargo they can bring South Africa to its knees," he told a packed public meeting.

"But let me tell them tonight that they have another guess coming," he said to loud applause.

Mr Vorster said South Africa had made adequate provision for both an arms embargo and an oil embargo, having seen both coming decades ago.

Just as he had warned when the United Nations gave arms to terrorists that terrorism could not be confined to Southern Africa.

Continued on page 2
Vorster on embargo

Continued from pag.1

and would become a world
scourge, so those responsible for
the embargo would hold the sole
responsibility for any resulting
violence.

"Those responsible for this em-
барно, what did they succeed in
ding?"

"What they did was tant-
amount to an open invitation to
certain misguided and militant na-
tions, saying to them: 'We are
withholding arms from South
Africa.'"

"They must not be surprised if
some foolish and misguided na-
tions take that as an invitation to
attack South Africa," he said.

"They must also not be sur-
pried if certain irresponsible ele-
ments within South Africa take
that as an open invitation to
create violence in South Africa.
"If that happens, I say so to
those nations responsible for the
mandatory arms em-
барно, the responsibility is theirs
and solely theirs if that happens
in South Africa."

Mr Vorster said the nations
responsible would also take into
account the fact that the embargo
could not be taken off the United
States without the positive votes of
Russia and Communist China, which
was extremely unlikely to hap-
pen.

"I am pleased and thank-
ful that I can say tonight that as far
as this mandatory arms embargo
is concerned, South Africa not
only saw it coming, but South
Africa made provision to be self
sufficient as far as these arma-
ments are concerned.

"Those responsible, those
who sponsored the motion and
those who voted for it, believed
that they would seriously hurt South
Africa.

"That will not be the case," he
said.

"I know also that the milita-
ties are in fact at the moment pre-
paring for the next move, are in fact
playing around with sanctions as
far as oil deliveries to South
Africa are concerned.

"Also there, I am pleased to tell
you we have made provision over
the past years, and that whereas
they certainly will create certain
difficulties for South Africa, they
will certainly not kill us.

"We have made provision so
that they cannot kill us," he said
to applause.

"But if they come with that
tort of a boycott, that will kill
Bophowana, that will kill Lebowa,
and that will kill other African
countries."

Mr Vorster warned people not
to create the impression that the
white man's time in South Africa
was running out.

The Progressive-Federal
Party's call for a national
convention involving whites,
blacks, coloured people and
Indians, to draw up a new
constitution for the Republic,
would inevitably lead to black
majority rule in South Africa.
If all the race groups were
thrown together into parliament,
it would create chaos as well as
lead to a loss of identity and the
right to self-determination of all
the various peoples.

Only conclusion

Mr Vorster said the PFP's Mr
Horace van Rensburg, sitting MP
for Brakpan, had during a
meeting with Mr Percy Qoboza
of the World and Mr Allister
Sparie of the Rand Daily Mail,
reportedly stated that a national
convention would draw the
black, because they had nothing
to lose and that it would also
draw the whites because the
whites had everything to lose.

This was the talk of a man who
believed the whites had already
lost and that if they did not go to
such a convention they would
lose everything they had built up

Mr Vorster said he did not for
one moment wish to suggest that
this was what Mr Van Rensburg
wanted, but if this sort of thing
were continually being presented
to blacks, they would in time
believe that the time would arrive
when they would be able to get
everything they wanted in South
Africa.

This was the only conclusion
black could come to when
listening to statements of this kind
by certain individuals.

Mr Vorster said allegations
about the shareholdings of
Cabinet Ministers were among
the smear stories against the
National Party which could be
expected to appear in the near future.

An article about ministerial
shareholdings would soon appear
in the Financial Mail. But since
the union in 1910, all ministers in
government had held shares.

The only difference was that
the capitalist ministers in the
former United Party government
held more shares than was the
case at present.

"I myself hold shares in
Volkskas, Trutn Bank and other
African companies, just as
other ministers hold company
shares.

"These are shares which we
bought and which it was our good
right to buy."

Reported by M. Acott, Bank-
building, Church Square, Pretoria.
"Volkskas. 527 Mutual Building,
Hermann Street, Johannesburg."
Transkei backs SA sanctions

NEW YORK: — Transkei supported the "strongest possible sanctions against South Africa," the country's official representative here, Mr. Ngqondi Maximini, said in a letter to the New York Times yesterday.

But it reminded the world that unless it was allowed a separate identity, the three million "innocent citizens of Transkei" would also be punished by world action against South Africa.

"I must applaud the world's reaction to the recent series of outrages in the Republic of South Africa. Those actions set the progress of blacks in that nation back many years," Mr. Maximini said. He is officially called Umtata's Minister at large for North, Central, and South America.

"The Republic of Transkei joins its fellow nations in condemning the brutal action of South Africa." — Japa.
Transkei envoy backs sanctions against SA

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — A Transkei Government official has backed strong sanctions against South Africa, while making an indirect plea for official recognition of the independent homeland's status.

Mr. Ngqoneli Masimini, applauding "the world reaction to the recent series of outrages," says his country must nevertheless remain the world that unless they allow us our separate identity, they will also be punishing the innocent citizens of Transkei.

The Washington-based Transkei Minister at Large for North, Central and South America, says in a letter published in the New York Times: "The Republic of Transkei joins its fellow nations in condemning the brutal action of South Africa. There is, however, a paradox: that we, far much of the world is unsympathetic."

"Denied..."

"He says Transkei is totally dependent on South Africa for its economic welfare," the letter continues, "and the territory had been denied world recognition. "We must have diplomatic recognition to participate on our own in world commerce and build our own economy."

Without diplomatic recognition, actions intended to 'punish the economy' of South Africa also affected Transkei.

Mr. Masimini says: "We have always been part of the fight against apartheid and all it stands for."

"As a predominantly black nation dedicated to an open society for all its citizens, Transkei should be accepted, not an orphan in the community of nations."

Mr. Masimini says "uninformed members" of the world community saw Transkei as "a creation of the racial policies of South Africa" but historical facts refute that argument."
The unkindest cut

South Africa is now being deserted by France, hitherto our friendliest European ally. We have truly become the polecat of the world.

Time was when France was willing to be the odd man out among the big Western powers and publicly supply arms to SA. No more. The cancellation this week of the contracts to supply two corvettes and two submarines is yet another sign of the huge international cost of the recent bannings by Police Minister James Kruger.

And it represents the lowest watermark ever in SA's ebbs and international fortunes.

The pragmatic French have long maintained that apartheid is a problem internal to SA. They have strenuously resisted attempts to have it labelled as a threat to peace, fearing that this would pave the way for UN intervention in the internal affairs of other countries (FM last week).

And their pragmatism has profited them mightily. The two escort ships under construction for the SA Navy at Lorient were part of a R750m order placed with French shipyards, and only one of a long series of contracts with French arms merchants. The French defence ministry announced on Tuesday that neither the two corvettes nor the two Agosta-class submarines under construction at Toulon would be delivered to SA.

More than anyone else, the French were placed on the spot in New York last week as the Western powers desperately sought to stave off demands from African states for mandatory economic sanctions. For the two other Western governments holding Security Council veto rights — Britain and the US — the arms embargo eventually pushed through as a compromise was little more in practical terms than a token gesture. After all, they had already themselves voluntarily imposed arms embargoes.

It was initially reported from the UN that the French were opposed even to the compromise resolution. But what is significant is that they did not use their veto against it, a clear indication that they are no longer prepared to defy Western — and African — opinion by underwriting SA with military supplies.

In the past few years the French have more than once talked vaguely and confusingly about limiting arms sales to SA. These announcements were sometimes made when the French president or one of his ministers was travelling around winning friends and influencing people in Africa.

In 1975, for example, when President Giscard d'Estaing was in Zaire, it was stated that the French had decided to cancel all arms deliveries, with the exception of naval equipment, which could not be used for internal repression.

Statements like these impressed nobody in Africa. They certainly did not save the French foreign minister, Louis de Guiringaud, from hostile demonstrations when he visited Tanzania in August this year.

Until now, however, the nimble French have been willing to brave the anger of black Africa, no doubt partly because SA has in the past few years come to be regarded as an important target area for French exports. In the last 10 years French exports to SA (excluding arms) have risen more than fivefold — from R76m in 1966 to R418m last year. SA is ranked sixth in Africa — after Algeria, Morocco, Nigeria, Tunisia, and the Ivory Coast — as a purchaser of French goods.

Over the same period, SA exports to France have increased fourfold — from R68m to R276m.

What France was no longer able to withstand in New York last week was the combined pressure of the Americans and the African states. Overnight, in fact, the French have been forced to abandon their independent soft approach to SA.

Giscard's soft line on apartheid was maintained even in the face of Steve Biko's death and the international outcry which followed. Unlike the Dutch and West German foreign ministries, for example, who issued official protests, the Quai d'Orsay was silent. And while several European countries recalled their ambassadors from Pretoria in response to the SA bannings on October 19, the...
which SA manufactures French-patented arms is not yet clear. The Security Council distinguished between existing and new agreements. The latter are now prohibited, and it seems most unlikely that France will sign any more such agreements with SA. As far as existing licences are concerned, the Council ordered that these be reviewed with a view to their termination. The FM’s Paris correspondent reports that they are now under review by the French government.

Nor is the future of Koeberg clear. The French evidently succeeded at the UN in having the resolution worded in such a way as to encompass not all nuclear co-operation but only co-operation in the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons. The French are thus not required to withdraw from Koeberg. The feeling in Paris, however, is that France will sooner or later be pushed into some sort of “sanctions escalation”. It has been forecast in the Quai d’Orsay that the next embargo to come up at the UN will include all types of nuclear co-operation.

It is an open secret that France played an important role in facilitating contacts between African states and SA in the heady days of “detente”. President Félix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, who commands much respect in French political and foreign policy circles, was instrumental to the whole detente policy.

The Quai d’Orsay now fears that it will be very difficult for France once again to act as an intermediary.

“After all”, a Quai d’Orsay spokesman retorted to the FM, “how can one ‘dialogue’ with a government which is throwing all the opposition into jail?”
Commandeering the economy

Any doubts that South Africa is preparing in earnest for economic siege were dispelled this week.

Speaking in Durban on Wednesday evening to the Natal Chamber of Industries, Economic Affairs Minister Chris Heunis announced the activation of legislation to improve the country's preparedness for economic onslaught and reduce "the strategic vulnerability of the economy".

The legislation in question is the National Supplies Procurement Act of 1970, based on War Measure No 146 of 1942. Heunis announced that a proclamation bringing Sections 2(a) (i), 3, 4, and 7(2) of the Act into operation would be gazetted within a few days.

These provisions enable him to:

- Manufacture or produce any goods for the state should he "deem" it necessary for security;
- Direct owners or suppliers of goods and services to supply, deliver or sell them to him or to any "specified person"; and
- Direct any manufacturer to "produce, process, or treat a specified quantity of goods and supply them to him".

Any person ordered by the minister to supply or produce goods will be deemed capable of doing so unless he can prove otherwise. And if anyone fails to comply with his orders, the minister is entitled to seize the goods or make use of the facilities to supply the service in question.

Compensation

The minister is also empowered to enter any premises to make an examination and take samples of goods as required. Both management and workers are put under an obligation to provide any assistance needed to perform such tasks.

The Act also provides that the minister will pay compensation, equal to claimed cost plus an amount determined by him. But he can, if he considers the claimed cost excessive, order it investigated.

Heunis stressed that he hoped that circumstances would not force him to make widespread use of these powers. He added that in recent discussions with the private sector he had "indicated that no departure from the government's long-established policy of maintaining a free and unfettered economic system is contemplated".

He emphasised the possibility of "many more months of harder times ahead". "Most recently, there has also been much talk about the active use of coercive steps against the South African economy, with the object of forcing political concessions from us..."
Ramphal urges global action on SA

LUSAKA. — The Commonwealth Secretary-General, Dr. Shridath Ramphal, has called for a global confrontation against South Africa.

He severely criticised those countries which have remained silent on the evils of apartheid.

Mr Ramphal told a Press conference at Lusaka Airport before leaving for Kenya, that it has always been a contradiction to condemn South Africa while doing business with it. Mr Ramphal was in Zambia for talks with President Kenneth Kaunda.

He said every country that restrains global action against South Africa for fear of harming some national interest allies itself with apartheid.

He said it was a dangerous illusion to believe that the current policies in South Africa were tempory.

"They have always been the underpinnings of apartheid," Mr Ramphal said.

The Rand Daily Mail's London correspondent reports that Bishop Colin Winter, on Wednesday night called on British students to increase pressure on their universities to withdraw funds invested in companies with subsidiaries in South Africa

The Bishop, who was expelled from South West Africa was speaking at a meeting at Warwick University which marked the start of a national campaign against apartheid organised by Britain's National Union of Students (NUS).

The campaign follows Britain's veto of a United Nations Security Council motion calling for economic sanctions against South Africa. A senior official of NUS said the campaign will involve the highest level of student activity since the campaign to stop the 1970 cricket tour.

Bishop Winter criticised British students for "their tacit support of apartheid".

"The sheep-like attitude of students in this country who do not question where their funds are invested appals me..."

"It's the good people in carpeted studies working out an academic standard against apartheid. The time has come to say 'enough' and to point the finger at the international capitalists who are backing South Africa," he said.

Bishop Winter has just returned from a tour of Norwegian campuses. He left Britain yesterday for a lecture tour of Spanish universities.
Bizarre loophole in arms ban

By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — Transkei can sell arms to South Africa. So can Taiwan.

And Bophuthatswana is another potential centre for boom sales of military hardware the moment it becomes independent.

Maybe fanciful, but strictly according to the law, United Nations officials grudgingly acknowledge.

The bizarre loophole in the week-old global arms embargo rests on the fact that none of these territories exist, according to the world body.

Therefore they cannot be notified of the Security Council action, as all 149 member States, including South Africa, and all non-members have been.

On Wednesday South Korea was the first non-member to formally announce its compliance with the ban.

UN officials said that embargo instructions had gone out also to Switzerland.

On Wednesday UN diplomats were contemplating such colourful, if unlikely, ideas as a US aircraft company setting up a military sales office in Umtata.

Ironically, a year ago the Pentagon was understood to be studying the possibility of developing Port St Johns in Transkei as a US naval base.

The Rand Daily Mail's correspondent in Cape Town reports that arms dealers believe small arms and sporting arms will always be available despite the embargo — if people are prepared to pay enough.

Mr "Johnnie" Johnson, who runs a gun shop in Tokai, said yesterday that the arms embargo had revived "a little man in a grey suit" — the gun runner.

"We have always had trouble getting small arms from America. We have to import these guns via Hong Kong or some other place," he said.
US blocks SA plane spares order

By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — South African orders for computers and aircraft equipment have been stopped as a first step in imposing the mandatory arms embargo, US Commerce Department spokesman said this week.

A directive on the US interpretation of the ban on arms “and related material” is to be issued soon by the Commerce Department.

The blocked aircraft order covers spare parts for a fleet of turbo-prop executive planes used by the South African Air Force.

The computers were ordered for a shipbuilding programme.

Statistics now released show that South Africa obtained R3 800 000 worth of equipment on the US equipment list between August 1974 and August 1975.

The purchases were made up of aircraft spares costing R250 000 bought in 1974, an inertial navigation system costing R800 000 bought in 1974, vehicle support equipment costing R1 500 000 bought in 1974 and aircraft support equipment costing R580 000 bought in 1975.
Back ing embargo shows West's moral confusion

By Michael Harrington
of The London Daily Express

LONDON — The decision by the major Western powers to support UN economic sanctions against South Africa is another example of the moral confusion and political ineptitude which have been characteristic of Western policy towards Africa, and other places, for a number of years.

Let me take the moral issue first, because it is the more important. It is, I believe, a moral confusion which besets the heart of the intense hostility towards South Africa which exists in my country — even among people who are otherwise perfectly sound.

This confusion arises from the widespread conviction that the whites in South Africa are oppressing the blacks. Now there is no need for me to tell South African readers how unfair and unjust this is.

No doubt there is some oppression, and cruelty to individuals. But such things have been a feature of every society which has ever existed. There is racial discrimination in Britain on a vast scale, and in spite of all the liberal race relations laws.

Moreover...all governments in Africa, rough and rougher...fight...movements. Sometimes they go too far, but any responsible political leader is bound to think it right to do too much, rather than too little, to maintain public order.

Now the problem is to account for this Western moral confusion. It seems to me that it is rooted not so much in ignorance of the facts — though that will be a factor in public opinion — as in guilt: feelings about the colonial past.

This has two effects. One is that there is widespread tolerance of Third World excesses and implicit acceptance of the most insolent and preposterous demands for a "redistribution" of the world's wealth.

UNABASHED

The other effect is to do with South Africa, and also Rhodesia. There you see a resolute white governing class, which is uncontaminated by guilt, which is unabashed and confident of its right to rule.

This is what Western liberals hate, they want you to grovel and apologize for your existence — as they are always seen to do at the drop of a black hat.

And the fact that South Africa and Rhodesia are the most prosperous countries in Africa, and the only ones in which freedom of speech and the rule of law have any meaning at all, only adds to your crime...
Cuts in Dutch links to SA

Pretoria Bureau

At least three Dutch publishers, and the State broadcasting service, have taken action reducing longstanding communications contacts with South Africa.

The publishers refused to continue sending books to South Africa because of the apartheid policy. But the book boycott is unlikely to cut supplies of new books in the Dutch language significantly, says a major importer of foreign books.

"Normally, one would get the books directly from the publisher in Holland. But there are also many other channels," said Mr. Jan van Schaik, a director of a book-agent chain based in Church Street, Pretoria.

Publishers named as boycotting the South African market are Van Oorschot, De Berge 'Bij' and Pijl en Van Genep. Other publishers in the Netherlands are expected to adopt the same policy.

"The Star's correspondent in The Hague reports that the Dutch Radio World Service has abandoned the Afrikaans broadcast, which 'Etnos' had beamed to South Africa for nearly 30 years, and the service's two Afrikaans-speaking staff members have returned to the Republic."

"Holland's Ambassador to South Africa, Mr. R. Stoger, has returned to his post in Pretoria after being recalled. The Hague was told the consulations three weeks ago following widespread sanctions in the Republic."
SA built Mirages...forming the economy for recovery
PLANS to beat a total arms embargo against South Africa were put into operation long before the United Nations imposed its sanctions this month.

The UN move was no surprise to Pretoria. The Defence Department has been preparing for years.

We already have, I understand, a division — similar to Rhodesia's top secret sanctions busting force — devoted to breaking war weapons restrictions against South Africa.

And military exports and scientists have collated and analysed technical data gathered by South Africans who have visited Western defence systems.

These officials had high priority security clearances at some of the United States' most sensitive military installations until objections were raised by American politicians.

Some European countries, including France and Britain, allowed South Africans to tour important projects.

Blueprints bought up

At the same time blueprints and manufacturing licences were bought up by defence agencies, in case the embargo arises.

So far only France has admitted she cannot stop South Africa manufacturing important arms like Panhard armoured cars, Mirage fighters and missiles.

A leading French arms manufacturer described the arms embargo as "shutting the stable door after the horse has bolted."

Many other countries have been caught in the same embarrassing situation. Those who did hold back the sale of manufacturing licences have sold armoured cars, vehicles and aircraft direct to Pretoria and South Africa is known to have stockpiled certain important equipment including spare parts.

The other trump card is the National Procurement Act of 1966, which makes provision for the Government to compel manufacturers to produce necessary items.

The reported French decision not to honour orders for vital armoured frigates and submarines is the most serious step taken against South Africa so far.

The Navy, long considered the Cinderella service of the SADF, is in the process of being upgraded to a modern strike force.

Older warships have been refitted but they cannot replace the value to the Navy of the modern warships ordered from France.

Durban's shipbuilders say they can supply the Navy's needs, but this means years of waiting 'before' orders can be fulfilled. And vessels built in our dockyards will undoubtedly be far more expensive than anything ordered from Europe.

The South African taxpayer is going to have to pay for the embargo. More than R260 million will now be available to the SADF since the cancellation of the French contracts, but Pretoria will have to look around for other willing manufacturers and the price is going to be high.

Clever Techniques

Rhodesia knows this, but she has also proved that ingenuity and clever sanctions busting techniques can keep an army reasonably well supplied.

The SADF is understandably reluctant to release details of its plans and extent of its stockpiling over the years but in a White Paper tabled by the Minister of Defence this year, Mr P. W. Botha revealed that the manufacture of small arms and heavy ordnance artillery had increased by up to 500 percent.

At the same time the White Paper said that important progress had been made with the establishment of shipbuilding facilities and the building of light and medium marine assault vessels.

It went on to say that the air force was being supplied with locally made Kudu aircraft.

Gun Propellants

An earlier White Paper said that progress was being made in the development of high performance gun propellants.

Local manufacturers of an advanced version of the Impala jet was about to begin. The delivery of aircraft bombs had been largely completed and the delivery of non-guided aircraft rockets had also started.

South Africa's munitions factories are making 453-kilogram bombs as well as napalm shells and building our own 25-pound anti-tank mines.

On the surface, the arms embargo appears disastrous for South Africa, but careful forward planning and import of strategic raw materials bought by many Western countries from South Africa for their own arms industries soften the impact of the United Nations decision.
**Frankryk kom kernkontrak na teenoor SA**

*Van MARILYN ZEELIE\*  
PARYS

FRANKRYK sal sy kontrak, nakom en twee kerknagstrelles ter waarde van R600 miljoen aan Suid-Afrika lewer.

Suid-Afrika het ook 'n verdere kontrak met Frankryk gesluit waarvolgens huisvesting verskaf sal word aan 120 Suid-Afrikaners — 40 wetenskaplikes, 38 vroue en 42 kinders.

Die Suid-Afrikaners sal tussentijds agt maande en twintig maande in Frankryk wees en opgelei word by die kernvooringsentrum by Grenoble. Hulle word in Januarie hier verwag.

Hulle sal tuis gaan in 'n kasteel wat uit die Middel-eeue dateer. Die kasteel was tot onlangs in die besit van n Katolike jeugbeweging wat bankrot-gespeel het.

André Grange, direkteur van die jeugbeweging, is in sy skik. "Met die Suid-Afrikaners hier, sal ons weer ons skulde kan vereffen."

Maar daar is 'n probleem: die klein anti-apartheids-groep wat in die omgewing gestig is, agtieer reeds teen die Suid-Afrikaners se komst.

Nou oorweg Grange dit om nie meer die kasteel tot die beskikking van die Suid-Afrikaners te stel nie. Die probleem is nie onoorlokkend nie, want alternatiewe huisvesting kan gevind word.

Intussen lê die fregat Googie Hoop steeds in die havens van Lorient, waar almal blykbaar die swye opgelê is.

"As julle wil sien dat die Goegie Hoop Kaapstad bereik, moet julle stilbly," is die opdrag wat na bewering uitgeleer is.

In die Franse pers en oor die TV is nog niks oor die fregat gereg nie, maar "die Belgese TV-diens het 'n film daaroor gewys."
UK's sanctions fear

BRITISH and European shipping circles are deeply concerned about the possibility of trade sanctions against South Africa which could jeopardise nearly R750-million of investment in new facilities for trade with South Africa.

The South Africa-Europe Container Service (SAECS) has nine new container vessels, especially designed for the trade of the Southampton Port Authority, which has invested R15-million in extensions, including a new stretch of quayside and deepening the harbour.

This week a new R75-million container vessel, from the British firm of Overseas Containers Limited (OCL) and is due in Cape Town on December 2.

Mr Anthony Butterwick, OCL's SA trade director, said this week that he was worried about the possibility of trade sanctions.

"Although Britain has vetoed such a move, one cannot be sure that trade sanctions can be avoided in the long term. "We will be watching the situation carefully."

British and European container shipping lines in the South African trade handled about 3-million tons of cargo a year.
Blacks in favour of arms ban

DURBAN — Several thousand blacks roared their approval of an international arms embargo against South Africa during a speech by Chief Buthelezi at an Inkatha rally in Umlazi yesterday.

The Chief said the country seemed poised for violence, and added: "None of us can morally support the defence or maintenance of the apartheid society."

Neither he nor the movement approved of violence and called on Zulus and members not to imitate sporadic outbursts of violence that were occurring in townships throughout the country.

But he said it was becoming difficult in the black community to advocate non-violence as his movement did with any credibility when whites had girded their lions for the purpose of unleashing more violence.

Blacks must think in terms of numbers. "The whole economy rests on our shoulders. We should think seriously in terms of preparing for the use of our strength to force our white compatriots to get around the conference table with us."

It was essential that blacks achieve real political solidarity and he warned against the infiltration of Inkatha by Government agents and opportunists who wanted to use the movement for their own aims.

There were, however, "certain loud-mouthed louts" who were claiming that Inkatha had not been banned during the recent government action against 18 organisations because it was "less patriotic than our brother organisations."

Banning was seen as a sort of seal of approval but Chief Buthelezi pointed out that the groups banned had not suffered a credibility loss before they were banned.

"We must guard against the fallacy that to be victimised by the oppressor's boot today means that one is holier or more patriotic than one's brothers and sisters who will be victims of the same jackboot tomorrow."

The pointless destructions of black property were "accompanied by some of our brothers and sisters who were on a holier-than-thou kick."

He said Pretoria was trying to force homeland governments to pass laws that would make blacks foreigners in the metropolitan areas.

The Chief recalled that the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, had refused to scrap the pass system. Chief Buthelezi said there had been broadcasts by the SABC that KwaZulu people would not have the "benefits" of the so-called improved pass system because he had stayed away from the meeting with the Prime Minister.

"I do not understand how Nationalist minds work. They underestimate the intelligence of the Zulu people if they think they can set the black people of this province against me."

"We are now being forced to do their dirty work for them by having us issue the travel documents which will entrench the ideas of us being treated as foreigners in the metropolitan areas of our land."
"Supplies Act a peg for sanctions calls"

NEW YORK. — The possible use of previously dormant provisions of the National Supplies Procurement Act of 1970 against foreign-owned interests in South Africa was a new peg for economic sanctions demands against SA, African sources said in New York at the weekend.

Provisions in the Act enable the Secretary of Economic Affairs to order the suspension of goods and services if deemed necessary in the interest of the State from anyone. This could, by implication, apply to foreign-owned interests.

The 49-member African group would submit a draft resolution for economic measures against SA during the United Nations General Assembly's debate in plenary on apartheid next week, the sources said.

They would stress that the mandatory arms embargo placed on SA by the Security Council this month, was not enough and that SA's policies threatened world peace.

Foreign businessmen and industrialists were now following the political and religious opponents of apartheid as targets for "repressive" action, they claimed.

The groups would contend that the new victims had been chosen because of their adherence to codes of ethics for foreign companies in the Republic, recently designed to improve conditions for black South African employees.

The United States Ambassador to the UN, Mr Andrew Young, at the weekend, described the government's assumption of new industrial powers as "political terrorism." The National Party was "simply disinterested" in SA if it forced foreigners to choose between supporting it and maintaining their home companies, he said.

Just as its police had created the arms embargo against SA, the National Party could create an economic embargo by attacking foreign-based corporations, he said.

Western members are outvoted in the Third World-dominated Assembly. African-sponsored draft resolutions against SA are therefore certain to be adopted.

However, decisions of the 149-member world political forum have moral weight but no legal muscle.

The Africans will meet again today to finalize a number of draft resolutions on guidelines set by the SA Commission to Apartheid.

The types of events in SA during the past year, the recognition of the right of the oppressed people to resist, the struggle, the creation of machinery to invest in and organize potential action towards an all-embracing against SA, and the demand for the re-instatement of political prisoners.

The Special Committee will consider forced labor follow-up measures to ensure speedy and full implementation of the arms embargo.

Moderate-African sources said they were considering whether to accept a "no new money" clause in the UN Charter, which would deal with members subject to enforcement action. South Africa is the first such member.

The militant Africans, however, feel this would be a step-down from their demand for SA's expulsion from the UN, they said.

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Plans in US to break arms ban

BY RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — Strategic planning has begun to seek a way to undermine the South African arms embargo through action in the United States Congress.

The hopes of pro-South African lobbyists is to tick a number of boxes and rally together conservative and anti-Carter groups and the defense community.

Tactics would be modeled on the successful counterpunch at Rhodesia sanctions five years ago with the so-called Byrd Amendment.

This legislation cited strategic need of the US for chrome as a compelling reason for maintaining supplies from all sources.

The Byrd Amendment finally fell this year after providing Rhodesia with tens of millions of dollars in the bloated arms budget.

Rhodesia itself was not mentioned in the Byrd wording and, according to Washington sources, a way would be sought to avoid specifying South Africa in the new arms approach.

The initiative would be promoted through the powerful Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives. The committee had planned a three-day visit to South Africa about now, but State Department pressure averted what would have been an embarrassment for Mr Carter within days of the implementation of the mandatory arms ban.

Pretoria's regular supporters have been in disarray since the October 18 clampdown in a house resolution denouncing South Africa and calling for "effective measures" against it won with a startling 374-344 vote in the House.

However, the Armed Services' Committee harbors a core of hold-out support, its senior Republican, Congressman Bob Wilson of California, and several others have taken their votes in support of a House resolution denouncing South Africa and calling for "effective measures" against it won with a startling 374-344 victory.

The Special Committee will consider forced labor measures to ensure speedy and full implementation of the arms embargo.

Moderate-African sources said they were considering whether to accept a "no new money" clause in the UN Charter under the Article of the UN Charter dealing with members subject to enforcement action. South Africa is the first such member.

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Big splash for arms ban

BY RICHARD WALKER

WASHINGTON. — Full details of all South Africa's arms contracts and no-clear deals are to be collected and given maximum publicity as the first step in hammering home the arms embargo.

The Committee Against Apartheid also decided to demand the listing of governments who have previously supplied military equipment to South Africa asking that it be enforced by the Security Council order...
UN in new move for anti-SA economic sanctions

NEW YORK — The United Nations General Assembly is expected to make the first move next week to impose mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, diplomatic sources said yesterday.

The Assembly will ask the UN Security Council to consider economic measures as a follow-up to the mandatory arms embargo imposed two weeks ago. Only the Council can adopt binding punitive measures, UPI reports.

The three big Western powers — Britain, France and the United States — vetoed the last attempt to impose economic sanctions against South Africa on October 31.

The proposal that the Council reconsider this decision is contained in one of the 12 draft resolutions dealing with apartheid.

They were scheduled to be submitted to the Assembly yesterday or early next week.

The resolution asks the Security Council urgently to consider mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.

The Assembly's debate on apartheid opened on Monday with a demand for economic sanctions by Nigeria's Foreign Minister, Mr. Joseph Garba.

Addressing the Assembly on Thursday, the US delegate, Mr. Donald McHenry, said South Africa's policies were "a blight upon the continent of Africa and on the history of mankind."

But he advised Pretoria that the US was ready to give "every possible assistance" if it made "a beginning" at change, RICHARD WALKER reports.

He warned outsiders against trying to "fish in troubled waters" for ideological gain, and said the world had no more right to impose a political system on South Africa than white South Africa had to impose one on blacks.

"We must resist the temptation to emasculate and punitive measures," he said.

"I doubt that either another torrent of resolutions from this body, or further interminable rhetoric on the current political campaign in South Africa will contribute positively to a resolution of the problems which exist in South Africa," he said.

South Africa had to be reassured "that we stand ready to be of every possible assistance and to maintain the warmest possible relations."

However, the Republic could not look for normal relations as long as it followed repugnant practices.

The British delegate told the Assembly it was "not too late to dismantle the edifice of apartheid."

The imposition of the mandatory arms embargo was a "momentous" event that had delivered a clear message, he said.
U.S. puts block on SA atom fuel

SOUTH Africa’s nuclear research programme is being adversely affected by a 27-month hold-up in the United States of a consignment of enriched uranium fuel elements already paid for by South Africa.

The commissioning of the R1 000-million nuclear power station at Koeberg could be delayed for two to three years if the US also holds back on enriched uranium supplies for that.

The president of the Atomic Energy Board, Dr A. J. A. Roux, told the Sunday Times this week that important projects at the research reactor, Safari One, could not be carried out because of the non-delivery.

The fuel in question is 93 per cent enriched uranium, which is of potential nuclear weapon grade.

Dr Roux said: “The fuel was ordered 27 months ago and is lying in the United States. An export permit has not yet been approved even though they know that our research programme is being adversely affected and that the reactor and fuel are under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards.”

Dr Roux thought the hold-up was part of pressure being exerted on South Africa to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Secret

Signatories to the treaty undertake not to produce atomic weapons and to open all their nuclear facilities to international inspection. This could lead to the disclosure of secret information on South Africa’s uranium-enrichment process.

Dr Roux said the agreement with the US also provided for the supply of fuel for Koeberg.

But in view of the Safari non-delivery, it was possible that fuel for Koeberg—due to begin electricity generation in 1982—would also be withheld.

Because South Africa’s own uranium enrichment plant would come on stream only in 1985-86, the commissioning of Koeberg—power could be delayed for two to three years. Such a delay would cost millions in interest on idle capital.
Wapenboikot net simbolies

DIE pasingestelde wapenboikot teen Suid-Afrika word hier in Amerika meer as 'n simboliese gebaar gesien. Amerikaanse sake-onderneemings word egter onder toenemende druk geplaas oor hul ekonomiese betrekkinge met SA. Die Amerikaanse regering en die media bese foor die algemeen dat die regstreekse uitwerking van die sankties beperk is.

Sedert die Soweto-onluste van Junie 1976, is die Amerikaanse publiek oor die algemeen heelwak beter ingelig oor gebeure in die Republiek as vantevore.

Hoewel die realiteite in die algemene anti-Suid-Afrikaanse regering is, is daar heelwat begrip en selfs sympathie in bepaalde kringe vir SA se standpunt en vraagstukke.

Amerikaanse ondernemings word nie juis deur die VVO-belaat geraak nie omdat SA al vir byna vyfjenis jaar geen nuwewapenstui aan die Republiek verkoop nie. Daar is egter 'n mate van bekommering oor moontlike ekonomiese maatreëls later of selfs binnekort teen sakebetrekkinge teen Suid-Afrika.

Onverstandig

Die Amerikaanse regering blyk so iets te oorweg alhoewel dit heelwaarskynlik van beperkte omvang sal wees en weer eens (aanvaarlik) grotendeels meer van skiekundige aard sal wees.

Dit sou egter onverstandig wees om sulke reaksies oor SA se beleid te ignorer. Die Amerikaanse publiek het nie juis sterk gevoelens, oor die algemeen, oor voortgestekte handelsbande met SA nie.

Wel is hul baie besorg in die nu-Watergat-één, oor die begunstiging van vinnige en effektiewe voedselverskuiwing en oor krimp in die ekonomiese en politieke betrekkinge tussen Suid-Afrika en die SKA.

Bowendien is die bestuur en direksies van die meeste sake-onderneemings in Amerika nie bevoorreg om vragstukke oor hul ekonomiese betrekkinge met Suid-Afrika nie.

Amerikaans brief deur Heiko Wijnholds

Amerikaans-Vlaams: deur Heiko Wijnholds

Amsterdam brief

Deel: 4 - 'n Brief ondersoek

Toegewy aan: Deur Heiko Wijnholds

Gister was ek in die Skanderburg Museum. Oute vir die kuns en die kuns deur die middel van muurschilderwerk en skilderwerk. Elkeen het sy eie uitdrukking.

4) Die Skanderburg Museum

By die museum, is dit interessant om te sien hoe die kunstenaars gebruik maak van die omgewing. Die schilderige stukke is van die beste wat ek ooit gesien het. Die kunstenaars het die natuur se kleure en vorme gebruik om die beeld te creëer.

5) Die Skanderburg Museum

Daar was ook 'n aantal ou skilderye. Dit was 'n gewilde plek vir kunstomvormers en liefhebbers van die ou skilderye. Die skilderye was van die beste wat ek ooit gesien het. Die kunstenaars het die natuur se kleure en vorme gebruik om die beeld te creëer.

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EEC split on vote over SA arms embargo

NEW YORK. — The European Common Market members, who place a high premium on uniformity in foreign policy, will once again split on UN General Assembly votes on South Africa this year, reliable sources said.

A committee of the nine countries is currently working at getting a joint approach to the 14 draft resolutions introduced on Friday — the fifth and penultimate day of the assembly's debate on apartheid.

But when the voting came — probably later this week, UN sources said — the EEC front would crack on at least four of the stronger proposed measures.

The first was for tightening the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa to cover items omitted from the November 4 Security Council resolution.

The second was the call for mandatory economic sanctions, including an oil embargo, against South Africa. The proposed measure would include denial of facilities to ships and aircraft serving South Africa.

Apartheid in sport

Endorsement of the armed struggle by the "national liberation movement against the criminal policy of apartheid", was the third.

The fourth was adoption and proclamation of an international declaration against apartheid in sport.

Britain and France, who are named with the US as countries who have opposed a comprehensive arms and nuclear embargo against South Africa, would be joined in voting against these drafts by Belgium, West Germany, Italy and Luxembourg.

The more leftist EEC countries — Ireland, Denmark and The Netherlands — would probably abstain, sources said.

The committee of the nine has not finalized its position on the omnibus resolution. This would have the 149-member world forum declare the South African government "illegitimate" and support "the liberation movement" as "the authentic representative of the South African people".

Collaboration

Abstention on this by all nine was most likely, sources said.

The European groups would probably also join in voting against the draft resolution condemning Israeli collaboration with South Africa.

The sources expected all nine to approve the remaining resolutions — some of which would be adopted by consensus.

These covered: The UN trust fund for South Africa; declaration of 1978 as the International Year against Apartheid; trade union actions against South Africa; demands for the release of political prisoners in the Republic; universal dissemination of information about apartheid; endorsement of the Lagos conference declaration for action against apartheid; isolation of any independent bastion, and the programme of action for the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid.

No matter how the five-power western countries vote, however, all 14 drafts are bound to be adopted by the third-world-dominated assembly.

Resolutions of that body are no more than world political recommendations. For enforcement they have to go through the 15-member Security Council, where Britain, France and the US hold veto powers, along with the Soviet Union and communist China.

Recourse to that top UN body by the Africans after the assembly adopted the resolutions, could not be ruled out, sources said.

Sapa
Sanctions will help SA in short term

Own Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — South Africa could live with sanctions though they would probably lead to a drop in the standard of living, Mr A P J Burger, president of Die Afrikaanse Handelsinstent, said in Malmesbury last night.

He told the Boland regional committee of Die Afrikaanse Handelsinstent that sanctions would detrimentally affect South Africa in the long term, but in the short term they would actually assist in accelerating the growth rate through increased local production.

However, they would cause a lowering of living standards as South Africa would no longer derive any benefit from trading on the international market.

But South Africa had prepared for sanctions and with "a sober and level-headed approach in the evaluation of our position, we will be able to survive the onslaught for an indefinite period."

South Africa has stockpiled oil but the private motor car owner would have to be prepared to make sacrifices at a time of crisis.

Reviewing areas likely to be affected by sanctions, Mr Burger said that in 1973 24 percent of South Africa's textile requirements were imported. But these were mainly of the luxury type fabric which the country could easily do without in time of need.

The same applied to paper imports which accounted for 19 percent of the country's requirements in 1973.

One of the biggest stumbling blocks would be industrial machinery which two-thirds of the country's requirements were imported.

2.

MICROECONOMIC AND FISCAL POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA.


Annual Reports and Economic Surveys of the S.A. Reserve Bank, Budget Speeches and Statistical Survey.

A. Reserve Bank Quarterly Bulletin — The Economic Surveys.

B. CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF INFLATION.

Machlup: Cost Push and Demand pull in R.J. Ball and Peter Doyle (ed) Inflation, chap. 9 (Penguin).
World hostility is holding back the SA economy

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — International hostility is having a seriously adverse effect on the domestic economy and a number of steps need to be taken urgently, the Natal Chamber of Industries says in its annual report released today.

The chamber calls for elimination of all job reservation and apartheid in the workplace, encouragement of a stable black middle class, removal of petty restrictions which frustrate visitors and a number of economic measures.

These include selective stimulation of the economy, an arresting of the country's capital outflow and a minimizing of State encroachment into the private sector.

The chamber says it remains a non-political body but is bound to recognize adverse effects of international hostility. Investor confidence has diminished and money is difficult to raise abroad.

Where available, it is offered only on the shorter term.

FIRST TIME

In the first quarter of 1977 there was, for the first time, a net outflow of long-term capital. Merchandise exports during the first half of the year were 24.3 percent higher than in the corresponding period last year, but everything points to a tougher time ahead for South African exporters.

In short, indications are that the dimension of our export markets is shrinking. Probably the greatest export incentive which could be offered to the Republic at the present time would be the taking of positive and immediate steps to improve the image of South Africa in overseas markets.

The chamber says racial discrimination provides South Africa's critics with an effective target and its elimination could have a powerful influence on the pattern and permanence of our economic recovery.

The chamber says it remains optimistic about the country's future, despite the many adverse factors. A short-term recovery could be triggered off by a fortuitous rise in the price of gold, or higher commodity prices.

THE KEY:

"However, the key to a spirited economic advance lies in the accelerated emergence of a substantial black middle class. A prime requisite to this is the removal of impediments to black vocational aspirations, provision of training, the development of housing schemes with security of tenure, and acceptance of the black man as a responsible and loyal member of the community."
Hardship in the Long Run from Sanctions

Sanctions against South Africa's financial sector would be a disaster for the economy. The South African Rand, for example, has already fallen by 30% against the dollar, which will lead to higher prices and reduced real incomes. The overall effect on the economy is likely to be negative, leading to a decrease in economic growth.

The Sanctions will also have significant social consequences. The South African government has already announced plans to cut back on social programs, leading to increased poverty and unemployment. This will further worsen the economic situation in the country.

In addition to the economic and social costs, the Sanctions will also have political consequences. South Africa plays a key role in the region, and if it is isolated, it could lead to instability in the region.

Despite these challenges, it is important to remember that the Sanctions are a necessary measure to address the serious human rights violations committed by the South African government. The international community must continue to apply pressure until a just and democratic South Africa is achieved.
New UN plan for sanctions against SA

Hugh Robertson
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Another Security Council meeting on South Africa is being planned at the United Nations, following the end yesterday of the General Assembly's seven-day debate on apartheid.

The next meeting, at which renewed demands will be made for economic sanctions and proposals will be put forward for a tightening of the arms embargo, is expected to take place in January.

By voting the Western powers to veto seemingly innocuous resolutions on South Africa, the African countries believe they can effectively embarrass the West and constantly maintain pressure on Western governments to take steps to change the situation in South Africa.

The Western powers have proved to be particularly sensitive to this sort of strategy and there is a belief among African delegates that some form of additional sanctions could be adopted.

The most likely seem to be a "reverse flow" arms embargo, which was called for in one of the 15 draft resolutions on South Africa submitted during the General Assembly's most recent debate.

This embargo would prohibit any country from purchasing weapons or related material from South Africa.

The embargo imposed by the Security Council earlier this month only prohibited the export of arms to South Africa.

So far, there has been no vote in the General Assembly on any of the 15 draft resolutions.

But a vote is expected to be taken well before the Assembly ends its current session on December 20.

Among the 15 draft resolutions submitted to the General Assembly is one sponsored by Sweden calling for a ban on new foreign investments in South Africa.

Another draft resolution calls for an oil embargo.
UN call for new sanctions against Smith

NEW YORK. — Members of the UN Security Council have voted in favour of new sanctions against Rhodesia.

A council report said the sanctions committee has voted privately by a 10 to 8 margin for recommendations to cut all communications between Rhodesia and the outside world, to outlaw travel to the country, and to prevent Rhodesia from importing oil from South Africa.

Britain, and the US, engaged in negotiations for a black majority rule in Rhodesia, were said to have urged, on November 10 that "a prudent course" would be to defer submission of the report until the outcome of their negotiations was known.

Agreement to submit the report was eventually reached by the council, and it was adopted on November 17. But as issued yesterday it did not contain any agreed recommendations for action.

A mandatory economic embargo against Rhodesia has been gradually expanded since 1967.

In Gaborone, Sir Sereic Khama announced this week that arrangements for Botswana to take over the £30-million Rhodesia Railway running through the country had reached an advanced stage.

Sir Seretse, opening the new session of Parliament, hit strongly at the "futile struggle" between the Rhodesian-based nationalists and those based outside the country.

In Salisbury yesterday, Rhodesian nationalist leader Bishop Muzorewa said his United African National Council was not happy to see Rhodesian whites panicking and leaving the country.

He told a meeting organised by the National Unifying Force: "The present conflict aims at ending racism. All whites who wish to continue living in Zimbabwe will be welcome."

Meanwhile, Mr Joshua Nkomo's deputy inside Rhodesia yesterday attacked the Rhodesian Government's internal settlement plan as a waste of time.

It would be unacceptable even if it produced a one man, one vote election, Mr Josiah Chirumhanzo told a Press conference.

Asked if the Patriotic Front would honour an election win by Bishop Muzorewa, Mr Chirumhanzo said the election had to be held on conditions favourable to all blacks.

"Mail" Africa Bureau, Sapa-AP, Sapa.
The greatest case of whose needs are the greatest sanctions it is a struggle over.

**WE NEED**
- Real Battlefied
- and investment
- Overseas capital
- Philosophies and pa\_ms
  - Nation
  - American power
  - oil from Iran
  - Magnesium to China
  - Chrome to Japan
  - Copper to Germany

**THEY NEED**
- American technology
  - Germany
  - Japan
  - Europe

**VSN**
- Iran is under sanctions
- China is under sanctions
- America is under sanctions

**US**
- Iran
- China
- Germany
- Japan
- Europe

The United States dominates the world economy. The United States is the world's largest economy, with a GDP of $21.44 trillion in 2021. The United States is also the world's leading military power, with the most powerful military in the world. The United States is a major player in international politics, and is a member of the United Nations and other global organizations. The United States is also a major player in the economy, with a large and diverse private sector. The United States is a leader in innovation, and is home to many of the world's largest technology companies. The United States is also a major consumer of resources, and has a significant impact on the environment. The United States is a major player in international politics, and is a member of the United Nations and other global organizations. The United States is also a major player in the economy, with a large and diverse private sector. The United States is a leader in innovation, and is home to many of the world's largest technology companies. The United States is also a major consumer of resources, and has a significant impact on the environment.
"We have learnt that our large economic relationships are our best shield in a world which has chosen us as scapegoats," a South African professor has written.

Despite strong rhetoric denouncing South Africa’s racial policies, the Western powers almost certainly won’t accept an interruption in the flow of trade with South Africa. Even if the United States imposed a unilateral trade embargo, Great Britain, France, West Germany and Japan would continue dealing with South Africa.

The country does have an economic Achilles heel: Its appetite for petroleum. Nearly 90 percent of demand is filled by petroleum imported from Iran and processed in American-owned oil refineries.

A new offensive against South Africa will begin in the United Nations next month, with threats to impose an oil embargo against South Africa unless it stops supplying oil to Rhodesia, which has been under ineffective UN action against outside threats.

South Africa is the world’s leading producer of gold, gem-quality diamonds, antimony, chromium ore and vanadium (an important mineral in steel manufacturing). It ranks among the top three suppliers of industrial diamonds, manganese, metals in the platinum group and uranium.

Ironically, the Soviet Union also ranks as a major producer of the valuable substances. If the non-communist industrial powers joined a world-wide embargo against South Africa, they would "throw themselves into the lap of the Soviets" as buyers of minerals, according to one US official.

"You can be sure the Russians wouldn’t waste any time before they hiked the price of chrome ore," he said.

**Diverse**

The United States needs chrome for the metal alloys used in jet engines, and a diverse range of industrial and military products require stainless steel.

"The psychological impact of an embargo would trigger a sharp rise in the price of goods held by brokers and industry, even in chrome and ferrochrome, where there is now a glut," said a government minerals analyst.

South Africa supplied 51 percent of America’s platinum consumption last year. Tiny amounts of platinum are essential for operating oil refineries and in the pollution control units of all new cars. The strategic reserve equals about eight months of consumption at 1976 rates.

**Demand**

Detroit’s automakers aren’t alone in their demand for South African platinum. In Japan, Nissan, Toyota and Toyo Kogyo (the Mazda producer) all have signed big contracts with South African mines to supply platinum for their catalytic converters.

South Africa furnishes between 25 percent and 100 percent of the plati-

Great Britain.

**Much higher**

The Carter Administration’s inclination to take economic steps against South Africa are "held back" by the views of the European nations, said John Chettila, executive director here of the South Africa Foundation. He is registered as an agent of the South African Government, although the finances for the foundation come from private and corporate donations in South Africa, not from the Government.

American Investment in South Africa, including participation by General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, Mobil and more than 300 other firms, has a book value of $600-million dollars (R3 200-million) and a probable replacement value of $800-million dollars (R3 750-million) Chettila said.

The stakes for European nations are considerably higher, he suggested.

British investments are worth 15,000 to
Germany holds escape route in SA curbs

By NEIL BEHRMANN

LONDON. — The new West German restrictions on export credits to South Africa need not apply if they are against Germany's interests.

"A West German Government spokesman, Dr Armin Grunewald confirms that his Government is limiting export credit guarantees to companies trading with South Africa because "political developments have increased the economic risks in the country".

Dr Grunewald says the change in guarantee policy reflects "the greatest economic risks which have arisen from the political situation in South Africa".

He says that Government-backed export guarantees to companies trading with South Africa will be limited to 50 million marks (R250 million), compared with the previous limit of 100 million marks.

But he stresses that this is a general decision in principle. There could be exceptions if employment is affected in either West Germany or South Africa.

Deals affecting the security of raw material supplies to West Germany will also be specially considered.

West German firms which intend to obtain credit guarantees from the Government must declare by action and not words that they support the European Economic Community code of conduct.

Thus, if a firm purports to support the EEC code of conduct, but fails to carry it out in practice, the Government's guarantee for export credits may be withdrawn.

Another condition is that there will be no guarantee if the German firm knows that goods exported to South Africa will be re-exported to Rhodesia.

Dr Grunewald says that in the past two years, export credit guarantees to firms trading with South Africa have increased from 700 million marks (R350 million) to 2.7 billion marks.

He says all this increase did not arise simply from an increase in trade between the two countries. Exporters had asked for more guarantees because of political events over the past two years.

"The growth in export credit guarantees does not correspond with the improved exports to South Africa.

The restriction on guarantees on export credits to South Africa comes when the German Cabinet has decided to guarantee the export of four nuclear power stations to Iran and deliver a submarine to Argentina.

Dr Grunewald says that as far as South Africa is concerned, the guarantees cover deals between sellers and buyers in the private sector.

With Iran, the cover is for a deal between a private sector seller and an official buyer.

The economic risks in Iran differ from those in South Africa, he says.

"Deals with South African Government-backed organisations, will be under the same restrictions as those which are conducted with companies in the private sector."

German businessmen in South Africa do not believe the new policy will have any early major impact.
PRETORIA — The Nationalist Government had been given an overwhelming mandate in the election and its policies would not now be changed to adopt those of the parties the voters had rejected, Prime Minister Mr. Vorster said yesterday.

He told newsmen here he hoped United States had received the message of the South African electorate’s overwhelming vote against outside interference.

The argument that he had not received the support of the electorate on certain issues now had to be modified, he said. Of the elections results he said: “I don’t think it was a landslide. It was an avalanche.” Of the election results he said: “I don’t think it was a landslide. It was an avalanche.”

Asked about intervention by the United States and Britain he said he had not seen any reaction from the United States.

“But I am prepared to say I sincerely hope the message has reached them. Apparently the British spokesman missed the whole point.”

Pressure

Asked whether he expected pressure to increase, he said: “From certain quarters definitely yes.”

“Other more responsible quarters will think twice in view of the stand of the electorates before they do something unwise.”

Mr. Vorster said legislation on the new constitutional plan would not be ready for introduction in Parliament before 1979. “It is a very complicated matter with a great many facets.”

“However hard the legal advisors work on it, it is not clear to me that it will not be ready next year.”

“The earliest, therefore, that we can expect legislation in this regard is 1979,” he said.

He was not planning an immediate reshuffle of his Cabinet.

He foresaw the future political division as between the National Party and the Progressive Federal Party, with the New Republic Party disappearing.

Those who saw South Africa as a multi-racial country would vote for the National Party, and those who saw it as a multi-racial country would support the FP.

The Heritige Nationale Party had fared worse than last time in all constituencies. They had behaved irresponsibly, he said, and their scathing propaganda had afforded even their own supporters. Asked whether changes could be now expected in the Government, he said: “Nothing.”

Mr. Vorster said his Government had effected more changes than all previous governments combined.

Solution

“We will continue to make adaptations from time to time, but there will be no change in the writers and political commentators who will want to me to change by implementing the very policies the electorate rejected.”

“This, of course, is ridiculous,” he said.

Mr. Vorster denied having said he regarded unemployment as a greater danger to South Africa than terrorism. “I was not as perturbed as anybody else about unemployment, but I still am.”

And in a radio broadcast last night the Prime Minister said there was only one solution to the problem of urban terrorism. “We have reason to feel uneasy,” he said.

Mr. Vorster said: “If this happens we must feel. We must feel, for example, that it is not only the safety of the individual and the safety of the State.”

“Urban terrorism has come to stay. We must face this fact. We must face the fact that it is not only the safety of the individual and it is not only the safety of the State.”

“You must marry these two principles, and, depending on the circumstances, depending on what we receive and defend your borders.”
Voters 'warned West'

**FROM PAGE 1**

Is happening, you will lay stress today on the one tomorrow on the other.

"But you will appreciate that unless, you protect the safety of the State the individual cannot have any rights whatsoever," Mr. Vorster said.

It was "absolute nonsense" to say South Africa wanted to go into a larger just because she wanted to be in a larger.

If it were necessary for self-protection it would be done, but this did not mean South Africa did not want friends.

**Nonsense**

It was nonsense to say the past election was an election in which people voted for war.

"I make bold to say that no man has done more to seek peace than I did for the past 11 years. I will continue and do my level best to seek peace under all circumstances."

"But, knowing what is planned against South Africa, knowing what the ultimate aims and objects of the Marxists are -- to control the southern tip of Africa, to take over the Cape Sea route -- it will be foolish, criminally foolish of any government not to prepare to fight off that onslaught on South Africa should it ever come."

The fact that the Government had been given an overwhelming mandate in the election would make certain countries think, twice before acting against South Africa.

**Intention**

The Government had seen what was coming and had made certain provisions and would continue to make all necessary provisions for defence.

"The fact that we are doing everything in our power to defend South Africa does not mean that we are looking for war, or that we will go out of our way, if I may use the expression, to seek war. That is not our intention."

"But, small as we are, our people, Afrikaans- and English-speakers, will defend South Africa so the last man shall not be lost, if it is necessary, in fact, to do so. I think this is the message that has gone to the world outside in no uncer-
PARIS — The British Foreign Secretary, Dr. David Owen, has commented on South Africa’s likely reaction when investments are stopped, given his view on the Biko inquest and warned the Republic on nuclear weapons.

State News Agency’s Paris correspondent said Dr. Owen said in an interview that South Africa would start listening to world opinion when foreign investment there stopped.

He told the French weekly news magazine, Le Point, that foreign pressure on South Africa made the minority White population close ranks.

"But when they say they would rather ignore the international community, they are bluffing.

"When foreign investment stops, when they no longer benefit from technological progress, when their standard of living starts to fall, then they will begin to heed world opinion," he said.

He said he welcomed Rhodesian Prime Minister Smith’s acceptance of the concept of one-man-one-vote.

"It’s good," he said. "But for what elections? If it’s a case of elections excluding the liberation movements, that’s unacceptable.

Dr. Owen has also added his voice to the international criticism of the Steve Biko inquest finding.

He said he felt "intense anger" at the inquest verdict.

The Foreign Secretary indicated that he did not believe that the South African authorities could escape taking any of the blame for Mr. Biko’s death.

Dr. Owen made his comment after attending a conference held by the Labour Party and the Anti-Apartheid Movement at Transport House in London.

The conference unanimously adopted a resolution calling for an independent international inquiry into Mr. Biko’s death.

Nuclear

He said it was "of great importance to the peace of the world that South Africa does not become a nuclear-weapon state.

He believed it was "of great importance to the peace of the world that South Africa does not become a nuclear-weapon state.

If they did, it would make it very much harder to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

It would also make people think South Africa had taken a course which would lead to the destruction of mass areas in that part of the world.

He was prepared to support a policy of negotiation and understanding in the civil nuclear field if South Africa signed the non-proliferation treaty.

Likely

"But if, as is quite likely — to be blunt — our efforts fail and they do not sign the non-proliferation treaty then we will have to look — there is no question of doubt about it — at ending all contacts in this area.

But while there was a chance of getting them to sign his objective was to get them to do so.

There were reports earlier this year that South Africa was about to explode a nuclear device.

Criticism

Dr. Owen answered criticism by members of his party of Britain’s dialogue with South African leaders in efforts to secure a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia and South West Africa.

South Africa had considerable influence in Rhodesia and South West Africa and he believed breaking the dialogue with the Republic would be wrong.

He rejected the notion that internal change in South Africa could not be effected through outside pressures.

In Johannesburg our correspondent reports Dr. A. J. A. Roux, chairman of the Atomic Energy Board, as saying he was not aware of any nuclear links between South Africa and Britain."
Arms embargo worries French clients

The Argus Correspondent

PARIS. - Clients of French arms firms are worried about an arms embargo such as that which hit South Africa. France banned delivery of two frigates and two submarines to South Africa in the wake of the UN-voted embargo last month.

Other French clients are now worried about getting similar treatment, specially wealthy Arab states.

Normally well informed sources here said some clients wanted to buy entire French arms building plants on a turnkey basis to ensure supplies.

FINANCIAL

They were also considering taking up financial interests in French arms firms, again to guard against changes in delivery strategy.

French officials were reluctant about both approaches, the sources said. Turnkey contracts could eventually create competition for French arms firms.

Allowing foreign states to take up interests in French weapons firms would amount to ceding some of the control over these enterprises.

DISCREETLY

The sources said some contacts had discreetly contacted leaders of France's left wing parties looking for assurances that spare parts and after-sales services would not be embargoed for political reasons if the left won the March general elections.

Opinion polls put the left slightly ahead for the vote.

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(1) Samuel: "Two bits of distribution"

Ch. 9: Commerce and long-run Fiscal Policy

Ch. 10: A. Short-run and long-run Fiscal Policy

Ch. 38: Social growth and industrialization.

(2) Lipsey & Steiner: "Economics" (2nd ed.)

Ch. 1: A. B. C on Fiscal Policy.

Ch. 45: Growth and Underdeveloped Economies

(Nothing on Allocative and Distributive functions)

(3) O. Bokstein: "Public Finance"

Ch. 1: The Scope of Government Activity

(4) R.A. Musgrave: "The Theory of Public Finance"

Ch. 1: A multiple theory of the public household.

(5) R.A. Musgrave: "Fiscal Systems"

Ch. 1: The Issues

(6) J. Robinson & J. Ratwell: "An Introduction to Modern Economics"

Book II, Ch. 7.7: The Public Sector.

Note: Musgrave's "Theory of Public Finance", Ch. 1, is by far the best reference and students should consider organizing photostat copies if getting hold of the book proves too difficult.
New York. — For the first time the most powerful labour organisation in the United States has member unions ganging up for boycott action against South Africa.

Going beyond the ineffectual rhetoric of denouncements that have flowed from previous union conventions, the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO) is considering concrete proposals which could freeze all South African exports in American ports and halt airport handling of air cargo and passenger services.

Pressure

The 14-million-member labour movement may also soon ask the United States Government to put maximum political pressure on South Africa and Rhodesia to initiate moves toward majority rule in both countries.

An AFL-CIO convention beginning tomorrow will also be presented with a proposal to demand that American corporations with South African interests begin negotiations with all trade unions in the Republic, regardless of their racial composition, and to implement equal-opportunity policies throughout their South African operations.

Programmes

Definite programmes for action on these lines will have to be drawn up by the AFL-CIO's executive committee in February next year.

The anti-South African recommendations will be put up by the organisation's executive council during the convention in Los Angeles. The executive committee will have to plan details of whatever action programme arises if the proposals are adopted.

It is the first time the 116-union labour umbrella, which covers almost 30 percent of unionised workers in the United States, is considering formal boycotts against South Africa and South

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**Targets**

AFL-CIO spokesman Al Vack, speaking by telephone from the convention headquarters in Los Angeles, said no firm programme of action was contained in the "selective boycott" recommendations.

But obvious targets, he said, could be South African goods shipped to American ports, which the longshoremen's union could refuse to handle. Similarly, air traffic and air cargo could feel action by affiliated unions.

Action by dockers' unions in Europe and Australia has temporarily delayed handling of South African goods during short-term boycotts in the past.

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**Table**: Employment in the Coal Mines: 1945-1976

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- 21 -
UK arms ban could be extended

The Argus Bureau

LONDON. — Britain's long-standing ban on arms sales to South Africa could be extended into new areas as a result of the UN Security Council mandatory embargo.

The Foreign Office is carrying out what the Minister of State, Mr. Ted Rawlands, calls: 'An urgent review' to make sure our policy on embargoing arms sales to South Africa fulfills our obligations under the new Security Council resolution.

This review is not yet complete and therefore the Foreign Office is resisting pressure from Labour backbenchers and the anti-apartheid movement to extend the ban to specific equipment which can have either civilian or military uses, or where the use is disputed.

ELECTRONIC

Early pressure has come over a much-disputed order for sophisticated electronic equipment which can be used for either military or civilian purposes.

Mr. Frank Hooley, Labour, raised the question of whether, in the light of the embargo, the Government would revoke its licence for the export of tropospheric scatter equipment.

This refers to an original contract for R12-million worth of equipment placed with Marconi originally by the SA Armaments Board in 1976.

CIVILIAN

The South African Government have insisted this equipment, to be used in SWA as well as South Africa, is needed purely for civilian use. The Post Office has replaced the Armaments Board as contractor for part of the equipment.

Anti-apartheid campaigners have alleged that it is used for military communications inside Natal and would be used in South Africa.
Belgium cuts culture ties

Own Correspondent

BRUSSELS—The Belgian Government is breaking off its formal cultural links with South Africa, it was announced in Brussels yesterday.

Neighbouring Holland also said recently that official cultural ties with South Africa were to be scrapped.

The Cultural Agreement between Pretoria and Brussels was crippled years ago when the French community in Belgium froze its side of the pact.

The Flemish part has been faltering since last year's Soweto unrest. Calls for a final break grew with the Biko affair and the recent wave of killings.

Although the Belgian Cabinet voted yesterday to end the intergovernment agreement, it left open the right of the near-autonomous French and Flemish cultural councils to declare about lower-level accords.

The Cultural Agreement had its main expression in reciprocal visits by prominent academic, literary and cultural figures and in student bursaries.

Flemish Culture Minister Mrs Rita de Becker said there was some support for the view that the pact should be retained as a means of critical dialogue with South Africa.

However, she said, recent developments in the Republic made the stance called for by the United Nations led to yesterday's decision.
US neutral on SA investment

WASHINGTON — President Carter has made it clear in an interview with Africa magazine that the United States does not at this stage intend to discourage private investment in South Africa.

He told the magazine's editor-in-chief, Mr Uwchue, that there was no clear agreement on whether Western investment in South Africa was a "good thing or a bad thing."

Some, including many blacks in South Africa and many in the black community in America, believe that the economic benefits of Western investment brought to South African blacks were a factor for political change because they generated pressures for increased fairness and against apartheid.

US POSITION

Others argued that foreign investment supported the apartheid system. "Our position has been that we will neither encourage nor discourage private investment in South Africa," said the President.

Asked whether America and her allies would apply economic sanctions against South Africa, President Carter said: "We will continue to look for ways to influence South Africa to change unjust policies, and our commercial and financial relations with South Africa are now under review."

The President's comments follow those of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance who said at his news conference earlier this week that the United States would be watching South Africa to judge whether or not measures promised during the election campaign would be implemented. At the same time Am-
Union urges pressure on SA

WASHINGTON — The AFL/CIO, America’s leading trade union body, yesterday urged Pres Carter to put intense pressure on South Africa and Rhodesia to end their policies of apartheid.

At its 12th annual convention in Los Angeles the executive council of the labour organisation aligned itself with moderate Black African nationalists.

The council report called for: “The US Government to place maximum political pressure on the Governments of South Africa and Rhodesia to end the odious system of apartheid and immediately begin the process of transition to majority rule.”

The council then addressed American corporations with investments in the two countries, demanding that the companies “immediately recognise bona fide trade union organisations, regardless of their racial composition, and begin treating their employees on an equal basis commencing with such fundamental issues as wages and working conditions.”

The position taken by organised labour weighs heavily with US business, already in something of a quandary about the stability of South Africa. Businessmen are also well aware of the increasing public criticism of the role they are playing by enjoying the profits of cheap black labour at plants based in the Republic.

The Steve Biko affair has shown South Africa’s racial policies in unfavourable light.

Yesterday’s recommendations by the Trade Union Council are the most specific demands ever made by the AFL/CIO on corporations doing business in South Africa.

The report goes on to lump Southern Africa in with the Soviet Union and Uganda as an abuser of human rights.

“The AFL/CIO believes that human rights must be a cardinal principle of United States foreign policy,” the 65-member board said, in support of Pres Carter’s stand.

“Abuses and threats to basic human rights are the most serious issues that divide the world today and the clearest test of American ideals and resolve. Where these issues are concerned, whether Southern Africa, Chile, Uganda or the Soviet Union, there are no longer any purely internal affairs.”

If the 1 200 delegates to the convention approve the council’s recommendations, the AFL/CIO could embark on selective boycotts against the Republic, with the weight of more than 19 million American workers behind it. — DDC.
Oil boycott may help Transkei

By J H P SERFONTEIN and BERNARDI WESSELS

WESTERN countries are seriously considering eventually recognising Transkei — if plans for an international oil boycott against South Africa are to succeed.

Informed sources indicated this week that the West may be forced to recognise Transkei in exchange for its support of sanctions against South Africa.

Exhaustive studies undertaken by various Western countries have stressed the vulnerability of the three landlocked countries of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland.

The most vulnerable is Lesotho. The Botswana situation could improve after independence in Rhodesia and South West Africa.

If there are sanctions Transkei's planned harbour at Port St Johns and its joint borders with Lesotho, could make Transkei Lesotho's crucial lifeline with the West.

In their planning, sources said, the West's major obstacle is implementing sanctions without crippling the sensitive Lesotho economy.

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, has made it clear that if there is an oil boycott, it would be "every man for himself" and that while it might hurt South Africa, it could kill Botswana and Lesotho.

The sources said it would take at least three years before a sanctions move could be implemented.

The countries involved in the planning include Britain, France, West Germany, the United States, the Netherlands, and Scandinavian countries.

UN earmarks SA for 'decolonisation'

NEW YORK. — The United Nations General Assembly equated South Africa with a colony on Wednesday night when it strongly condemned all cooperation with the Republic.

Completing its annual debate on colonialism with the adoption of a comprehensive resolution, the 149-nation body referred in particular to collaboration with South Africa in the nuclear and military fields.

It called on all states concerned to cease that collaboration.

The vote was 134 to none with nine members abstaining and six absent.

The Assembly also reaffirmed "its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of people under colonial and alien domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all the necessary means at their disposal."

The United States and other countries expressed reservations on this paragraph, saying that it was endorsement of the use of force.

The Assembly lumped the South African situation with Rhodesia and other colonial problems under the agenda item, "Implementation of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples."

The declaration, an independence blueprint for colonial peoples, was adopted by the Assembly in 1960 during a session attended by more than 20 world leaders.

The Assembly on Wednesday night reaffirmed that declaration and all other decolonisation resolutions.
NEW YORK — 'n Voorstel word hierdie week onder lede van die VVO gestel om waaring in die Veiligheidsraad versoeke te maak. 'n Verplichting dié bestuur gemaak in Suid-Afrika in te lede sodat voorkom kan word dat petroleum Rhodesië bereik.

Hierdie voorstel is opgestel deur die groot gecoördineerde lede van die Derde Wereld in die dekolonisatiekomitee van die VVO.

In diezelfde voorstel word lede van die Groter Ryke Andersse, wat oor huursoldate in Rhodesië gevoer word. Alle lande word ook vir onmiddellijke hulp aan die bestuur van Mosambiek, Botswana, Namibië en Kenia gevra om hul verdediging teen Rhodesië te verstrek. — (Sape Reuter)
Pull-out urged

PRINCETON — About 200 Princeton University students picketed a trustees' meeting on campus here yesterday urging an end to university investments in multinational corporations that deal in South Africa.

The university has about Rs165 million invested in companies that do business in southern Africa.
NEW YORK — The Security Council today voted unanimously to establish a special committee to supervise the application of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

At the same time, a resolution was circulated asking the Security Council to impose a mandatory oil embargo on South Africa to prevent petroleum and petroleum products from reaching Rhodesia.

The lengthy two-part draft, dealing with various aspects of the Rhodesian situation, was sponsored by a large group of Third World nations in the General Assembly’s Decolonization Committee.

It is similar to two separate resolutions on Rhodesia adopted last year, except for the call for a ban on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa “in view of the fact that they are transported from South Africa into Southern Rhodesia.”

REAFFIRMS RIGHT

The resolution would also reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) to self-determination and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure by all means at their disposal “the enjoyment of that right.”

The arms resolution, submitted by Benin, Libya and Mauritius, called for a study of “ways and means” to make the embargo more effective and for recommendations to the council.

All states will be asked for information on the action taken by them concerning implementation...
The embargo by America's Polaroid camera firm on supplies to South Africa is still on. And they are determined to maintain it while the political situation stays the way it is, says Mr Helmut Hirsch, joint managing director of Polaroid's only Southern African agents, Frank and Hirsch.

Mr Hirsch was reporting in Johannesburg yesterday on a trip in Cambridge, Massachusetts, with Polaroid executives.

"Everything was very friendly," he said, "but I am afraid the embargo will start on December 31.

"We are not too badly off at the moment."

"Companies are trading normally in Polaroid products because we ordered heavy supplies for Christmas."

"And all orders up to December 31 will be honoured."

"So there are still substantial orders on the way."

"There is certainly enough to keep us going for several more months."

"I will be going over to Cambridge again in March to see if I can change the situation."

In July, a large Polaroid had decided to continue for the coming year at least, its annual contribution of around R60,000 to the American-South African Study and Educational Trust. "In fact we got on as the best of friends," he added. "It is mainly that as an American firm they are subjected to considerable pressure."

"I am still hopeful that we will be able to come to some solution."

Mr Hirsch said a major issue still being discussed involved the distribution by Frank and Hirsch of Polaroid products to Zambia, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland.

"We have still to iron out the question of our future supplies to these countries," he went on.

Polaroid cameras are now being offered at discount in Johannesburg... with special offers of free film.
It's SA trade that keeps going...

A BILLION-and-a-half dollars of secret South African trade is what keeps much of black Africa going, an American investigation suggests.

Any economic embargo against the Republic could rebound seriously on the black nations calling for it.

Half of Zaire would starve, Zambia would run out of beer bottles and Ghana's mines wouldn't work if the "South African connection" was cut off. And that's only a hint of the black market network said to link the Republic with almost every country in Africa.

Journal investigator Richard Leger, writing from Johannesburg also suggests that South Africa might retaliate against an oil embargo by halting crucial shipments of food, platinum or other goods to some of these countries.

He quotes Mr Vorster in an interview warning that, "Depending on the circumstances, we will do from time to time what we consider to be in South Africa's interests."

The 1.5-billion dollar trade figure is estimated by the South African Foreign Trade Organisation — a billion of it in exports, half a billion in imports every year.

At least 160-million people from the fringes of the Sahara southwards "feel the influence of South Africa almost daily", a Johannesburg economics expert, Professor Piet Niewenhuis, told Leger.

"Hypocrisy is the main ingredient on this continent," a white diplomat commented. As example he cited the trade in Rhodesian chrome, blended with South African ore, then shipped out through Mozambique.

"It's the market forces at play, Most African countries are too poor that they can't afford to be moral," he said.

Coffee, tea, copper and timber are big South African imports from Black Africa. Much trade with the French-language countries goes through Paris.

Food is a big item. Ten Lockheed Hercules freighter planes fly regularly to Zaire with fresh fruit and maize.

"We also move about 150,000 tons of maize a year from Rhodesia into Shaba Province (Zaire)," Safari chief executive Mr W. B. Holmes told the Journal. "If we didn't, they'd starve."

Clandestine food shipments are sent to powerful African nations such as Nigeria, via smaller neighbouring countries.

Much of the mining machinery and spare parts told to countries as far off as Ghana's South African, and an engineering equipment, contract has just been signed with Nigeria, Prof Niewenhuisen told Leger.

Central African Empire imports range from cement to carpets and TV sets, all shown in.

A dramatic illustration of South Africa's dominance is the traffic on the Botswana-Zambia highway. It was built with US help to free Botswana from excessive dependence on the Republic and Rhodesia, but is now a major artery for South African goods into Zambia.

Last year, 17 per cent of South Africa's exports and imports went through Maputo — about 24,000 tons daily.

About 35 per cent of Malawi's imports come from South Africa and South Africa's rail trade with Zambia, Botswana and Swaziland is 250,000 tons annually for each country. The Republic is "heavily involved" in repairing and otherwise supporting black Africa's railways.

Sanctions are dismissed as "a farce" by one of South Africa's "back door" businessmen. "Black African states would die without us."

Extensive South African trade with Iron Curtain countries is also noted, including "quite a business" with Poland and East Germany.

"They seem to do their own shenanigans through Amsterdam and Antwerp. What they do, we don't know and don't care," says another trade source.

Two key sectors — power and transport — will be the first to suffer as South Africa's shortage of foreign capital begins to bite, a major Congressional study of American bank loans to the Republic has found.

This, in turn, will make South Africa's mines and factories less attractive to foreign investors. The study will be released by the Senate foreign relations committee in about a week.

"Between 1966 and 1974, overseas investment in South Africa tripled. Direct US investment jumped from $69.1-million in 1966, to $448-million last year. But the annual investment growth rate of 19 per cent dropped to five per..."
The price they pay for hating SA

ABIDJAN — As black African nations demand ever broader sanctions against the South African Government, they propel themselves toward a painful decision: how far can they push the men in Pretoria politically without crippling themselves economically?

Today, only the Ivory Coast and Malawi advocate change in South Africa, through dialogue. The voice of black Africa is the one that spoke at the UN General Assembly last month, and spoilt at the arms embargo against South Africa as being insufficiently tough.

Yet, in seeking broader sanctions against South Africa, black Africa finds itself caught between pragmatism and ideology.

Hafred of South Africa’s unity...black...Africa...like...no other single issue but, although many are willing to pay a price for their opposition to apartheid, they are not willing to...commit suicide.

RUIN
At least 12 black African nations are...dependent on...South Africa...they would face economic ruin...if a total embargo were enforced on South Africa. A handful of others have lesser ties, and a few more publicly denounce the regime of the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, but privately deal with it through various back doors.

Emperor Bokassa I of the Central African Empire has an Israeli on his staff whose primary responsibility is to solicit aid and...investment...from South Africa. The impoverished nation received an important boost in 1971 with a 10-year South African aid package worth R200-million.

Zaire imports more than 50 percent of its food from South Africa, Zambian’s major import trade partner is South Africa. The Seychelles and Mauritius get most of their tourists from South Africa.

Malawi received the R10-million it needed to build a new capital at Lilongwe from South Africa and has nearly 30,000 people working in South Africa.

Marxist Mozambique treats South African businessmen like dignitaries. The Mozambique ports are run by South African experts, a South African company has recruited 20,000 Mozambicans for its gold mines, and South African industrial consumers in the Transvaal receive much of their electrical power from facilities at Mozambique’s Cabora Bassa Dam.

HYPOCRITICAL
If the black African attitude appears hypocritical, it should be remembered that some of the same countries that trade with South Africa out of economic necessity also have paid dearly for their commitment against apartheid.

Mozambique lost more than R200-million in annual duties and transit fees when it closed its border to Rhodesia, and has suffered heavily from Rhodesian raids against guerrilla camps inside Mozambique’s borders. Zambia has become an economic shambles since closing its border to Rhodesia. — Los Angeles Times News Service.
Australian policy on SA may soften

Own Correspondent

CANBERRA — The Australian Government will come under strong pressure to alter its policy on Southern Africa radically after the weekend election result.

Before the election, there were concerted moves within the Liberal-National Country Party coalition to have the policy significantly watered down.

But these moves were in jeopardy when the election was called, because some of the prime movers faced the prospect of losing their seats.

However, all have been returned in the coalition's sweeping victory.

It seems likely that the rebel MPs will move early in the new government's term to push for policy changes.

The first test will be the Government's move to close down the Rhodesian Information centre in Sydney.

The legislation was shelved when the term of the Parliament was cut short by the early election.

UNDERWELDING

But the Australian Foreign Minister, Mr Peacock, gave an undertaking that it would be debated in the first session of the new Parliament, due to begin in February.

If the opposition is strong enough to vet the legislation when it goes to the party room for approval, or to defeat it in Parliament it will be a major international embarrassment for the government and the Prime Minister, Mr Fraser, in particular. Such a defeat would almost certainly encourage the rebel MPs to push for further policy concessions towards South Africa including the re-establishment of sporting ties, increased trade and generally closer ties.
UN pushes for SA oil embargo

NEW YORK — An overwhelming majority of United Nations General Assembly members last night approved a request to the Security Council for a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa.

The aim of the ban would be to prevent petroleum and petroleum products from reaching Rhodesia.

The request was adopted by the Assembly’s decolonization committee by 112 votes to none, with 10 abstentions.

Those abstaining were Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, West Germany, Iran, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg and the United States.

Britain, France and the US are the three Western permanent members of the Security Council, each with the right of veto. South Africa is reported to obtain much of its oil from Iran.

Other provisions in the same part of the resolution would condemn South Africa for its “continued support of the illegal racist minority regime” in Rhodesia, condemn all violations of the sanctions against Rhodesia, and call on all governments to prevent or discourage emigration to Rhodesia.

It would also “deem it imperative” to widen the scope of sanctions to include all measures envisaged under Article 41 of the UN charter. That covers the severing of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communications.

Another part of the resolution, adopted by consensus without a vote, reaffirms the “indefeasible right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure by all the means at their disposal the enjoyment of that right.”

The draft, certain to be endorsed later by the Assembly plenary, would reaffirm the principle of no independence before majority rule, and strongly condemn Rhodesia for its “continuing brutal acts of aggression and threats” against Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana.

The resolution, adopted by 131 votes to none against with no abstentions, also reiterated a call upon all states to respect Africa and surrounding areas as a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

The assembly further demanded that South Africa refrain forthwith from conducting any nuclear explosion on the continent of Africa and elsewhere. — Sapa-Reuters.
STOP PLANES
FOR AC MORE

NAFAY MONEPA

NY YORK

A two-year-old child, a native of South Africa, who is a victim of the article, has been brought to the United Nations Assembly by the American Friends Service Committee. The Committee has gathered sufficient support to bring the matter to the attention of the Security Council. The Council will be asked to consider the matter at its next meeting.

The American Friends Service Committee has also called for a moratorium on the use of nuclear weapons in the area of South Africa. The Committee believes that the use of nuclear weapons would be a violation of international law and would lead to an increase in the number of deaths and injuries.

The Committee has also called for the United Nations to take steps to prevent the use of nuclear weapons in the area. The Committee believes that the United Nations has a duty to prevent the use of nuclear weapons in the area and to ensure that the human rights of the people in the area are protected.

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Canada cuts SA trade aid

New move is part of harsh steps to be taken against apartheid - minister

OTTAWA — Canada's government is set to take a series of economic actions against South Africa in response to the country's continued racial policies. The government has announced new trade cuts and restrictions, which are part of its broader strategy to confront apartheid and support international efforts to isolate South Africa.

The move is seen as a significant escalation in the country's efforts to pressure South Africa to change its policies. Canada has been a strong advocate for the international community's efforts to isolate South Africa and has been one of the leading countries in calling for economic sanctions against the country.

The new trade cuts and restrictions are expected to have a significant impact on South Africa's economy, as the country relies heavily on trade with Canada. The government has also signaled that it will consider further actions if South Africa fails to make meaningful changes to its policies.

The move is likely to be welcomed by other countries in the international community who have been advocating for a stronger response to apartheid. It is also expected to be met with criticism from some South African officials, who have previously resisted international efforts to isolate the country.

The government has been clear that its actions are not just a response to the ongoing racial policies in South Africa, but also reflect broader concerns about human rights and democracy.

The new economic actions are part of a broader strategy to confront the global challenges posed by apartheid and to support the international community's efforts to create a more just and equitable world.

The government has also pledged to continue to work with other countries to ensure that South Africa is held accountable for its actions and to support efforts to promote human rights and democracy in the country.

The move is likely to have implications for other countries and regions around the world, as the international community continues to grapple with the challenges posed by apartheid and other forms of racial discrimination.

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Trade sanctions condemned

Canada: backlash warning

Business and labour leaders have condemned Canada's trade sanctions against South Africa as counter-productive. They were commenting on Canada's decision to cut off all official commercial aid to South Africa and to withdraw its trade consuls.

"This should be taken as a warning to the South African Government and the private sector that time for reforms is running out," said Mr Koos van Eeden, president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce. But Mr van Eeden and other business spokesmen agreed that commerce and industry as well as the Government are on the point of making significant reforms.

"Trade restrictions can only reduce South Africa's capacity to improve wages and living conditions for the rapidly growing black population which is suffering from increasing unemployment," Mr van Eeden said.

He and Mr Paul Pemzhorn, executive director of the National Development and Management Foundation, also felt the Canadian move implied double standards because Canada's Eskimos and Indians were not sharing full rights.

Capacity

"Organisations like ours are working flat out to bring about meaningful change within the establishment," Mr Pemzhorn said. "Let them (critics) come and look at what is being done and planned, and they will be amazed.

In addition to reducing South Africa's economic capacity to improve black wages and living conditions, such moves with "insufficient information" were creating a counter-productive backlash, Mr Pemzhorn said.

The president of the Federated Chamber of Industries, Mr J P Cronje, said: "Many steps have already been taken to eliminate discrimination and I am sure that more can be expected, as is evidenced by the recent lifting of a large number of statutory job reservations.

"Where we in business have taken the initiative, as witnessed by the employment code of practice (adopted by 80 percent of organised commerce and industry), it is to be regretted that action of this nature occurs," Mr Andre Malherbe, first vice-president of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, said the only way of improving the situation of black workers was through economic expansion, which would create the necessity and the opportunities for better utilisation of all manpower.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R F Botha, is on holiday and could not
How US could lean on Pretoria

South Africa, seen as a key to the Western strategy of containing China, is a potential ally in the US strategic game in the region. Pretoria could play a significant role in the US-Africa relationship, which is crucial for US foreign policy. The US government is looking to strengthen ties with Pretoria and leverage its influence in the region.

In recent years, Pretoria has been seen as a key player in the Western strategy of containing China, particularly in the economic and security realms. The US government has been working closely with Pretoria on various initiatives, including economic cooperation, security partnerships, and counterterrorism efforts.

Africa is increasingly becoming a strategic priority for the US government, with a focus on promoting democratic governance, economic development, and regional stability. Pretoria is seen as a crucial partner in this endeavor, with its strategic location and influence in the region.

The US government has been investing in partnerships with Pretoria, particularly in the areas of economic cooperation and security. The US is looking to increase bilateral trade with Pretoria, particularly in sectors such as agriculture, energy, and technology. The US is also seeking to deepen its security partnerships with Pretoria, particularly in the areas of counterterrorism and defense cooperation.

In conclusion, Pretoria is a key player in the US-Africa relationship, and the US government is looking to strengthen ties with Pretoria as a potential ally in the Western strategy of containing China. Pretoria's influence in the region and its strategic location make it an important partner in promoting democratic governance, economic development, and regional stability.

"..."
Electronics sector out to beat threat of sanctions

SOUTH AFRICA'S infant electronics industry is moving fast to mitigate the effects of possible sanctions on the supply of computers from abroad.

STC, part of the Alttech group, plans to be producing a large capacity (one mega-byte) military specifications mini-computer, using components from non-American suppliers, within six to 12 months.

Data systems division manager Rainer Moringer says that apart from some transistors and crystals, almost all of the electronic components, which will comprise about 50 per cent of the final cost of the machine, will be imported in completely knocked down kits ready for local assembly.

But the remaining 50 per cent, made up of labour input, the cabinet, keyboard and other non-electronic components, will comprise the local content initially.

STC is aiming specifically at the market of Government and military departments which are affected by restrictions on the supply of computers. Mr Moringer calculates there is a market for 300 to 500 computers in the next five years.

They will cost about a third more than a comparable commercial computer at present on the market, with a typical configuration coming in between R50 000 and R100 000.

Local content will be pushed up at a later stage to 60-64 per cent, but Mr Moringer says that "as long as components can be obtained from overseas it will not be economic to produce most of them locally."

Complete local manufacturing, he estimates, would increase the cost of a computer by at least 10 times.

Another local computer manufacturer, Messina Electronics, has notched up sales and orders worth more than R300 000 for its locally-designed micro-computer, the Commander, since the company was established in April.

It is a wholly-owned subsidiary of The Messina (Transvaal) Development Company.

The Commander, designed for mining, industrial and commercial needs, has been installed by Southern Cross Steel and Palmiet Chrome, both Barlow Rand companies, Colgate-Palmolive and two Messina mines in Rhodesia - Norah and MTD Mangula.

Messina Electronics has also won an order from the Bantu Affairs Administration Board for the Central Transvaal in the face of competition from established overseas-based computer companies.

It has also designed a contract manufacturing computer for Hamac Computers for point-of-sale computer terminals.

"The threat of overseas embargoes on computer equipment has also given our business a fillip," says general manager Peter Abery.

"We have received a number of approaches from Government concerns and commercial computer organisations to manufacture some of their requirements locally."

Among other local manufacturing developments in the data processing industry are:

- Anker Data Systems' ADS 6060 point-of-sale computer terminal;
- Data Management Services' Syfa, to be produced with 50 per cent local content under licence from Computer Automation of the United States.

By TONY KOENDERMAN

The following times:
- from 13th to 17th
- from 30th April. All
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Canada’s sanctions are likely to prove far worse than its bite. The Financial Post in Toronto reports that the Canadian announcement of trade sanctions against South Africa is likely to have more impact on sentiment at the UN than on trade between the two countries.

Firstly, journalists originally interpreted Canadian External Affairs Minister Donald Jamieson’s announcement to mean that Canada’s Export Development Corporation (EDC) would no longer hold its umbrella of loan guarantees and insurance over Canadian exporters to South Africa.

The withdrawal, however, apparently only applies to support billed to the federal government’s own EDC account, which is reserved for riskier sales such as Candu reactor contracts. This account hasn’t been used for SA business for the past 15 years!

Meanwhile, the LDC’s corporate account remains open, according to a spokesman, and the EDC has not yet received any request to withdraw its services affecting SA. “One account is seen as more directly involving the government than the other”, says an external affairs spokesman.

Meanwhile, the Canadian Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce (ITC) is still subsidising export development trips by Canadian businessmen to SA under a programme that pays one-half of return airfare, $70 a day living expenses, and 50% of other costs. An ITC spokesman says, however, that this programme will be reviewed.

It transpires, too, that the future of the Canadian Department of Trade’s trade commissioner’s post — one of the two being phased out — was already “seriously under discussion” before the announcement because this office was not being used enough. The two commissioners will not be phased out until about next March. Thereafter, however, a staff member at the Pretoria embassy will still be on hand to help visiting businessmen.

Before the announcement, Canada had also been phasing out the British preferential tariff that applies among others to SA except where it benefits Canada. And even here, the announcement could actually benefit SA. Should this tariff be replaced by the most-favoured-nation tariff that Cuba enjoys, the price of sugar, which accounted for $95m of the $155m of Canada’s imports from South Africa in 1976 would go up about one cent a pound from about 9 cents currently, since it would be difficult to change national suppliers for such a large quantity. The extra cost could very well be

Additionally, sail in and out of Montreal during the northern winter.

Rudy Schats, general manager of Nedloyd, agents for CCAL in SA, does not expect Canada’s present trade stance to have any material effect on the service.

Ironically, the new ships were ordered by Norwegian-owned CCAL to meet expansion of trade imports of agricultural machinery from Canada and exports of asbestos, fruit, canned goods and wood pulp from South Africa.

Canadian PM Pierre Trudeau . . . worried about the games

Canada’s.

Quite what is intended in the federal government’s study of removal of concessions for Canadian firms trading in Namibia is still to be clarified. However, these don’t seem to be any other than the standard tax treatment of overseas profits.

So the Canadian move seems more designed to win friends in world diplomatic circles — and to ensure African participation at the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games — than to actually shut down trade.

One potentially damaging effect of the sanctions, however, is that Canadian consumers could follow their government’s lead and be less inclined to buy SA. A more ominous prospect is that Canada will simply have to fall into line with more stringent international curbs at some stage.

CANADA/SA 2

Ill-timed link

A faster direct shipping service between Canada and South Africa might appear somewhat incongruous at this point in time. Yet this is just what has been introduced by Christensen Canadian African Lines (CCAL).

The first of its two new multipurpose cargo vessels, the 20,000 ton Thorscape, is due in Cape Town on January 3.

The new ships have been designed to carry 450 TEU (for “twenty-foot equivalent”) containers as well as breakbulk cargo in the holds. Their service speed of 18 knots will reduce transit time from 19 days to 17 days and they will be able to
Next year SA sugar exports to Canada will be confined to the contractual obligations amounting to 215 000 t.

A loss of preference, or indeed of the Canadian market as a whole, would be a severe blow, for Canada takes a third of SA’s sugar exports and is the largest customer after Japan.

When SA left the Commonwealth and was obliged to leave the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement and seek new markets, the sugar industry survived by boosting sales to Canada and Japan.

How have South Africans reacted to the measures? Some members of organised commerce have accused the Canadians of imposing double standards because Canada’s Indians and Eskimos also do not share full rights.

Others representing labour and industry have claimed that the Canadian action will harm SA’s black workers more than anyone else.

Nevertheless, several key black leaders have made the point that they are willing to suffer the consequences if pressures help towards peaceful change in SA.

In his speech to the Canadian Parliament, Jamieson also said: “As the Prime Minister indicated in the House some two weeks ago, . . . Canada, along with a great many other countries, has been reexamining the attitude it ought to take beyond what has already been done by the world community in response to those actions which in recent times have been undertaken in SA, to which we in Canada take the strongest possible objection.”
SANCTIONS

1978
A top Mobil Oil man told me that in the past year between 30 and 40 requests have come in for detailed information on various aspects of the company's South African operation.

According to Investor Responsibility Research Centre (an independent group which monitors companies' social performance), several banks have conceded that the amount of management time spent responding to anti-apartheid groups' queries, and the possibility that their South African ties might hurt their other business, "have become factors to be weighed carefully in evaluating future loans."

True, several US industrial giants have for the time being committed themselves to staying in SA. And as far as can be ascertained, more US firms have invested for the first time in SA in the past few years than have pulled out. Nonetheless, there are signs that moves to isolate Pretoria are straining US SA business ties.

There has been a sharp fall-off in trade enquiries by both US and SA firms. IRRC reported in March that several high-technology suppliers such as Westinghouse, General Electric and ITT have admitted that Washington's current policies hurt their trade with SA. Moreover, computer company executives claim SA customers are worried that trade restrictions may be broadened to interfere with the supply of spares and servicing.

Views differ on what can be done to cool the protests and reassure investors and traders. Deputy ambassador to the UN Don McHenry insists the pressure will only come off when there is fundamental political change in SA. But others are hopeful that a package of "quasi political" measures from the Vorster government, which would include lifting curbs on black traders in the cities, recognition of black trade unions, freehold title for black urban residents, and so on, could smooth some feathers.

SA affiliates of US corporations are expected to make capital expenditures of $270m in 1978, according to a recently published US Department of Commerce Survey of Current Business. Capital spending in SA for this year will be down about 9% from 1977 ($298m), and will account for just under 1% of the worldwide total for US controlled firms. Of the $270m to be spent this year, $120m will be by manufacturing concerns (compared with $107m in 1977). Food producers will outlay $28m; petroleum producers $48m; chemicals and allied products $45m; and mining and smelting $11m.

**US-SA BUSINESS LINKS**

**Strained, not snapped**

Why do SA's diplomats in Washington spend so much time addressing students and faculty members on America's campuses? Answer: the universities have become the hub of anti-apartheid action and their efforts apparently are gathering momentum.

Only last week 250 Columbia students occupied the administration building demanding that their senate sell its stock in US firms operating in SA. This week, 20 campus groups were to meet the US special committee on apartheid to coordinate their campaign against the 300 odd corporations with South African affiliates. Business editor Bernard Simon has just been in the US and filed this report.

Heartened by the churches' success in persuading a number of big banks to declare publicly that they are stopping loans to Pretoria, the students are focusing their efforts on some of the big names in American business.

For the first time the colleges have joined forces with churches in proposing more than a score of shareholder resolutions at company annual general meetings, covering demands from total disengagement to improved employment conditions. The Wall Street Journal has described these resolutions as "this year's hottest shareholder issue."

Not that any of them has the slightest chance of being adopted. Churches and universities between them hold only a small fraction of the corporations' stock last week, for instance, fewer than 6% of US Steel's shareholders, supported a motion for the company's withdrawal from SA.

But the pressure cannot be measured in votes alone. There is a growing "harsh factor" which makes many an executive wonder whether the small contributions his South African offshoot makes to worldwide profits is worth the effort of placating the increasingly vociferous and demanding protest groups.
Sanctions threat backfires on US

By Hugh Roberton, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States Commerce Department is believed to have ordered a top-level investigation into the sudden and sharp drop in South African imports from America.

Committee Department officials confirmed today that "certain inquiries" had been made into what they admitted was a dramatic shift away from the US in South Africa's trading pattern, but declined to give further details.

Leading businessmen, however, say that a "wholesale abandonment" of the US as a supplier of goods to South Africa is feared.

In the first three months of this year, US exports to South Africa dropped by 23 percent, while the exports of France rose by 57 percent and those of Germany by 30 percent.

In the first six months of 1977, American goods accounted for 23 percent of South Africa's import bill, compared with 18 percent for the same period this year.

A recent survey of South Africa's trading patterns showed that last year America was the largest single exporter of goods to South Africa and the Republic's second-largest overall trading partner.

But American business sources stressed that they were not aware of any deliberate boycott of American goods, but rather of a pervasive nervousness over the reliability of future deliveries of parts and vital equipment from the US.

ANXIOUS

The Commerce Department has anxiously questioned several leading American corporations on the new trend and has also extensively interviewed a number of South African companies that have recently switched from US suppliers to European or Japanese alternatives.

In the electronics industry, it was learned today, the Commerce Department was told bluntly that many South African companies had already largely abandoned the US as a source of supply and were now buying goods from Japan and Western Europe instead.

Their primary reason for doing so was a fear that the Carter Administration might at some future date limit or ban the export of parts and other vital equipment to South Africa as a political gesture against the Government's race policy.
Republic’s US trade ties are shrinking

PRETORIA — South Africa’s imports from the United States have shrunk dramatically during the past few months in response to United States economic threats against South Africa.

Commerce and industry leaders said yesterday this was a predictable trend following repeated threats from the Carter administration, and other US sources, to apply economic pressures on South Africa in an effort to persuade the Vorster government to abandon apartheid.

Department of Customs and Excise figures released in Pretoria yesterday show South African imports from the US in the first five months of the year fell by more than R70 000 000 to R380 million.

In the same period, imports from Japan increased by R70 million to R284.5 million and from West Germany by R140 million to R488 million.

Senior government sources — the Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr Heunis, was not available for comment — said there was no question of a government-ordered, or even encouraged, boycott of United States imports.

The atmosphere of US economic hostility towards South Africa has been intensified by the efforts of a number of powerful US organisations to persuade US companies to disinvest from South Africa and to halt all new investment.

The response to this, commerce and industry leaders said, was inevitable — South African importers have diversified their sources to ensure an uninterrupted flow of future supplies.

The president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, Mr J van Eeden, said: “What is happening to US trade is a justified and reasonable reaction to threats of US interference with the country’s economy.”

South African importers were being “cautious and far sighted”. To remain totally dependent on the United States for vital imports in today’s political climate would be unwise.

“Commerce is adjusting to the new situation, and to find alternative sources of supply is an important strategic consideration,” Mr Van Eden said.

The Federated Chamber of Industries’ chief economist, Mr Hammond-Tocke, said no one should be surprised at the development.

It made good economic sense to diversify markets and supply lines in an uncertain international political climate.

It should be remembered, too, when assessing the figures, that the yen and the Deutschmark had risen against the dollar and the rand, he said. — DDC.
SA has strength ‘to resist’

The Argus Boland Bureau

STELLENBOSCH — South Africa has basic economic strengths which would make the country fairly resistant to international sanctions, Professor J L Sadie, director of the Bureau for Economic Research at Stellenbosch University, said.

Professor Sadie was speaking to the Stellenbosch branch of the South African Institute for International Affairs on the Economic Vulnerability of South Africa.

He said 50 to 54 percent of the country’s gross domestic product was generated by imports and exports. Total sanctions against South Africa would cause a 54 percent drop in employment, which would in turn lead to a marked decline in the standard of living.

But it was highly unlikely that total sanctions could succeed, although the possibility of some sort of economic sanctions was being considered by various foreign countries.

CAPITAL GOODS

He said capital goods, in the form of sophisticated technological equipment and military hardware, would be the most vulnerable to sanctions.

Oil also presented an economic Achilles’ heel. However, South Africa was fortunate that oil made up only 25 percent of its power supply.

On the export side, South Africa appeared to be in an even stronger position.

Minerals, including gold, made up more than 60 percent of her export total. In many areas, the country was the largest producer of minerals, and some of them the world simply could not do without.
sanctions threat
Better deal or

After all, Correspondent
Oil sanctions busting recoils on Callaghan

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A political storm is brewing in Britain over alleged sanctions busting for Rhodesia by British Petroleum and Shell.

The British Labour Government itself is involved because it is a major shareholder in BP and is represented on the board.

The Government's role is all the more serious because of the millions of pounds spent on maintaining the Royal Navy's blockade of Beira to prevent oil reaching Rhodesia.

EVIDENCE

And the issue is complicated for the government not only by the vehemence which Rhodesia arouses within the Labour Party, but by the likely election timetable.

Evidence of oil sanctions busting is said to be contained in a 600-page report by Mr Thomas Bingham QC. This is now being studied by the Foreign Secretary Dr David Owen.

The Times today and the London Sunday Times yesterday both claim that BP has admitted that its subsidiary company in South Africa defied oil sanctions.

Mr John Ryman, a Labour MP, has urged Dr Owen to refer the report to the Attorney-General Mr Sam Silkin.

The MP asked Dr Owen to instruct the Director of Public Prosecutions to consider and advise whether the available evidence disclosed by the report was sufficiently strong to bring prosecutions under the sanctions legislation.

PUBLIC MONEY

Mr Roland "Tiny" Rowland, chief executive of Lonrho, commented last night on the "conspicuous waste of public money" involved in using the Royal Navy to prevent oil from reaching Rhodesia via Beira.

According to the London Sunday Times 76 ships, 28 auxiliaries and 24,000 men were deployed to stop tankers and sustain oil sanctions.

On allegations that there had been a swap arrangement under which a subsidiary of the French oil company Total supplied Rhodesia on behalf of Shell and BP, Lord Greenhill of Harrow, a former head of the Foreign Office (1969 to 1973) and government representative on the BP board, said: "I think the Foreign Office knew of swap arrangements, but that conversations were between Shell and BP and George Thomson."

Lord Thomson, as Mr George Thomson has since become, was at that time Labour's Commonwealth Secretary.

Britain's Prime Minister Mr James Callaghan is reported to have problems because he personally assured the Zambian President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, that sanctions breakers would be brought to book.

British citizens or companies trading with Rhodesia are liable to up to two years' imprisonment or an unlimited fine.
Oil sanctions busting: Owen gets evidence

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — According to yesterday's Observer newspaper, Dr. David Owen, the Foreign Secretary, has been given concrete evidence of massive sanctions-busting in Rhodesia by international oil companies, including Shell and BP.

The evidence, which could lead to legal action against the companies, is contained in a report last week by Mr. Thomas Bingham QC, who has at Dr Owen's request investigated the supply of oil to Rhodesia since UDI.

It shows that the companies sent thousands of tons of oil into Rhodesia by rail from Mozambique, despite British legislation and a United Nations resolution.

The Foreign Secretary must now decide whether to publish the Bingham report.

He is expected to come under much pressure to do so, both from the left wing of the Labour Party and from African leaders demanding tougher action against South Africa to enforce the oil embargo against Rhodesia.

Mr. Bingham interviewed 12 senior executives from BP, in which the government has a majority holding, and a similar number from Shell.

They gave the inquiry monthly-by-month figures of oil shipments from Mozambique to Rhodesia by rail. They provide what one source last week called "proof positive" that the companies continued to supply oil to Rhodesia after UDI in 1965.

The figures show that in 1968 Shell/BP shipped 5,598 tank cars (171,000 tons) of oil from Lourenco Marques (now Maputo) into Rhodesia. In the same year Total, the marketing company of the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles, provided 1,011 tank cars (30,937 tons).

In 1969 the figures were 176,837 tons from Shell/BP and 27,540 tons from Total. These quantities have been checked by the Bingham investigators with the Mozambique railway and customs records and found to tally. The importance of the Bingham report evidence is that it comes from the oil companies themselves.

Book by Portuguese

Allegations of sanctions-busting have been made before, most impressively by Mr. Norge Jardim, a former senior Portuguese representative in Mozambique in his book "Sanctions Double-cross".

His book tells of a meeting in London in February 1968 between top oil men and the then Minister for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. George Thomson.

But the oil industry executives did not tell the government everything. This would account for Sir Harold Wilson's statement, in a radio interview this year that "cheating" by President de Gaulle "enabled the Rhodesian rebellion to continue beyond the few weeks he had forecast.

Dr. Owen's reaction to the Bingham report will be watched by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, which has a huge claim pending against seven international oil companies and their subsidiaries, alleged to have broken sanctions. Zambia is claiming more than 3,000 million dollars in damages from the companies, which it says starved Zambia of oil while supplying Rhodesia illegally.

Brought to book

Last year Mr. Callaghan gave President Kaunda a promise to ensure that BP and Shell were found to have broken sanctions orders and a court case could be made against them, he would "bring the culprits to book".

It is understood that the Bingham report exonerates Shell and BP from the accusation of encouraging UDI by indicating to Mr. Smith before the break that they would continue to supply him with oil even if sanctions were applied. But although the companies are exonerated, Mr. Bingham leaves open the possibility that individual executives or officials may be suspected.

Dr. Owen will make a statement to Parliament when it reassembles, the Foreign Office said yesterday. But if a general election is called immediately after the summer recess, little will be done until a new government takes office. Legal proceedings would be a matter for the Director of Public Prosecutions.
Call for sanctions answers

LONDON — A series of editorials in British newspapers yesterday on the latest allegations of Rhodesia sanctions-busting were marked by questions and an analysis of whom they would embarrass should they prove correct.

There was general agreement that the public should be informed as soon as possible about the findings of the Bingham Inquiry, which was submitted to the Foreign Secretary, Dr. David Owen last week. He is expected to make a statement as soon as the 600-page report has been studied.

Newspapers here have reported that BP had confessed to the inquiry that, together with Shell, it had broken sanctions against Rhodesia for most of the past 12 years. The Foreign Office's top civil servant from 1969 to 1973, Lord Greenhill, has also reportedly admitted the Foreign Office knew it was happening.

The conservative Daily Mail said it was mainly Labour ministers or ex-ministers who were most likely to be embarrassed. It said the big question was why the Labour Government, which initiated the sanctions policy, allowed it to be undermined.

Charade

The Daily Telegraph, also conservative, asked: "Was the Beira blockade just a charade?"

The Scotsman (independent), while saying the new allegations came as no surprise, had strong feelings on the subject.

"The public will rightly suspect that they have been duped, and their respect for their modern rulers will duly sink another few degrees."

The Right-wing Yorkshire Post said: "it does not matter what view one holds concerning the Government's sanctions policy and the role of the United Nations, the fuel remains that if it is shown that the law of the land has been wilfully broken, then those proved responsible will have to answer for it." — (Sapa.)
Minister: West won't back total sanctions

BLOEMFONTEIN — A breakdown in the South West Africa negotiations would probably lead to the introduction of a campaign of low-intensity sanctions against South Africa, the Minister of the Interior, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, said here yesterday.

Addressing delegates at the Free State congress of the National Party, Mr Schlebusch, who was re-elected leader of the NP in the province, said the campaign could gradually grow in scope, but he doubted whether the West could afford such a campaign.

Outlining Southern Africa resources, which the Soviet Union had earmarked for its own future use, Mr Schlebusch said: "I think the West will think twice before committing itself to additional sanctions.

South Africa was no banana republic and its two operations in Angola had shown the country had both a dynamic defence force and motivated soldiers.

In addition, South Africa had the infrastructure with tremendous potential for the production of arms and sophisticated machinery.

"However, these factors are not the main components for resistance. The nature, motivation and character of the people is the determining factor."

"We can survive a world onslaught on the economic front. However, I must warn: If we were to underestimate our internal relations, it could prove to be our country's Achilles heel."

He warned delegates they would be "approached" by the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, during an in-camera session on the issue of internal relations, and that they would come to realise that "the price will have to be paid and adaptations will have to be made."

"Turning to the issue of the government's new constitutional proposals, he said the enabling legislation, which was being drawn up by his department, had reached an advanced stage, and that in the event of the Government deciding to introduce it the legislation could be introduced early in the next session of Parliament."

The Government was, in the meantime, engaged in discussions with the Coloureds and Indians, and doing its utmost to afford every group all opportunities for cultural, social, political and educational advancement.

"For the whites, the Government reserved only the right to secession at certain times and places, which meant that it would not share its parliament, its 'own places' and its schools."

Turning to the Opposition, Mr Schlebusch said apart from certain right-thinking individuals like Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, the Progressive Federal Party's conception of 'patriotism' stinks."

He told delegates certain leftist radics within the PFP found Mr Schwarz's views of patriotism incompatible.

The PFP was bound to disintegrate soon because of its "pathetic" performance during the last session of Parliament, because of the variety of views it held on the question of franchise and because of its peculiar conception of patriotism.

— SAPA.
Schlebusch on sanctions

BLOEMFONTEIN — A breakdown in the negotiations on the South West Africa issue would probably lead to the introduction of a campaign of low-intensity sanctions against South Africa, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Alwyn Schlebusch, said here yesterday.

Addressing delegates to the Free State congress of the National Party, Mr. Schlebusch said the campaign could gradually grow in scope, but he doubted whether the West could afford such a campaign.

Outlining southern Africa resources which the Soviet Union had earmarked for its own future use, Mr. Schlebusch said he thought the West would think twice before committing itself to additional sanctions.

South Africa was no banana republic and its two operations in Angola had shown the country to have both a dynamic defence force and motivated soldiers. In addition, South Africa had an infrastructure with tremendous potential for the production of arms and sophisticated machinery.

"However, these factors are not the main components for resistance. The nature, motivation, and character of the people is the determining factor."

"We can survive a world onslaught on the economic front. However, we must warn if we were to underestimate our internal relations, it could prove to be our country's Achilles' heel."

He warned delegates they would be "approached by the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr. Colman's father, during an in-camera session on the issue of internal relations, and that it would come to realize that a strict price will have to be paid and adaptations will have to be made."

Of the Government's new constitutional proposals, he said the enabling legislation, which was being drawn up by his department, had reached an advanced stage, and that in the event of the Government deciding to introduce the legal bill into Parliament, it could be introduced early in the next session of Parliament.

"For the Whites, the Government only reserved the right to seclusion at certain times and places, which meant that it would not share its Parliament, its "own places" and its schools." (Sapa)
Experts warn of sanctions ‘disaster’

Mercury Correspondent

PRETORIA — Economists, businessmen and labour leaders yesterday cautioned the Government against moves which could precipitate South Africa into an economic war with the rest of the world.

The pattern is based on a homeland situation applicable to homeland dependants than C the total monthly costs with and without...

Background to this growing fear of the sanctions is the feeling that an accord on South West Africa between the Government and the UN is balanced on a knife’s edge; and the view of the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Alwyn Schlebusch, that a breakdown in the negotiations would probably lead to sanctions against South Africa.

The fear is, too, that if South Africa is too inflexible a showdown with the UN is unavoidable.

Although the Government has lived with the threat of UN sanctions for the past 13 years, and has contingency plans to counter them, economists warned yesterday that tightly applied sanctions could lead to economic disaster in the long-term.

Growth rate

Last week the Prime Minister’s retiring economic adviser, Dr. Piet Rijkers, claimed South Africa would survive a sanctions war, and be able to maintain a 3 to 4 percent growth rate in an isolated economic environment.

But an international trade boycott, according to a senior researcher at the Africa Institute, Mr. Theo Malan, even if it were only 50 percent effective, would mean another 250 000 Whites and 1 000 000 more Blacks being thrown out of work.

Barclays Bank’s chief economist, Dr. Johan Cloete, warned that insecurity and uncertainty would spread, consumers would save instead of spending, and investors would look elsewhere for a safer haven for their funds.

Rhodesia

And economists claimed there was little comfort in the thought that Rhodesia had survived sanctions for the past 13 years. Rhodesia, they pointed out, had South Africa to lean on.

But South Africa, they said, had no reliable friends in the international community who would help keep the country afloat in a sanctions war — no one to lean on to help relieve the inevitable distress.

Warning

The president of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, Mr. Ronnie Webb, warned the Government against rash, impetuous action.

An international boycott could, and probably would lead to greater unemployment, greater poverty, greater frustration, and greatly increase the risk of urban unrest, he said.

“To be at war economically with the rest of the world, to be trapped in an economy under siege must be avoided like the plague,” Mr. Webb said.
Government cautioned against economic war

PRETORIA — Economists, businessmen and labour leaders yesterday cautioned the Government against “irrevocable moves” which could precipitate South Africa into an economic war with the rest of the world.

Background to this growing fear of UN mandatory sanctions is the feeling that an accord on South West Africa between the Government and the UN is balanced on a razor’s edge, and the view of the Minister of Interior, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, at the Free State congress of the Nationalist Party this week that a breakdown in negotiations over South West Africa would probably lead to sanctions against South Africa.

The fear is, too, that if South Africa is too inflexible, a showdown with the UN is unavoidable.

At this week’s meeting in the Union Buildings, the Cabinet had to determine what sort of support the large 7,500 UN military contingent in South West Africa and delayed elections, would constitute.

The gravest danger in the Government’s view is that this large force, taken together with the firmly held South African suspicion that the UN has a strong preference for a Swapo government in South West Africa, could interfere with a truly free and democratic election.

Although the Government has lived with the threat of UN sanctions because of its race policies for the past 13 years or more, and has contingency plans to counter them, economists warned yesterday that tightsly applied sanctions could lead to an economic disaster in South Africa in the long term.

Last week, the Prime Minister’s retiring economic adviser, Dr Piet Riekert, claimed South Africa would survive a sanctions war, and be able to maintain a three to four percentage growth rate in an isolated economic environment.

He confirmed the Government had been preparing to meet the sanctions threat for the past 14 years.

However, an international trade boycott, according to a senior researcher at the Atlantic Institute, Mr Theo Malan, even if it were only 10 per cent effective, would mean another 250,000 whites and a million more blacks being thrown out of work.

He stressed that the hardest blow of all would be an oil embargo. He pointed out that even when Sasol II came on stream in 1980 the two plants would only be able to supply 25 per cent of the country’s fuel needs.

Barclays Bank’s chief economist, Dr Johan Cloete, warned of the potentially disastrous effects of boycotts and threats of boycotts on consumer and investor confidence.

Insecurity and uncertainty would spread, consumers would save instead of spending, and investors would look elsewhere for a safer haven for their funds.

And economists claim there is little comfort in the thought that Rhodesia has survived sanctions for the past 13 years. Rhodesia, they point out, has South Africa to lean on, and there is no doubt that the massive support given that country since UNDI is the major reason for its survival till now.

The president of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, Mr Ron Steel, warned the Government against rash, impetuous action.

An international boycott of South Africa could and probably would lead to greater unemployment in South Africa, greater poverty, greater frustrations and greatly increase the risk of urban unrest.

“The time is at war economically with the rest of the world, to be trapped in an economy under siege must be avoided like the plague,” Mr Webb said.

DDB.
Black task force wants US sanctions

WASHINGTON — The chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People’s task force commented on Africa, Dr. Moses Buthelezi, yesterday advocated that the United States Government impose economic sanctions against South Africa. Dr. Buthelezi was testifying before a House Africa subcommittee hearing on whether the United States should disinvest in South Africa.

"The NAACP is convinced that only by taking the lead in forcing an end to the expansion of United States corporate investment in South Africa can our Government register an appropriate disapproval of the South African system of apartheid," he said.

WHERE TO GO

The NAACP’s task force recommended that United States Corporations divest their investments in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland and help strengthen and develop those countries.

The executive vice president of Citicorp, Mr. George Votla, said if the US Government wished to take action against the South African Government, the appropriate way was to cut off the government-to-government level. "As a privately-owned financial institution doing business throughout the world, we think it is much more appropriate and, indeed, detrimental to our country’s economic interest to be perceived as an instrument for carrying out United States foreign policy," he said.

EQUAL PAY

Citicorp had been given equal pay equal work since it began its operations in South Africa in December 1958. Mr. Votla said of the basis of Citicorp activities as a financial intermediary doing business overseas for over a century, "We are convinced that the ultimate objective of the three Bills before the House of Representatives to promote the abandonment of apartheid policies will not work.

The NAACP move was aimed at this stage because under House rules the Congress cannot legislate until next year.

It was found that 73% of organisation, but only 5% did. The percent of worker organisation for the 10(1) b's and migration was much higher, but was lower. In particular and were members of the collective as opposed.

A further finding which workers had a surprising not the case with the other committees and other work of the former group were Bureaus.

1.7 Attitudes Towards 'Coloured' and race in South Africa.

Liberals have stressed on analysts (usually Marxists) sophisticated evaluations.

The interaction between the economy of South Africa.

class-consciousness over-rid dividing the working class community.

In order to try and shed some light on this question we tried to examine the African workers' expressed class solidarity towards 'Coloured' workers. We are aware of the immense difficulties and limitations of undertaking such an examination because it ultimately rests on workers' attitudes and opinions held at a specific point of time under particular circumstances. Attitude surveys seem to suffer from two major weaknesses. The first is that the link between the attitude expressed about hypothetical behaviour under particular circumstances and the actual behaviour under such circumstances may not coincide although social scientists conducting attitude surveys usually assume.

The West faces economic facts

HOW WOULD SANCTIONS BITE?

By ESMOND FRANK

POLITICIANS have often warned that attempts to isolate South Africa further are likely to be economically and politically counterproductive while, at the same time, pose a threat to the stability of the West in the face of Soviet expansionism in Africa.

Now influential foreign financial and industrial circles, particularly in Europe, appear to be treating this warning as more than just a propaganda smokescreen put up by the National Party.

Prominent West German industrialist Jurgen Schiff, financial director of the multi-million rand Bochumer Eisenhutte Boettigmann Group, one of the world's largest manufacturers of mining, safety and security equipment, told Tribune Finance in Johannesburg the West cannot afford to loose South Africa's store of natural resources or its strategic geographical location.

Available statistics indicate that the Republic and the Soviet Union between them currently produce more than 90 percent of the world's platinum, about 80 percent of the gold, more than 60 percent of the canadium, more than 50 percent of the chromite, more than 40 percent of the seed diamonds and more than 40 percent of the industrial diamonds.

South Africa alone controls 50 percent of the non-communist world's uranium oxide resources, 70 percent of its gold, 74 percent of its chromite, 60 percent of its manganese, 70 percent of its platinum and all its amosite and asbestite.

The United States, currently South Africa's most virulent critic, is totally dependent on external sources of supply for chromite, platinum, amosite and asbestos, says Peter Vanneman, the head of strategic reviews and policy, the Hoover Institute at the University of Stanford.

Economists also point out that the United States and Japan depend for survival on an unimpeded flow of Middle East oil around the Cape.

Len Abrahamse, deputy chairman of Nedbank - Syfrets - UAL Holdings, in Middle East countries expects the next year to be one of the most difficult in the history of the company.

Sanctions and a boycott of South African goods will cost the country an estimated 15-million tons a year - it is used to power vehicles and even stringent rationing, be largely replaced by the massive Soviet coal operations which by 1981 are expected to supply 25 percent of the liquid fuel requirements.

If, however, the average growth demand is drastically reduced, the economic situation could be expected to improve faster than anticipated.

An international barrier erected against South Africa, Sposa estimates, if such a boycott would have many times the effect of local sanctions, would have far more serious consequences on the balance of payments and standards of living.

Sposa estimates that it such a boycott would have 20 percent effective, 30 000 whites and 350 000 non-whites would be out of work, while incomes would plummet by R500 million and 247 million respectively.

The balance of payments, he calculates, would be hit by R1.9 billion.

While international sanctions, if necessary, would undoubtedly hurt, they would be unlikely to bring the country to its knees in the foreseeable future.

Andrew Young, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, has already admitted South Africa could survive a full boycott as long as 20 years.

But such a total boycott would also deeply affect the United States and its allies of vitally needed raw
Love one another! 
PETROL FOR... 
RHODESIA

GEO 1 GELLING 
PETROL 
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J 7219

In the days when a gallon of petrol was a sign of love for a struggling neighbour

Britain’s Oilgate: the ‘Mail’ connection
JOHN RYAN reviews one of the world’s most adventurous sanctions busting operations:

were going into Rhodesia by road every 24 hours and about 100 000 by rail. Thus was twice the quantity needed by Rhodesia at that stage. The “Mail” disclosures came as the eyes of the world were being focussed on the antics of freebooter tankers such as the Mau- neila and the Joanna V, both of which were stopped by a British naval blockade off Beira. Significantly, the daily fuel run was supplying more oil to Rhodesia than any ship could have provided.

This time, too, the “Mail” named two of the oil companies concerned in the run: Caltex and Shell. Rhodesian tankers had been seen filling up at the Caltex depot in Pietersburg. The Shell depot in Messina was supplying fuel in drums to a variety of road transporters.

Most of the refined fuel was reported to have been dispatched from a South American refinery in Loorenco Marques.

The new “Mail” expose caused an outcry in the British Parliament—a fact which appears to have been forgotten by the Fleet Street Press in its rush now to nail all the sanctions-busters and crucify certain members of the Wilson Cabinet alongside them for alleged collusion.

Conservative MPs called on the Prime Minister to explain this “scandalous” situation. Mr. Wilson’s reply also seems to have been overlooked by the current inquisitors.

He said Britain was powerless to stop the oil run without the help of both South Africa and Portugal. And he intimated that his Government had no intention of risking British relations with South Africa, particularly by trying to force the Republic to implement sanctions against Rhodesia.

As well as disregarding Mr. Wilson’s admission on sanctions-busting, the Fleet Street exposes also ignore the fact that most of the oil run, years of frank stockpiling in Rhodesia which, after supplies had settled into a regular groove—allowed the Smith Government to gradually reduce rations until 1971, when it was completely abolished. The chronicle of sanctions-busting, as presented to the Bingham commission, only begins in 1968.

One new element in all these documented revelations is the rôle of Shell Mozambique. Jointly owned by Shell and British Petroleum, with a successful of British sanctions, the Shell Mozambique was instrumental in sending oil from Mozambique to Rhodesia in large quantities and in clearing violation of British sanctions laws. Shell Mozambique obviouly took over the distribution role from Sonarop, at a time when the Beira blockade was set to become a hot potato for the Portuguese company.

The names of the directors of Shell Mozambique were carefully shielded from the British public for more than a year.

Better-known in the period covered by the Bingham Report was the role of the French Total Company, which has sold its share of a simple “swap” system with the British supply companies, BP and Shell. At the height of the UDI issue, it was common cause that British companies, and Shell in particular, were supporting Ian Smith’s UDI forces and SA sanctions regime.

An alternative solution to the oil impasse would have been for Shell and BP to withdraw from South Africa and Mozambique.

Sir Frank, that it couldn’t control its own sanctions policy, did it’s efforts to try to keep oil companies and their staff within the country rather than in the scope of the sanctions. And it was this policy which resulted in the Total exchange proposal being developed in South Africa.

An alternative solution to the oil impasse would have been for Shell and BP to withdraw from South Africa and Mozambique.

Sir Frank added:— and who could not agree?—that the present attack on the basis of the government over its failure to collect oil sanctions should be taken with a large measure of hearsay.

“Since,” he says, “in many occasions it must have appeared that a solution to the Rhodesian problem was just around the corner.”
Kaunda: UK cheated over oil sanctions

LUSAKA — Zambia's Pres Kaunda lashed successive British Governments yesterday and accused them of cheating him over Rhodesian oil sanctions.

He said a British Prime Minister flew to Rhodesia and later to Zambia to assure him Britain would adhere to sanctions.

"They led us up the garden path that they were serious about sanctions."

"I have refused to consider the meaning of the people in Zambia being murdered by Ian Smith while he was an agent of the British Government," Pres Kaunda said.

He asked: "Is it any different from slave trade? Why does the black man continue to suffer at the hands of the so-called civilised people?"

"That the Prime Minister should fly to Rhodesia and agree with Smith to go ahead with UDI? He comes here and cheats us and tells us, Kenneth, we are going ahead with sanctions because Smith has refused to follow my line of thinking," he said.

Commenting on British oil companies which supplied Rhodesia with fuel, he said: "So now we know. Now they do so openly and yet they have known all along the line they were cheating us."

"Why should British forces come in now when the Patriotic Front is about to defeat the enemy of the people of Zambia? If they are thinking of that there can be only one reason — they are afraid the Patriotic Front is going to defeat their agent," he said.

Pres Kaunda said it was more agonising to think the people of Zambia had been suffering all along because of the madness of successive British Governments.

"The agony in me is indescribable to have cheated us into this. I can only hope and pray that I don’t become a martyr. It is much worse than Watergate where no human life was lost, but we have lost lives in oligate."

Asked whether he agreed with co-leader of the Patriotic Front, Mr Nkomo, that the all-party conference on Rhodesia was dead and buried, Dr Kaunda said: "I don’t know what Mr Nkomo says."

"But I can tell Ian Smith, Chirau, Sithole and Muzorewa, regardless of what Mr Nkomo thinks or says, the conference will not be held until the British Government is able to take the gang of four to the conference."

He also announced he had dissolved Parliament and that he would appoint an electoral commission, which would fix dates for presidential and general elections soon.

Asked whether he had detained former United Progressive Party leader, Mr Simon Kapwepwe, in connection with recent bombings on the Copperbelt, he said: "I have not detained Mr Kapwepwe. All I know is police have arrested some people in connection with the killing of 12 of our people at Chililabombwe during the party conference at Mulungushi. All these people are associated of Mr Kapwepwe." — DDC.
Sanctions: UN urged to act

NEW YORK — South Africa had declared war on the world and the enforcement of economic sanctions could no longer be held off, the United Nations was told yesterday.

Terming Mr Vorster’s decision to go it alone in South West Africa as “nothing less than a declaration of defiance and war,” chairman Leslie Harriman told a special session of the Apartheid Committee there was “no excuse for further delay.”

The UN must “accept the challenge, reinforce the arms embargo and institute mandatory economic sanctions” while also bolstering the defense of the frontline states, he said.

It was decided later at a closed-door session of the Security Council to hold off action until there was time for further consultations.

Meanwhile, in Windhoek, a member of the Namibia National Front said yesterday an armed struggle was not excluded in the NNP’s fight for a free and fair election in South West Africa as a result of the decision to go ahead with the elections.

Bitterness will be obvious, and polarisation between the races will be obvious,” Mr Shipanga told a press conference.

He said his party would boycott the elections.

Speaking at a press conference, South African opposition leader, Mr Frank Salbe, said the NNP’s moves were contrary to the role of the Organization of African Unity.

As the new UN special envoy, the NNP’s publicity and information secretary, Mr Reinhard Rukoro, said it was still too early to say anything further now.

The NNP’s central committee would meet on October 7 to decide its future strategy.

“We are going to oppose it (the election). We are going to fight it through all the avenues at our disposal,” Mr Rukoro said: “An armed struggle is not excluded.”

Mr Rukoro made it clear the NNP would not participate in any proposed election.

In Bonn, the leader of the Swappo Democrats, Mr Andreas Shipanga yesterday forecast an increase of violence in South West Africa as a result of the decision to go ahead with the elections.

“Bitterness will be obvious, and polarisation between the races will be obvious,” Mr Shipanga told a press conference.

He said his party would boycott the elections.

Speaking at a press conference, South African opposition leader, Mr Frank Salbe, said the NNP’s moves were contrary to the role of the Organization of African Unity.

None of the variables could be retained in the model.

10(1)b workers with a homeland tie (42 workers):

\[
\text{REMIT} = 5.76 + 1.8 \text{HOMEDEP} \quad (20)
\]

\[
\text{Sign level} = (0.01) (0.00)
\]

\[
R^2 = 17.2\%
\]

Variables excluded (in order of exclusion): SUBSIST, CAPEDEP, HOMERAT, TWAGE, CAPERAT (in one model);

CAPEDEP, SUBUNIT, HOMERAT, CAPERAT (in another model).
UK’s role over oil

Continued from page 1

sanctions-breaking did not contravene any South African laws, because South Africa opposed sanctions, and they were not within the jurisdiction of the British courts.

I understand that the portion of the Bingham report which has been kept secret since the request of the Director of Public Prosecutions does not directly imply any British politician.

‘Fall guy’

Mr Walker emerges as the ‘fall guy’ in the report, although the report records Shell’s submission that acceptance of the ‘swap’ with Total by the British Government was ‘inexorable if confrontation with South Africa was to be avoided’.

“It was felt by Shell,” adds the report, “to be a fairly transparent device since it involved continued contractual relations by Shell South Africa with (and facilitation of supplies to) Parry Leon and Hayhoe, who were known to be supplying Rhodesia: The only change was that the product supplied to Parry Leon and Hayhoe now belonged to Total South Africa who in exchange received products (supplied by English-incorporated Shell and BP trading companies) elsewhere in South Africa.”

Shell contended further that “those concerned naturally and foreseeably interpreted HMG’s concern as being to have a technical defence to the accusation that British oil was reaching Rhodesia.”

The report says the easiest course for Mr Walker would have been to disclose his knowledge and suspicions to Shell Centre in London and let others bear the burden of deciding what to do.

“It has not become clear to us why he did not do so. He may have wished to avoid embarrassing the Shell management in London. He may also have wished to safeguard the business he was running in South Africa.”

His awareness of very stringent South African official secrets legislation may have played a part.

“We do not think these considerations justify his conduct even if they explain it.”

Shell contended further in evidence to the Bingham inquiry that between 1966 and 1972 there was frequent talk of a ‘Rhodesian’ settlement, negotiations and “since South African help was sought in repudiating Mr. Smith to compromise there was an added reason for avoiding confrontation.”

Sir Frank Mefedrean, a former chairman of Shell Transport and Trading, told the inquiry that if Shell had refused to supply South Africa, the South Africans would have sequenced Shell’s assets.

Shell also thought South Africa had enough engineers and there was enough crude oil available to enable South Africa to run Sapsaf (the Shell/BP refinery at Durban) without Shell’s co-operation.

The report also quotes Lord Thomson, Commonwealth Secretary of State at the time, as saying Britain could not bring the Rhodesian Government to an end by sanctions, unless it was prepared to apply them against South Africa.

“We were under no circumstances willing to do that,” Lord Thomson is quoted as saying in the report.

The chairman of Shell in South Africa, Mr Ken Geering, last night told the Cape Times he had not seen the Bingham report and he did not want to comment on its contents. Other local oil company executives have declined comment on the issue for the past year.

The Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, replied “no comment” when asked if the South African Government had been informed that BP would have to consider cutting off oil to the Republic if it could not guarantee that its subsidiary here was not supplying Rhodesia.

BP chairman Sir David Steel said in London last night that BP Southern Africa had no special swap arrangement enabling oil supplies to be sent to Rhodesia, Sapa-Reuters reports.

In a personal statement he said allegations to this effect in the London Sunday Times of September 10 were unjustified, inaccurate and misleading.

The Sunday Times had claimed that a South African-owned company was sending oil to Rhodesia and had a swap arrangement involving BP.

Sir David said he had immediately put in hand an investigation.

“I am now able to confirm that there is no justification for the allegations against BP by the Sunday Times,” he said.
It is all important to consider the size of production and the number of families when assessing the level of subsistence. It is not just the size of the dependants that matters, but the total subsistence arising on the income of the dependants themselves. In the case of Cape Town, the situation was not affected by the events of homeland struggle.

We have a section on the results of the next election. Our analysis is based on 2508. The election is likely to summarise the situation in a few words. We suggest in the next issue.

LONDON. — If Shell and BP had cut off oil supplies to South Africa to prevent oil reaching Rhodesia this probably would have provoked an "economic confrontation" with South Africa which the British Government wanted to avoid at all costs, says the Bingham report, published here yesterday.

The 410-page report, with 85 pages of annexes including confidential correspondence between the oil companies, reveals how Shell and BP supplied Rhodesia with oil for 10 years in defiance of United Nations sanctions resolutions.

It is clear that the report also points to the ambiguous role of the British Government, which knew for example of the "swap" arrangement under which BP and Shell supplied Total with oil, and Total in turn supplied Rhodesia with an equivalent quantity of oil.

In evidence to the Bingham inquiry, Shell contended that it had been "the subject not only of a conflict between the policies of the British and South African governments, but also of an irreconcilable conflict between the policy of the Sanctions Orders (which Shell thought could only be safely complied with by cutting off supplies to South Africa) and the policy of the government that there should be no economic confrontation with South Africa".

Publication of the Bingham report has already raised a political storm in Britain. The Liberal leader, Mr. David Steel, yesterday demanded a full public inquiry into the breaking of oil sanctions by Shell and BP, and the Conservative shadow foreign secretary, Mr. John Davies, said his party wanted to know why the Labour government had not made a "clean breast" of its position at the time when it was faced with accepting the breaking of sanctions.

The cabinet will meet tomorrow under the prime minister, Mr. Callaghan, to consider the next step. The report does not deal with the question of criminal responsibility, although it permits an annexure which apparently could be prejudicial to certain people.

The Labour government is apprehensive about the effect the report could have on African governments, now that it has been disclosed that nearly 2508 tons of oil poured into Rhodesia between 1968 and 1975 in defiance of sanctions.

The report adds, however, that the top management of the oil companies in London and the British Government were not aware of the precise details of how oil was reaching them.

The maize workers with whom we spoke were therefore likely to have been affected. The maize workers with whom we spoke were therefore likely to have been affected.

Certain variables tended to cluster together and were directly related to each other. We found that the size of land cultivated, maize yield, number...
Owen’s pledge on sanctions

Mercury Correspondent

LONDON — A delegation headed by two Labour MPs, Mr. Bob Hughes and Miss Joan Lester, national chairman of the Labour Party, saw Foreign Secretary David Owen yesterday to urge, if necessary, extending sanctions against Rhodesia to include South Africa.

Dr. Owen told the delegation, which was from the Anti-Apartheid Movement, that he would consider the proposal carefully, along with others they presented to him.

In reply to the plea for sanctions against South Africa, he quoted from his book in which he said he recognised that the only way to effectively employ sanctions against Rhodesia was to apply them against South Africa.

Argument

Miss Lester, speaking after the meeting, pointed out that the main argument against South African sanctions had been on economic grounds — that Britain could not afford such action.

But with the present economic climate in South Africa that was no longer so crucial an issue and, in fact, trade with the rest of Africa was superseding this, she said.

Relations

Prior recommendations put to Dr. Owen by the delegation in the light of the Bingham Report were that the British Government should establish an inquiry to examine the nature and extent of bilateral relations between Britain and South Africa which "served to un-
‘Oil boycott not a danger...yet’

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Deputy Political Editor

THE CHANCES of an effective oil boycott being mounted against South Africa are slim at present, a senior researcher at the Africa Institute, said yesterday.

Mr Theo Malan was commenting on the threat of economic sanctions in view of South Africa's decision to hold elections in South West Africa in defiance of the United Nations.

South Africa has no natural oil resources and her dependence on imported oil has long been regarded as a potential Achilles heel for her enemies and she has been hit after the event of economic war.

In an article in the Africa Institute's Bulletin, Mr Malan highlighted the key facts about South Africa's dependence on oil. Although 75% of South Africa’s power needs are supplied from coal, South Africa is still heavily dependent on imports to provide her daily oil requirements of about 320,000 barrels.

South Africa’s oil-from-coal project, Sasol I, provides only about 5% of the oil needs, with Iran supplying almost all the remaining 95%.

Iran, which has shares in the South African-based Nalpur refinery, has repeatedly rejected demands that it use its oil as a weapon for political objectives in South Africa or any other country.

Mr Malan gave two reasons yesterday for his belief that an effective oil boycott would be difficult to mount:

- The present situation of over-supply of oil and abundance of productive capacity makes it unlikely that oil could become a significant weapon.
- The problems of policing any boycott.

On the second point, Mr Malan noted that 65% of all Middle Eastern oil, accounting for more than 40% of world consumption, was transported along the Cape route.

Given that between 16,000 and 20,000 ships called at South African ports annually, the question arose of who would police the coastline and harbours to ensure that oil did not flow into South Africa from berthing tankers.

South Africa, Mr Malan said, has stockpiled oil and could make it last at least four years. But Mr Malan warned against dismissing sanctions as "impossible" or of little consequence.

Import replacement would help to lessen the impact of a trade boycott, while South Africa’s rich reserves of strategically important metals would make it difficult for her trading partners to close their markets to South African exports.

But, Mr Malan cautioned, where Rhodesia has its lifeline into South Africa, "South Africa is without a rich and influential friend across her borders, and will stand alone in the event of sanctions."

In addition, the maximum number of sheep a family had was found to be 105. By way of contrast, at least half of the workers with a rural tie owned no sheep at all.

2.9 Factors Influencing the Number of Cattle and Sheep Owned

We endeavoured to find factors that influenced the number of cattle and sheep owned by using backward stepwise regressions. Our results are summarised by the following equations:

\[
CATTLE = 0.086 \text{TWAGE} + 0.25 \text{EDUCAT} + 1.15 \text{HSA} + 0.71 \text{HSC}
\]

Sign. Level (0.05) (0.06) (0.00) (0.01)

\[R^2 = 14.9\%
\]

Variables excluded (in sequence given): HWC, HWMN, HNC, AGE, HUA, REMT, HWA, HUC, HNA.

\[
SHEEP = -9.97 + 0.52 \text{TWAGE} + 7.0 \text{HWMN} + 2.1 \text{HSC}
\]

Sign. Level (0.00) (0.00) (0.01) (0.01)

\[R^2 = 16.0\%
\]
OAU's demand for oil boycott

By RICHARD WALKER
NEW YORK — The Organisation of African Unity last night threw its weight behind the call for positive action against South Africa and pledged help for stopped-up fighting by SwaP.

At the same time, it called on blacks in South West Africa to boycott the planned elections.

The OAU statement was issued as the Security Council continued private consultations over the crisis and established a hard-line African stand.

The OAU demanded the West's support for "immediate measures" to teach South Africa a lesson.

It was now the West's duty to support "tough sanctions including a mandatory oil embargo," it said.

It then urged blacks in the territory to remember the lesson of "Stillborn" Transkei and Bophuthatswana and the 18-year "farc" of Rhodesian independence.

"The Africans in Namibia have time to avoid this disaster falling upon them," it said. "They should all rise and say 'No' to Vorster's proposed elections, to a constituent assembly which is calculated to prevent SwaP from winning an independent Namibia.

"The OAU will continue to support SwaP in the armed struggle until every inch of Namibia is liberated, no matter the results of the proposed bogus elections."

In London yesterday, SwaP appealed to communist countries for all-out military aid to step up its fight against South African rule in SWA.

The SwaP vice-president, Mr. M.meke Muyengco, voiced the call at a press conference, reports Sam-Reuters.

"We will intensify the armed struggle and liquidate whichever puppet regime Pretoria is going to install in Namibia," he said.

Mr. Muyengco, speaking under portrait of Marxist leaders, including the Cuban president, Dr. Fidel Castro, said: "We call upon our friends, especially the socialist countries, to render all-out military assistance to SwaP, including hardware and technical know-how, so that we can effectively wage the war to its logical conclusion."

Mr. Muyengco added that SwaP would need to be convinced very strongly before cooperating again with Western peace moves.

"We don't want to be taken for a ride any more," he said.

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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) This change is attributable to the increase in the price of sheep and the decrease in the price of cattle.

(2) The data for the years 1963-64 to 1971-72 are shown in Table 22.

On one hand a

In contrast to the percentage of

Total

= 172

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
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<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 22

Indicators
Urgent action by U.K. to calm Kaunda

Mercury Correspondent

LONDON — In an urgent move to mollify President Kaunda of Zambia, who is angry over oil sanctions-busting, the British Government is expected to offer Zambia further financial aid, promise to bring the sanctions-breakers to book, and take a tougher stand against South Africa.

This lies behind yesterday's sudden departure from London of Prime Minister Mrs. Callaghan, and the Foreign Secretary, Dr. Owen, for Nairobi, where they will meet President Kaunda for crucial discussions on southern Africa.

Dr. Sheku M'atho, Zambian Foreign Minister, was on his way from Nairobi to New York, interrupted his journey at London yesterday to fly to Kaunda in Nigeria to urge President Kaunda for the talks.

The British Government feels it is vital in South Africa that deteriorating badly in Rhodesia, South Africa, and even in South Africa itself.

It is felt Mr. Vorster's successor will be feeling his way at a time when imaginative decisions are needed.

The Times reported yesterday in its main front-page story that President Kaunda was trying to persuade other African States to retaliate against British interests in Africa.

He had said today that he was trying to persuade the Nigerian Government to request the release of BP and Shell workers imprisoned in the Rhodesia Repub. for the maintenance of sanctions-busters in Rhodesia.

The Times pointed out that, although many of Britain's main companies were represented in Zambia and Nigeria, it was that which was due to grant financial aid to Zambia in excess of the £45m promised earlier in the year.

It is recognised that President Kaunda is faced with economic and polling problems in his country.
Trade may save SA from sanctions

230

 Pretoria — South Africa's trade statistics show its dependence on the United States. From the 979 million dollars of trade, only 7.74 million dollars came from the United States. The balance of 971.26 million dollars was from the European Economic Community (EEC) and other countries. The trade deficit with the United States was 7.74 million dollars, while the trade surplus with the EEC was 971.26 million dollars. This shows the importance of the EEC as a market for South Africa. However, it is clear that sanctions have had a detrimental effect on South Africa's economy.

Continuity Plan

The recent economic sanctions imposed on South Africa by the United States and the EEC have had a significant impact on the South African economy. The sanctions have affected various sectors, including agriculture, mining, and manufacturing. The government has responded by implementing a continuity plan to ensure the smooth running of the economy. This plan includes measures to diversify the economy, reduce dependence on the EEC, and increase exports to other markets.

The sanctions have also had a negative impact on the country's tourism industry. The government has taken steps to promote domestic tourism and to attract visitors from other countries. This includes offering discounts and promotions for domestic tourists and increasing marketing efforts to attract international visitors.

In conclusion, the sanctions have had a significant impact on South Africa's economy. However, the government's continuity plan and efforts to diversify the economy show that the country is determined to overcome the challenges posed by the sanctions.
0.1 Introduction

What do African workers do they try to resolve their grievances at work and how does solidarity exist between their families? How do African workers embrace these ties do African workers effect their wages in their families own? How do these

These are some of the questions which have asked African workers in his paper. Twenty years have horst was last conducted dealing in labour force in the Cape this paper are from a recent study, but places greater emphasis on the rural situation of urban workers.

Two hundred and el interviewed the period from November 1975 to F have arisen and the workers at their to interview each the suspicions that could could have been imposed by interviewing management's eye, two African men were employed to conduct the interviews in the townships of Langa and Guguletu as well as in the squatter settlements of Crossroads and KTC ("Dutch Location").

An interview schedule, based on a pilot survey completed a few months earlier, was prepared and a stratified sample was chosen. The stratification was based on each type of living quarters, and within each type a certain number of houses, rooms or beds, whichever applicable, was systematically selected. Most interviews were conducted in Xhosa and lasted about two hours. There were few refusals and a wide variety of reasons was given for refusing. A systematic method of replacing refusals was also

---

1. Sheila T. Van der Horst (1964); the field work was carried out over the years 1955 to 1957.

2. The living quarters were divided into the following types:
   
   Guguletu: Residential area (permanent residents only); Barracks (BAD); Employers' Barracks; Section 3 near Klipfontein Road (residential area for migrant labourers only); KTC ("Dutch Location", squatters).
   
   Langa: Residential area (permanent residents only); Old Flats; New Flats; Main Barracks; North Barracks; Zones; Special Bachelor Quarters.
   
3. Even though systematic sampling was employed this did not introduce a bias into the sampling because the population was not systematically distributed. See C.A. Moser and G. Kalton, Survey Methods in Social Investigation (Heinemann, 1971), p.83.
New York: The UN Security Council has renewed sanctions against South Africa, the second time in a year, in response to the international community's concern over the country's nuclear ambitions and its non-compliance with United Nations resolutions. The council voted unanimously to extend the sanctions for another six months.

The sanctions include an embargo on exports of gold and technology to South Africa, a ban on new investments in the country, and a travel ban on its leaders. These measures were first imposed in November 1986 after the South African government's nuclear testing.

The resolution was adopted by the council without opposition, reflecting the international community's growing pressure on South Africa to halt its nuclear aspirations. The resolution also calls for South Africa to comply with the terms of the resolution and to engage in multilateral negotiations to resolve the issue.

The move is a significant development in the international community's efforts to pressure South Africa to abandon its nuclear program and adhere to its obligations under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The sanctions are expected to further isolate South Africa and limit its ability to pursue its nuclear ambitions.

The resolution was introduced by the United States, with the support of 14 other UN members. It was the result of intense diplomacy and协商 among countries with varying interests in South Africa's nuclear program.

The resolution also calls for the International Atomic Energy Agency to continue its monitoring of South Africa's nuclear activities and to report back to the council on its findings.

The council's move is seen as a signal of the international community's determination to enforce its resolutions and to hold South Africa accountable for its actions.

The sanctions are expected to have a significant impact on South Africa's economy, as exports of gold and technology are major earners for the country. The embargo is also expected to limit South Africa's access to new investments and technology.

The move is welcomed by countries concerned about the spread of nuclear weapons and proliferation, and it is seen as a positive step towards a peaceful resolution of the issue.
UN sanctions threat mount

UNITED NATIONS — As the Western threat of economic sanctions mounted here yesterday, New Zealand Premier Robert Muldoon lashed South Africa and warned: apartheid is suicidal.

The sanctions threat and pledges of participation in the baulked United Nations South West Africa operation were delivered within minutes of the General Assembly's annual world debate being launched.

Mr Muldoon said apartheid was not only wrong — it was suicidal.

"Institutionalised racism offers no hope of a peaceful future for South Africa. It must be abandoned. Change must come. There is no other way," he said.

"The delusion of those in power in South Africa that they can succeed if they are tough and determined enough is a delusion common to governments which refuse to listen to the voices of those they oppress.

"Sooner or later those voices make themselves heard and the result is both predictable and destructive. There is still time to avoid that result in South Africa, but not much.

"New Zealand is utterly opposed to apartheid."

His Government was ready this session to ratify both the international covenant on political and civil rights, the international covenant on economic, social and cultural rights, and the genocide convention.

On South West Africa, he said the efforts of the West and the "troline" states had brought encouraging progress towards independence.

"It would be tragic if progress was held up through transience," he said.

New Zealand was anxious to help in the South West Africa free election process.

Norway signalled the Nordic group of nations' readiness to support sanctions, terming Pretoria's go-it-alone decision an arrogant challenge.

Foreign Minister Knut Drydenblad insisted new measures must be taken against South Africa if it rejected further cooperation with the UN.

The first pledge came from Japan which called the South African decision "most deplorable" and called for the UN plan to be set in motion despite South Africa's rejection.

"My country intends to participate actively in the envisaged United Nations operation," Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda said.

But Mr Muldoon made no mention of his bitter conflict with Africa over his stand on sport contacts with South Africa.

Mr Drydenblad insisted that even full co-operation over South West Africa should not deter further action against South Africa.

The world community had no other choice but to increase the pressure, he said.

Markedly in contrast was Brazil, which referred only briefly to "the inhuman policy of apartheid" and ignored the South West Africa storm.

Expressing "cautious satisfaction" over apparent progress, Foreign Minister Antonio Azeredo da Silveira said Brazil anxiously looked forward to welcoming a free and sovereign Namibia into the UN. — DDC-SAPA-RNS.
sanctions against SA

The Norwegian government announced economic sanctions against South Africa, and pledged to participate in the UN-backed sanctions campaign. The Norwegian Foreign Minister, Mr. Sørli, said that South Africa's continued violations of human rights would be "a disaster for the world".

Norway and Japan back

More than three courses

1/3

1/3

2/3
NEW YORK — South Africa cannot tackle its social problems without continuing improvement in its economy, the director of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa (Ascom) said in New York this week.

Mr Raymond Parsons told a news conference on Monday that South Africa would survive economic sanctions.

"They would certainly hurt our economy, but they could be handled," he said.

"Moreover, sanctions would be absurd — they would only deflect our resources from social problems to the problem of survival. They would hurt most the people they are intended to help," Mr Parsons said.

Mr Parsons emphasised he spoke only for the private business community. He said he felt South Africa was emerging from "a few bad years".

"We had negative economic growth last year, we had riots in 1976-77, we had a loss of confidence by the business and private communities."

But in the past few months there has been improvement in the balance of payments and consumer confidence, "and our rate of inflation, though still high, has been on a lower trend," he said.

"South Africa is going through a period of change — we are making progress in improving the lot of the black community," he said.

He noted there were two commissions now drawing up guidelines that will enable black workers to organise into trade unions.

"Certainly the environment has changed. At least the business community feels it is essential to create a black managerial class," Mr Parsons said.

One reason why black managers had to be trained was purely economic.

"We have run out of a white market — the black market is still growing. The black businessman is knocking at our door."

"The goal must be "not to obstruct change but to smooth the way to change," he said.

"We must be able to assure a return on money that would make it worth while putting up with hassles created by political pressures," he said.

Mr Parsons said the South African business community did not expect any fundamental change in policy, whoever was elected Prime Minister on Thursday. — UPI.
West avoids sanctions talk

NEW YORK — The Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, and the Western Powers were yesterday trying to steer away from immediate talk of imposing sanctions on South Africa because of the Government’s rejection of his report on South West Africa.

But the African members of the Security Council would support adoption of the Waldheim Report on SWA and call for sanctions if South Africa did not cooperate in its implementation by October 5, says a working paper circulating among the African group.

The West is appealing to South Africa to reconsider its position and cooperate in a UN-monitoring of the territory’s elections and move to independence.

In the General Assembly yesterday, Canada’s Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Donald Jamieson, reiterated that South Africa’s claim that the Waldheim Report disregarded the Western proposal, was not valid.

The West German Foreign Minister, Mr. Hans Dietrich Genscher, indicated that the EEC countries refused to accept the South African Government’s rejection as final and definitive.

"South Africa is playing into the hands of those who advocated violent solutions in southern Africa."

The foreign ministers of the five Western Powers called their Ambassadors in Pretoria to New York last night for consultations before the Security Council meeting, which they hope will be called tomorrow.

They said afterwards they were not talking beyond endorsing the Waldheim Report.

The Africans, however, appear determined to get a resolution that would pose a strict time frame for South Africa’s cooperation in implementing the plan and to threaten mandatory sanctions if the South African Government failed to do so or pressed on with an internal settlement in SWA.

Dr. Waldheim yesterday told West German correspondents his report was designed to secure peace in the territory, and at this stage it did not involve action under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter.

He stressed that he wanted to avoid confrontation because the cooperation of all parties was necessary.

"Condemnation of South Africa now could create a critical situation, he said.

—SAPA.
The SA government's rejection of the UN plan on Namibia has made it difficult for the Western powers to resist determined African demands for tougher Security Council action against SA, according to official circles in London. Never before has the possibility of sanctions been discussed so freely in Whitehall. For Britain in particular it would be extremely awkward to veto such proposals in the wake of the Bingham inquiry, which revealed what many Africans regard as British duplicity over the breaches by oil companies (apparently with some official connivance) of Rhodesian sanctions.

At the end of last year — the last occasion when African demands for economic action against SA had built up — the Western powers dissuaded the Africans with some difficulty from pressing their proposals to a Council vote. The arguments then used were that Pretoria was co-operating with the Western contact group over Namibia, and that SA might also help to produce an internationally acceptable settlement in Rhodesia. Sanctioning, it was argued, would jeopardize hopes on both counts. But now, with the Western diplomacy over Namibia in ruins, and with no obvious progress in Rhodesia, the West is deprived of its reasoned opposition to tough anti-SA measures.

Not that the West will immediately capitulate to African demands; its first line of action will be to press for the passing by the Security Council of the Waldheim proposals, regardless of their rejection by SA. There is a chance that African demands for immediate sanctions may be held off by the setting of a time limit for Pretoria to comply, under the threat of Western-supportive punitive action, with the UN plan.

Whether this compromise will be accepted at the UN remains to be seen. Ambassador Leslie Harriman, the Nigerian chairman of the UN special committee on apartheid, said last week that the UN could do "nothing less" than recognize that the situation in Namibia constituted a threat to international peace, and he called for "total mandatory sanctions" against SA.

None of the Western powers has so far declared that it will block such mandatory measures. Before leaving London for New York at the beginning of the week, Britain's David Owen specifically stated that he was not opposed to sanctions, although these would have to be carefully prepared if they were to have the desired effect. This, he said, was a lesson of the Bingham inquiry. Britain would not rush into anything — but neither would it lag behind, he stressed.

### Table 6: Matriculation and Senior Certificate Enrolments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Matriculation and Senior Certificate</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>382 2 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>406 2 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>432 2 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>462 2 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>512 2 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>572 2 90</td>
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### Table 5: Enrolment of Full-Time and Part-Time Technical Courses (Excl. M.Sultan College)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Course</th>
<th>1966-67</th>
<th>1967-68</th>
<th>1968-69</th>
<th>1969-70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.Sultan College</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4: Enrolment of Full-Time and Part-Time Technical Courses (Excl. M.Sultan College)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Course</th>
<th>1966-67</th>
<th>1967-68</th>
<th>1968-69</th>
<th>1969-70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.Sultan College</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only institution providing technical training for Indians is the M.Sultan College, which was established in 1965, referred to in the table as M.Sultan College, Excl. The college has an enrolment of 246 students in the year 1966-67, and an annual intake of 12 students. More recently, the college has expanded its facilities and increased its intake.
Sanctions would mean ‘immediate petrol rationing’

Defence Correspondent

If the Western world imposed sanctions against South Africa the Government would immediately introduce petrol rationing in the Republic, Major-General Neil Webster, Director-General of Resources for the Defence Force, said in Durban yesterday.

For this reason it was important that the Safe Ride scheme for servicemen should be fully implemented and, tested throughout the country now, he added.

The eight oil companies operating in South Africa had each given R1,000 to publicise the scheme which, at present, applied only to National Servicemen undergoing basic training.

"Ultimately — and sooner if sanctions come — it will apply to everybody in uniform and will step up public involvement in the part they can play in assisting the Defence Force."

"There are at present 1,200 pick-up points at filling stations throughout the country since the scheme was launched less than a month ago. Eventually there will be more than 4,000," he said.

General Webster conceded that the scheme was suffering from "teething troubles" but he felt these would disappear when the public became more fully aware of it.

He appealed to motorists not to by-pass towns and, consequently, the pick-up points — especially on Fridays and at weekends."
Labour Party votes for oil sanctions against SA

LONDON — South Africa came under powerful attack at the Labour Party conference at Blackpool yesterday when delegates voted unanimously for United Nations sanctions against it.

The conference called on the Government to apply effective sanctions against Rhodesia and to work at the United Nations "towards a mandatory ban on all trade with apartheid South Africa and in the first instance to support the proposal at the UN for mandatory oil sanctions against South Africa."

Although the Government does not support sanctions against South Africa yet, left wing Mrs Judith Hart, Minister of Overseas Development, told the conference: "We have called for an end to trade and investment in South Africa. This presents many economic problems, but we have to face them to disengage from trade in South Africa."

Delegates heard the Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, warn that a South African-backed internal settlement in South West Africa could lead to open South African support for the Rhodesian internal settlement and to South Africa abandoning any influence on Salisbury to achieve a negotiated settlement.

Dr Owen said he hoped that, in the next few weeks, before the Security Council debate on South West Africa, "wiser counsels will prevail and that we will be able to get a United Nations settlement for Namibia.

Dr Owen said Southern Africa, faced a grave crisis. Rejection of the United Nations settlement for South West Africa by Mr Vorster had been a major blow, but the new Government had assured Britain that it had not closed the door.

Failure to involve the UN in a settlement in South West Africa would almost certainly have serious repercussions for a settlement in Rhodesia.

Dr Owen rejected categorically proposals that Britain should return to Rhodesia and take it over.

"We have never administered Rhodesia," he said, "and we are not about to embark in disastrous circumstances on any desperate act of recolonisation."

Britain could not go it alone. The message to those in Salisbury was clear: "If we are to be involved they must accept the involvement of the UN as well."

The conference made it clear to the Government that there will be reactions inside the party unless the Government authorises the holding of a full public inquiry.
against SA 

Labour votes

280

Although the Cabinet today decided to lift the ban on South Africa, the government has not given up hope of finding a peaceful solution to the crisis in that country. The government has been engaged in talks with various South African leaders to find a way forward. The government hopes that these talks will lead to a resolution of the crisis and a return to peace and stability in South Africa.

The government has also been working with the United Nations and other international organizations to support efforts to resolve the crisis in South Africa. The government is committed to working with all parties to find a peaceful solution to the crisis.

The government has been providing assistance to South African refugees and asylum seekers who have fled their country due to the crisis. The government has also been working with South African embassies and consulates around the world to provide support to South African citizens who are stranded abroad.

The government has been engaging with the South African government to find ways to support the country during this time of crisis. The government is committed to working with all parties to find a peaceful solution to the crisis in South Africa.

The government has been working with other countries in the region to find ways to support South Africa during this time of crisis. The government is committed to working with all parties to find a peaceful solution to the crisis in South Africa.
THE FIVE WESTERN FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL ARRIVE IN PRETORIA NEXT WEEK, WITH AN ARSENAL OF SELECTED SANCTIONS TO INDUCE SOUTH AFRICAN CO-OPERATION ON THE MODERATED WALTHERMANN PLAN FOR SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

BY BERNAARD WESSELS

FIVE TO POSE

5/10/78 280

Oil ban threat
GUY BERNARD reports from Washington that the US Secretary of State, Mr. Henry Kissinger, has been negotiating a new Middle East peace conference. The conference is expected to begin in the next few weeks. Mr. Kissinger has been in the US on Tuesday to meet with the Secretary of State, Mr. Harold Brown, and to discuss the possibility of a Middle East peace conference.

The conference is expected to be attended by representatives of all Arab countries and Israel. The aim of the conference is to achieve a lasting peace in the Middle East and to resolve the Israeli-Arab conflict.

The conference is expected to be a major event in the Middle East peace process, and it is hoped that it will lead to a lasting peace in the region.
## SOME MEASURES OF CHILD NUTRITION IN SOUTH AFRICA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>SAMPLE</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>%Below Boston 3rd percentile</th>
<th>%Below 85% Std Arm</th>
<th>OTHER MEASURES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Representative sample of 380 children, in various areas</td>
<td>2-6 yrs</td>
<td>40.3⁺</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kwashiorkor 3.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>709 nursery school children</td>
<td>2-6 yrs</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marasmus 1.4%</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rickets 4.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Johannesburg** pre-1973 882 preschool children at urban clinic

3. **Soweto**, 18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean income: R180,30 per month.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 - 5 29.7 56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 9 38.9 55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 12 45.4 55.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 - 16 38.3 45.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. **Cape Town** 1955 964 children in outpatient and casualty.

5. **Cape Town** 1962-63 101 children with diarrhoea

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6/12-12 yrs 41.1⁺</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 28 months 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43 controls 21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marasmus 4%, pre-kwashiorkor 2%
Rickets 6%, head circ. >3rd %tile: 26%
the poorest people in a form they can easily assimilate.

At Ipotzi however advertisement was directed specifically at the very poor and mothers of malnourished children. It happened that poor people then recruited their equally poor neighbours and there was particularly good initial response from an extremely poor area where people from white farms had put up their shacks. Before this new initiative amongst the very poor the previously existing Zenzele group (which had functioned mainly as a chat club) had never actually got the garden ploughed, whereas now these old members have plots too.

1.4 One woman whom I spoke to at Umthi said that she had not joined the garden because she was too poor. She said that she had no husband and fields, no stock, no money. She is perpetually on the lookout for a man, a security.

2.1 While it seems more educated people do get into the gardens, the poor do not.

2.2 At Abalimi (the only place where I could get records concerning this type of information) I found that in 1976 the garden was established 20 people with fields joined and 19 people without fields joined. Since then only 8 people with fields have joined whereas 26 people without fields have joined.

2.3 The extension officer of Abalimi says that it is people without fields who work the hardest. In Abalimi people have from 1-11 plots depending on how many they can cultivate. There are 4 people who have more than 1 plot of these 3 have no fields. Of the 10 top people in the garden (in terms of production) 8 have no fields.

2.4 In Umthi and Ipotzi too, a high proportion of the people who have the best plots have no fields although in both these places it is difficult to make generalizations because they are so new.

3. Initially I tried to assess on a comparative scale between gardens in different areas whether there are variations in response according to the conditions in the area. That is, whether more use is made of gardens in areas where the resources made available through them (nearby water, land, fencing, fertile soil) are scarce.

For example in the two very fertile areas of Umthi and Abalimi one garden has failed and the other succeeded. Superficially these made

4.4 CONCLUSION

Let me note here that in Umthi at least, it appears that of all the communal gardens begun, more have failed completely than exist at the moment. It seems that unless advertisement is directed specifically at the very poor, richer people get involved first. One can attribute this to the fact that generally all professional and business people are involved in any
Botswana doubts the success of sanctions

NEW YORK. -- Botswana has expressed doubts about the effectiveness of economic sanctions against South Africa if it persists in refusing to cooperate with the United Nations over the question of South West Africa.

"The wrecking by South Africa of the peaceful settlement efforts poses a great danger for countries bordering on Namibia," Botswana's External Affairs Minister, Mr. Archibald Mogwe, told the General Assembly last night.

Botswana, therefore, still urged the five Western members of the Security Council, whose independence plan for SWA has been the focus of discussion, to muster and marshal all their negotiating abilities in an attempt to end South Africa's war in the path of peace and an internationally accepted solution.

Mr. Mogwe said: "While we concede that sanctions could be made effective, the collective will and concerted action, our cumulative experience in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) has seriously brought into doubt the efficacy of sanctions where these are weighed against the immediate and economic considerations."

The Botswana Minister condemned South Africa's unilateral decision to hold elections in SWA without UN supervision, and also took note of a recent declaration by Pretoria that the door to further negotiations on the matter was not completely shut.

Mr. Mogwe said Botswana was willing to consider sending experienced civil service personnel to serve with the civilian component of the proposed UN mission in SWA transition to independence.

It was also ready to pledge its cooperation in ensuring that no acts mimicking the effective implementation of the SANTEL settlement proposals would be permitted from Botswana's territory.

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Valium girl 'no problem child'

AN 18-YEAR-OLD girl who was found guilty yesterday of possessing 100 Valium tablets had a protected upbringing and was not a problem child, said her father.

Teresa Hendricks of 82 Porges Street, Randfontein, appeared before Mr. E. Un Brandt in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court. She pleaded guilty to possessing 100 ten-milligram tablets.

"I don't know what was going on," she said to the court, and gave her the tablets to pass on to a man named Gordon who lived at a Johannesburg hotel during a long weekend at the end of last month.

Dr. Hendricks is being brought out to South Africa by the Students' Visiting Lecturers Organisation at the recommendation of the History Department and the Society.

I am most indebted to my comrades for the hard work that they have done this year. Their dedication to their task is evidenced by the smooth running of films, entertainments and the general administration of the Society. Their suggestions have been useful, their interest has been keen, and we wish those of them who are leaving the portals of this university a successful and stimulating future. We are also very sad to bid adieu to one of our most respected and well-loved members, Robin Hallett, who, as a lecturer vitally interested in the history of Africa in general and of Cape Town in particular, has played a role in South Africa. I am most indebted to my comrades for the hard work that they have done this year. Their dedication to their task is evidenced by the smooth running of films, entertainments and the general administration of the Society. Their suggestions have been useful, their interest has been keen, and we wish those of them who are leaving the portals of this university a successful and stimulating future. We are also very sad to bid adieu to one of our most respected and well-loved members, Robin Hallett, who, as a lecturer vitally interested in the history of Africa in general and of Cape Town in particular, has played a role in South Africa.
Three threats won't help

Editorial Opinion

10 — Daily Dispatch Thursday October 12, 1978
Suzman speaks out against SA sanctions

LONDON — Both Mrs Helen Suzman and Botswana's Minister of External Affairs, Mr Archibald Mogwe have come out against imposing sanctions on South Africa.

Mrs Suzman told a London audience that economic development in South Africa was a weapon against apartheid and that trade sanctions would only result in chaos, with the blacks the first to suffer.

"I don't believe that chaos is necessary for reform," she told a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Club at the Cafe Royal.

"People living thousands of miles away from South Africa also, I believe, have no right to advocate bloodshed."

She said economic development would give blacks the "third power" to move with authority into the social and political fields. Their contribution as skilled and semi-skilled workers and administrators would be their "main bargaining counter" against apartheid.

Mrs Suzman said young black radicals said they did not mind bloodshed to hasten the revolution, but this was not the opinion of the majority, black and white. Hundreds of thousands of South Africans — "those with jobs, those supporting families" — were still hoping for a peaceful solution, but that boycotts would damage the chance.

She warned that if the United Nations applied mandatory sanctions on South Africa it would be impossible to lift them because a single superpower veto — Russia's — would make them irreversible.

In the meantime, she said, South Africa itself had to "get a move on" along the road to reform.

At the United Nations, Botswana has expressed doubts about the effectiveness of imposing economic sanctions against South Africa if it persisted in refusing to cooperate with the UN over the question of South West Africa.

"The wrecking by South Africa of the peaceful settlement efforts poses great dangers for countries bordering on Namibia," Botswana's Foreign Minister, Mr Archie Mogwe, told the General Assembly.

Mr Mogwe said: "While we concede that sanctions could be made effective given the collective will and concerted action, our sad experience in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) has seriously brought into doubt the efficacy of sanctions where these are weighed against mercantile and economic considerations." — SAPA

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**CONFERENCE ON THE ECONOMICS OF HEALTH CARE — SEPTEMBER 1978**

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British workers boycott SA orders

Argus Bureau

LONDON. — Two thousand workers at Britain's R720-million a-year International Computers group are boycotting all work on South African orders because of the company's sale of two powerful computers to the South African Police.

According to an official of their union, the technical, administrative and supervisory section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, the 'unilateral and unofficial action' by the workers has been in force for three weeks.

'And, if anything, the tendency will be for action to escalate because all the trade unions involved feel very strongly about this,' said Mr Ian Benson, Birmingham organiser of the technical, administrative and supervisory section (TASS).

So far, the other unions involved in the row with International Computers (ICL) over the South African Police order have not taken direct action.

But on October 30 a top-level delegation from the strongest unions representing ICL's 33,000 British workers will meet the deputy managing director, Mr Peter Ellis, to press for a halt to work on the order.

The company has told us that it has already sent the actual machines — two ICL 2900s to replace the existing ICL 1900 — to South Africa,' said Mr Benson.

DON'T KNOW

But we don't know when this happened or whether it is true.

'Even if it has it will not be the end of the story because the machines require software, maintenance, spare parts and upgrading, all from Britain,' without which they could soon present problems.'

Mr Benson said the TASS members' move had 'the support of the union although there is no national ban as yet.'

At the headquarters of the Association of Scientific, and Technical and managerial Staffs (ASTMS) in London, a spokesman, Miss Ann Schuman, said: 'Our members have passed a motion which very strongly requested ICL to cancel the order because these machines would be used in part to administer the pass laws in South Africa.'

LITTLE SUCCESS

Mr Benson added: 'We have been attempting to convince the company they are losing out in business with the rest of Africa because of their policy of trading with South Africa. But we have had little success so far.'

ICL's turnover in Africa has shot up in the last four years, from nearly R26-million in 1973 to R69-million last year. A large part of this comprised sales in South Africa.
Sanctions threat from UN chief

By Richard Walker

New York

The UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, made a last-ditch personal appeal to South Africa to accept the United Nations Namibia operation after delivering his sternest warning ever of the consequences of maintaining its policies.

"Apartheid is not only immoral and inhuman, but is also a grave danger to international peace and security," he told the General Assembly — using the code words necessary to invoke mandatory sanctions against the Republic.

Then he called in South Africa's mission chief, Mr. Adriaan Ekssteen, in order to keep him in the loop for UN oversen Namibian independence, and his accord assurances and clarifications in response to the Republic's objections.

Mr. Ekssteen was "flying home last night with his message, arriving two days ahead of US Secretary of State Mr. Cyrus Vance and the Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, West Germany and Canada.

Experience now proved that South African policies can only lead to resistance, repression and increased violence," Dr. Waldheim told the 199-nation world body in a special session to mark Nelson
Oil embargo against SA is ‘only way’

OWN CORRESPONDENT
NEW YORK. A total oil embargo against South Africa was the only way to squeeze Rhodesia dry, the United Nations Security Council sanctions committee was told in a tense session in which Britain was bluntly accused of lying to protect the Smith government.

The only alternative was “effective and verifiable guarantee” that no South African oil will reach Rhodesia, it was charged, by a British specialist, who testified in the closed-door session.

He is Mr. Bernard Rivers, a member of the team that has campaigned on the issue for several years and whose investigations were primarily responsible for the British Government ordering the Bingham report.

Lying

With British, French and American diplomats facing it across the table, Mr. Rivers accused the British Government of lying to the council committee two years ago and the others of “completely failing to deal satisfactorily with the allegations” that their oil companies were secretly supplying Rhodesia.

He estimated Rhodesia’s intake at 16,000 barrels a day and compared this to the Nater refinery’s 17,000 barrels a day share of the South African market.

Mr. Rivers emphasised a little noted paragraph in the Bingham report, had revealed that the entire fuel supply of Rhodesia’s armed forces had been supplied since 1969 by Shell, with the knowledge of Britain’s head office.

SA can survive UN sanctions, says Pik Botha

JOHANNESBURG. Although South Africa saw no reason for sanctions to be imposed on her, she had complete faith that the country and its people would be able to survive any such action, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, said last night.

Interviewed on the TV programme “Verlig,” Mr. Botha said: “It is easy to underestimate the power of the dynamics of faith in your own cause. We can, we will and we must (survive sanctions).”

South Africa would listen in all reasonableness to the proposals of the five Western foreign ministers. The ministers are due in Pretoria for talks on Monday and Tuesday with himself and the Prime Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha.

‘Friendship’

“We will listen calmly and earnestly. Reasonableness and fairness will be decisive, but we must choose between the world’s friendship and domestic stability, we choose the latter.”

Peace and stability in SWA/Namibia could not be viewed in isolation. The whole situation of peace and progress at the southern tip of Africa would disintegrate if South Africa allowed a single state to disintegrate under outside pressures.

Cholera epidemic in Zaire

LUSAKA. - A cholera epidemic has killed hundreds of people in a city in Eastern Zaire and is spreading quickly, according to doctors working in the infected areas.

The influence of Marxism.

All the other countries of the area, particularly South Africa, would suffer the arrows of this disintegration.

South Africa had gone as far as it could, Mr. Botha said. It had protected the unity of the territory, had approved the principle of one man, one vote and had allowed for the release of political prisoners.

It had sometimes been painful, but South Africa had not hesitated to make concessions because it was anxious to ensure peace in the area.

For this reason, South Africa could never accept a force of more than 7,000 soldiers and for this reason the election date could not be postponed, because this would unnecessarily place the stability of the country in the balance, he said.

SAPA

Another dark cloud hangs over our universities and our historical society. A most emphatic echo of our proposal to attack the activities of the ‘Society’ has come from our proposal to attack the activities of the ‘Society’.
West has hit list of sanctions against SA

The Western delegation that will fly into South Africa this weekend for talks with Mr P. W. Botha is the most high-powered one that has been assembled yet on the South West Africa issue.

The sheer size and seniority of the delegation, representing the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada, is a warning of the gravity of the situation. It will be a crucial meeting with wide-ranging implications not only for SWA, but also for the whole Southern African region.

The delegation's prospects of persuading Mr Botha not to proceed with unilateral elections in SWA are not good. Mr Vorster's statement made at the time of his retirement announcement, that in effect South Africa was going to go it alone in SWA, clearly represented a Cabinet decision that Swapo should be kept out of the government of SWA at all costs.

Mr Botha might still talk about "keeping the door open," but can he reverse the Cabinet decision to call elections which it knows Swapo will boycott — after the hard line he took personally in the Cabinet?

The only explanation for the South African action is that the Cabinet must be convinced that sanctions — mandatory trade or even oil sanctions — is not "on", and that while the United States and Canada might be prepared to go further than their colleagues, certainly Britain, West Germany and France would draw the line at fullscale sanctions.

This means that selective sanctions, other than trade or oil sanctions, are likely to be the West's coercive instrument, and that the United States would carry the main burden of implementing such sanctions — such as a freeze on investment, withdrawal of tax relief for US companies operating in South Africa, refusal of US visas to South African government officials and politicians, and so forth.

A "hit list" of some 40 individual sanctions of this kind — limited in their impact — is in existence, and is under study. The South African Cabinet knows about it, and presumably believes it can live with it, even if at some considerable inconvenience.

If Mr Botha, therefore, goes ahead with unilateral elections in SWA, South Africa will have to live with a steadily deteriorating relationship with the Western powers, but it will also have to face a deteriorating relationship in Southern Africa.

The election of a Mudge-Ndjoba government in SWA would be followed by a normal request to South Africa to keep its troops in the country for security reasons. This in turn would lead to Swapo stepping up its guerrilla activities and to increasing militarisation of the situation in SWA. How far Swapo would go in calling in foreign communist assistance would be anybody's guess.

Failure to resolve the SWA issue would also largely baulk the attempts the Western powers are making now to stabilise the Angola-Zaire-Zambia region. Continued conflict across the SWA-Angola border, and continued South African military support for UNITA, would heighten the Angola Government's dependence on Cuban and other foreign support, and Zaire and, to a lesser extent, Zambia could be caught up in this conflict.

The destabilisation of Angola, Zaire and Zambia would not necessarily end there. It might spread to Rhodesia, and spill over into Mozambique and Tanzania. These are not imaginary fears. It would be astonishing in fact if the dominoes did not start to fall one by one.

The South African Cabinet no doubt is right when it concludes that the West is simply not ready yet to unite to apply effective sanctions against South Africa, but it is clearly mistaken if it believes it can simply pass the ball now to a Mudge-Ndjoba Government in Windhoek and expect the Western powers to start the negotiating process all over again, repeating the whole tortuous history of the past 18 months.

The Western powers naturally will continue to negotiate where possible, but almost everybody's patience has run out. The United Nations will not tolerate delaying tactics for much longer, and even the Western governments themselves are losing the heart to pursue a course that is getting them nowhere.

So it's all rapidly coming to a head in SWA. The situation in SWA, which seemed to be so hopeful until a few weeks ago, suddenly has altered and all the parties to the dispute now face confrontation.

Is this really what Mr Botha's Government wants? On the one hand, it can accept the possibility of a Swapo Government coming into office in SWA — not a palatable choice, but not necessarily a calamitous one either. South Africa has a reasonable working relationship with Mozambique, and there is no reason why it should not have at least an equally workable relationship with SWA, which is even more closely linked economically with the Republic.

The alternative to accepting the possibility of a Swapo Government in SWA is conflict and strife — between South Africa (through its military forces) and Swapo and its allies, between South Africa and the United Nations, and between South Africa and the major Western powers, particularly the United States.

Will Mr Botha tell the five Western Foreign Ministers on Monday that this is the path he has chosen for South Africa — a path of strife that will turn Southern Africa into a politically and economically unstable and conflict-torn region?

Mr Botha has only one week in which to make up his mind, because by October 28 the UN deadline expires, and then sanctions' ball will be set rolling.
Political Correspondent

BY JOHN MATHISON

After Fixed Periods
But They'll Stop

Coming with sanctions

West is

Now the

Smiling will have to stop

Cyrus Vance, David Owen and Pik Botha

Sunday Express October 13, 1986
PW's first big test

The talks will be a baptism of fire for the new Prime Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha, who assumed office only 18 days ago.

He has not yet participated in negotiations at this level and of this significance, though as Defence Minister for 12 years he has had considerable experience in dealing with defence counterparts abroad.

At the time of his election the Western foreign ministers made it clear they regarded him as an uncompromising hawk, while they were clearly hoping for some flexibility in the peace negotiations.

He will sit across the table from experienced negotiators, especially US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, who shared with President Carter the Camp David success over the Middle East peace moves.

The Prime Minister will have at his side the Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, the man he beat into third place to become the country's eighth premier.

Alongside Mr Vance will be the US deputy Ambassador to the UN, Mr. Don McHenry, British Foreign Secretary Dr. David Owen, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Canadian Foreign Minister Mr. Donald Jamieson, and French Deputy Foreign Minister Mr. Olivier Estrin.

Both sides were distinctly pessimistic this week.
sell more if "people came to ask" more often. At Umthi for example, 2 members said that it was not difficult to sell while they had vegetables rotted in their plots.

5. Some people have managed to get around marketing problems to a certain extent.

5.1 It is interesting that in Abalimi one of the people who says marketing is not a problem is Mr. S. Bungambo who sells R150-R200 worth of vegetables a year. (This is substantially more than anybody else). He puts a great deal of time and effort into marketing. Some vegetables he sells locally, some at the Idolophu market. In the tomato season he organizes that he, or a relative, go to Idolophu by bus to sell there. He has an advantage over other people in Abalimi in that he was the first person to sell vegetables which he has been doing since 1958 when a doctor started sending patients to buy vegetables from him. He has thus built up clientele. Another thing to consider in looking at Bungambo's great success relative to people from other areas is that Abalimi is on a main through road and that it is a very big location which spreads into others as opposed to the very much more isolated Umthi, Inkomo, and Umthilo.

5.2 In Ipoti as part of a fund-raising project for a clinic committee a nursing sister organised a vegetable handing "business". She bought sacks of potatoes and tomatoes in a nearby white town and these were divided into small quantities. A woman was employed to hawk them in the villages within walking distance and in any place where the sister went, with her truck. The sister estimates that using transport to get to out of the way places and with a full-time seller, they were selling R5.00 worth of vegetables a day. (The woman's salary was R1.00 a day).

Some poor women asked the sister to buy pockets of potatoes or onions for them. From one pocket of potatoes and one of onions, a woman could make R1.50-R2.00 profit a week by selling locally.

This scheme was an important motivation in getting people to join the Ipoti garden. Whether they will be able to sell as successfully from the garden depends on whether they will undercut the prices of the imported vegetables sold in the local café and whether they glut the market.

4.3.2 LABOUR

1. While it is difficult to determine whether shortage of labour stops people from actually joining communal gardens it seems obvious that the amount of labour available is important in determining the extent to which gardens are used.

...
Sanction still weak
West yields
16/10/80

By BARRY STEELE

Pretoria — South Africa's decision to impose sanctions on its southern neighbour Zimbabwe could be imposed due to the government's position on sanctions.

1980

South Africa's decision to impose sanctions on its southern neighbour Zimbabwe could be imposed due to the government's position on sanctions.
US union leader urges ashcan for apartheid

Professor Feldberg: On February 24, 1978, the AFL-CIO Executive Council issued a policy statement on SA which endorsed the following action: "US corporations should immediately divest themselves of South African affiliates and sever all ties with South African corporations. Every effort should be made to influence the corporations of other democratic states to do likewise." I would like to discuss this statement with you.

Mr. Lee: The statement covers our position very well. It says:

- US corporations with investments in Southern Africa must immediately recognize bona fide trade union organizations, regardless of their racial composition, and begin treating their employees on an equal basis, commencing with such fundamental issues as wages and working conditions.
- Full recognition and registration of all bona fide trade unions.
- South African support for the position in United Nations by withdrawing from Namibia.
- A halt for all South African nuclear commerce and for the US observance of the 1963 UN arms embargo resolution on South Africa.
- Support of the Geneva Accord on Free International Travel, especially as it relates to blacks entering and leaving the Republic of South Africa.
- Export-import bank insurance and loan guarantees for SA as well as other US government operations which promote the flow of capital or credit to SA should end.
- US corporations should immediately divest themselves of SA affiliates and sever all ties with SA corporations. Every effort should be made to influence the corporations of other democratic states to do likewise.
- Aid and assistance should be provided to free trade union organizations in South Africa which are operating under repressive conditions.
- Should results not be forthcoming -- that is, abolition of apartheid as a policy -- then withdrawal from all participation with South Africa in social, cultural, athletic and other activities, withdrawal of diplomatic relations and US support of UN disciplinary actions against SA.

The international committee of the AFL-CIO is continuing a study mandated by the convention for further positive courses of action including selected boycotts against South Africa exports.

Clear

Right, the statement is very clear.

It is quite clear, and it is of course directed solely and wholly at the governmental policy of apartheid. Should that policy itself be abolished with the schedule a programme of planned governmental initiative to transition from one policy to a free and open society, multi-racial, multi-party, etc., then I am certain that by and large the entire resolution could be scrapped.

Would such a move necessitate one man, one vote? What is your concept of democracy?

Well, I am thinking in terms of the South African policy of establishing independent states within the borders for the various black tribes or population groups.

I have nothing to say about the establishment of enclaves which are truly independent, if that is what the people in those territories wish. I look on all of them as citizens of South Africa until they decide to disassociate themselves from South Africa, but it would not be a situation in which they have local autonomy but as far as their outside activities are concerned their trade, their foreign representation -- I would not hang on them so being free and independent if they didn't have those prerogatives as well.

So you would wish to see a clear plan or strategy that would, over a period of years, phase the total black population into the overall fabric of SA life with no restrictions at all?

That's right, but beginning with the absolute abolition of apartheid.

Disturbed

Could you comment on a couple of points that South Africans have become extremely disturbed about. In recent years? Whether they are right or wrong is not for me to pass... Are you really objective? I mean, are you neutral, objective?

I hope I am objective. There appears to be a set of double standards adopted by the US Administration, Senate, Con...
Sanctions cost to U.S.

R4 500m

WASHINGTON — The United States would have to pay an extra R4 500 million each year for its manganese and chrome if sanctions were applied against South Africa.

This figure, published in a recent Boston think-tank report, was confirmed yesterday by Commerce Department's South Africa specialist, Mr. Phil Christenson.

He explained that in recent years the U.S. had become increasingly dependent on South African manganese and chrome, both regarded as strategic materials, particularly after Turkey's chrome deposits ran out.

Study

The Boston study, five volumes and 24-centimetres thick, was produced in the aftermath of the 1974 oil embargo.

It did not deal specifically with South Africa but gauged the effects of mineral producing countries forming cartels and forcing the U.S. to look elsewhere for its raw materials.

It estimated that a 15 percent reduction in the world supply of manganese and chrome would cost the U.S. an additional R4 500 million.

Yesterday the Commerce Department said that the removal of South Africa as a source of supply would reduce world availability by 40 percent, but that the cost estimate was accurate.

Meanwhile, following the UN call earlier in the year for member states to assess their financial stakes in the Republic, the Carter Administration has drawn up a top-secret study on just how damaging to the American economy sanctions would be.
SA sanctions will hit blacks, West warned

By GERALD REILLY

LABOUR leaders yesterday warned the Big Five Foreign Ministers that sanctions against South Africa would intensify the hardships of black and coloured workers.

They pointed out that because of the four-year-old recession there were already well over a million unemployed or under-employed black workers, many of whom would lose their employment benefits.

Only the communist world, they stressed, would benefit from a boycott-induced trade slump in South Africa — a slump which would blanket the whole of southern Africa.

The threat of international economic isolation for South Africa was given a new content earlier this week by the French Foreign Minister, Mr Louis de Guiraud.

The Western plan for SWA was rejected, African members of the United Nations would ask the Security Council to approve economic sanctions against South Africa, and the Western Powers would not veto the move.

The president of the Garment Workers Union, Senator Anna Schoepfer, said:

"For the black people it would be disastrous. If the West has the best interests of black South Africans at heart, then they will block any attempts at imposing mandatory sanctions against this country."

The president of the SA Confederation of Labour, Mr Attie Niewoudt, said the ultimate effect of sanctions would be to raise the unemployment levels, especially among blacks.

By condemning sanctions they would condemn our labour force to severe hardships.

The President of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, Mr Ronnie Webb, said high unemployment in South Africa carried the additional hazard of unrest and racial strife.

It would be a reckless and inhuman action if, in spite of the foreseeable consequences, the Western Five stood by and watched a communist-inspired demand for an international trade war against South Africa succeed.

Economists pointed out yesterday that the five countries involved in the current Pretoria talks — West Germany, the US, Britain, France and Canada — had a big stake in South Africa.

They stressed that a large section of European industry, particularly in West Germany and Britain, was dependent on South African raw materials.
Warning on sanctions

PIETERMARITZBURG — Effective international sanctions against South Africa would cause considerable harm to the country’s economy, Dr S. S. Brand, economic advisor to the Prime Minister, said here yesterday.

He was delivering a paper entitled South Africa and the World Economy at the annual congress of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa.

“Although some sectors of the economy might, in the relatively short term, benefit from the cutting off of foreign competition, others may in due course come to a complete standstill through the absence of essential inputs.

“The loss of the advantage of specialisation in our traditional export lines will cause perhaps the greatest harm,” he said.

If South Africa was not involved in a trade boycott but was denied, for a prolonged time, access to international capital markets, it would mean a significant lowering of the country’s growth potential.

All estimates of the effects of such boycotts seemed to indicate South Africa could survive such a situation, but “it would not be a pleasant survival.”

Studies of the effects of such boycotts on industrialised countries reliant on South African raw materials showed some of them would suffer “significant disruption” of their economies.

There were dangers inherent in even the discussion of the threat of sanctions.

“Apart from the direct costs which have to be entered into to prepare for the eventuality that the threat may materialise, there are indirect costs which assume much larger proportions than the direct costs.”

“There comes a point where the advantages of a strategy of open participation in the world economy are seen to be outweighed by the danger of being stranded without some of the essential inputs required to keep the economy going.”

“Once that point is reached, a switch towards a more inward-directed development strategy becomes the next obvious step, even if this means import replacement programmes get pushed ahead prematurely and with undue haste, and at the cost of drawing away resources from and reducing the cost competitiveness of the export sectors of the economy.”

“Through such a process, the long-term growth potential of the economy can be seriously impaired.”

“It is important for South Africans, in government and in business, to be aware of the danger if informed choices are to be made about patterns of development and the utilisation of the country’s resources,” Dr Brand said.

“Equally, it is a danger that others should be aware of, since it also has implications for the objectives and interests of the rest of the world in Southern Africa if South Africa should be forced into adopting a development strategy which reduced the country’s long-term growth potential.”

He said it was not only in South Africa’s own interest but also in the interest of a large part of the rest of the world that links with the world economy be preserved and built up further.” — SAPA.
No oil embargo, says SAB chief

PIETERMARITZBURG — An oil embargo, or trade sanctions imposed against South Africa by the United Nations, will not materialise next year, according to Mr. R. J. Goss, managing director of South African Breweries.

Mr. Goss, who was addressing the annual congress of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, said that his reason for this belief was that certain United Nations members doubted whether these measures would be effective.

"However, more selective sanctions could well become a reality.

"I think that further negotiations on the future course of events in South West Africa and Rhodesia are a more likely prospect than unacceptable unilateral action next year.

World hostility

"Unilateral action will lead to a sharply escalated military involvement on our borders and focus increased international hostility on South Africa."

Mr. Goss added that providing there was no major socio-political upheaval to disrupt the course of the country's economic recovery, the upswing would continue; but much would depend on Government action to help it along.

"There is every reason to expect the underlying momentum in consumer spending to continue, although I do not believe that we are on the threshold of a period of rapid growth.

Dr. S. S. Brand, the economic adviser to the Prime Minister, told Congress that there were "various moves afoot" to prevent South Africa's participation in the world economy.

"I shall refrain from speculating about the likelihood that these efforts will meet with success but, if South Africa should be effectively isolated from world markets, the harm to the economy would be very considerable indeed.

"Although some sectors of the economy would benefit from the cutting off of foreign competition; others might come to a standstill through lack of essential inputs."

Dr. Brand said that a prolonged denial of access to international capital markets would mean a significant lowering of the country's growth potential.

"South Africa could survive such a situation but it would not be a pleasant survival."
Sanctions Averted

The Prime Minister, Mr. W. E. Forde, said on Monday that the 30-day deadline for the completion of the South West Africa peace initiative had been extended to December 31. He announced that the United Nations Security Council had voted 15-0 to adopt the resolution, which would impose sanctions on any country that persisted in interfering in the peace process. The resolution included a provision for the withdrawal of all foreign forces within 30 days from the date of the resolution's adoption, and for the establishment of a multinational monitoring mission to oversee the implementation of the ceasefire. The Prime Minister also announced that the government would work closely with the United Nations and other international organizations to ensure the successful implementation of the resolution.
Sanctions effects

The PM's Economic Adviser, Dr Simon Brand, told the Assocom annual congress that international sanctions against SA would cause considerable harm to the economy. He said some sectors might benefit for a short while from the cutting off of foreign competition but others might in due course come to a complete standstill. FM 20/10/78
TYDSKRIF BEWEER:

V.S.A. oorweeg vlugboikot

Van Ons Korrespondent

DIE Carter-administrasie oorweeg tans planne om vlugte van die Suid-Afrikaanse Lugdiens na Amerika sowel as vlugte van Amerikaanse lugdienste na Suid-Afrika te verbied, het die weeklikse tydskrif Jeune Afrique hier berig.

Volgens die tydskrif het die diep diplomateke woordvoerders van Afrika in Washington gesê dié stap sal gedoen word as die Suid-Afrikaanse regering nie die Westerse voorstelle vir 'n skikking in Suidwes aanvaar nie.

"Deskundiges bestudeer tans hierdie mooptlike vlugverbod om die koste te bepaal," lui die berig in die tydskrif.

"n Franse diplomateke woordvoerder het in reaksie op die berig gesê die Carter-administrasie sal op ander Westerse lande druk uitoefen om ook so 'n verbod in te stel, as Amerika besluit om dié stap te doen. "Carter sal hierin gesteun word deur swart Afrika-regerings wat altyd kan dreig om hul luggewens te sluit vir Westerse lugdienste wat Suid-Afrika aandoen."

Die lugdiens Air France doen geen Suid-Afrikaanse lughawe aan nie, maar U.T.A. sal dalk sy posisie moet hernoew.

'n Internasionale lugvaartkundige het daarop gewys dat "vlugverbode in die verlede dikwels goepeer is, maar reën op die daarvan gekom nie omdat..."
What a beautiful gun! If only they'd use it...
US confident of blocking sanctions

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The Carter Administration was more confident yesterday that the five Western representatives in the UN Security Council would be able to head off African moves to have sanctions imposed on South Africa following the inconclusive outcome of the Pretoria talks on South West Africa last week.

Officials at the State Department said they now believed the African states and Swapo had called for sanctions in "a subtle manoeuvre" aimed at influencing a United States-led Western effort to work out a SWA solution.

Outwardly, the African move seemed to run counter to the arguments of the US and the other members of the "contact group" for patience and restraint.

Some African diplomatic sources, however, said the real reason behind the sanctions move was to get the Five to confide more in the African group, which needed convincing that the West was not trying to pacify SA at the expense of black African interests.

"We are confused by the Western position — we think we are being given a lot of double talk," one of these sources said.

If the Africans received a satisfactory explanation of what the West was doing, the sources said, the call for immediate Security Council action would probably be sidetracked.

Meanwhile GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has assured the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance that all options on South West Africa's future will be open to the representatives of the territory elected in December.

Mr Botha yesterday released his reply to a telegram from the DTA which set out the party's position, following talks between him, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha and the representatives of various South West African political groups.

Mr Botha said it remained the policy of the Government that the people of South West Africa should themselves determine their political future.

In this process all options would be open to them. As part of this process the people of the territory were being allowed to elect their own representatives.

"Each option should be considered with great circumspection and responsibility when the time comes. The election of representatives to consider the options is not in any way affected and the election will take place."

"The elected representatives would be able to speak on behalf of the voters."

It is reported from Windhoek that thousands of rand will be paid out to black workers within the next few weeks in the first step to implement equal pay for equal work in SWA.
SANCTIONS

Who is a cop?

The Carter Administration has tried to clarify its February 1978 ban on supplies of US goods and technical data to the SA military and police forces. American companies, however, are far from enlightened — or satisfied.

According to a notice which appeared in the September 26 Federal Register, military and police entities are defined to include Armscor, the Prisons Department, Dons (formerly Boss), Railways police and provincial law enforcement departments (such as traffic and highway patrol authorities). However, says the regulation, "other law enforcement entities and officials that do not have functions performed by the police in the US, such as the Department of Justice, Department of Customs, health inspectors and licensing authorities, are not considered police entities." The National Institute for Defence Research is also excluded from the ban.

A problem has already arisen. US computer companies are in the running for a R1,5m order from a provincial administration. Their equipment would be used, inter alia, for traffic department personnel and payroll records and for computerising car licence data.

No one is yet sure whether Washington will grant an export permit if one of the US tenderers lands the contract. But hopes are high there will be no objections. Not only will the computer also be used for non-traffic functions, but Washington is being reminded that traffic authorities in SA, unlike those in the US, are not the same as the police force — a distinction which apparently escaped the compilers of the regulation.

Meanwhile, the Commerce Department has not yet made up its mind how to exclude non-sensitive items (such as pharmaceuticals and tyres) from the February ban, though US companies have been informed that such a softening is under consideration (FM August 18). For the moment, however, it seems unlikely that suppliers of such items would be taken to court for breaking the law.
**Franse boikot van S.A. boemerang**

Verkoop nie, word hies as slegte na vir die wapenverdediging.


Die verkope van buitenlandse lugmagte het met 118 persent en die verkope aan vloete met 75 persent gestyg.

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Die verslag is by 'n vloot- en tentoonstelling van vyf dae by Le Bourget uitgereik.

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**English Translation**

During business hours, or by appointment one of the external auditors should be arranged an audition, either at OU by phone at 22 1961 or on the request of the University. The applicant will be informed by the Faculty of Arts whether or not the audition has been accepted.

1. The completed audition report (3005) must be handed to the auditor.
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Africa wants trade clamp on SA

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK—The United Nations African group—one third of the world body—has formally agreed to demand a mandatory oil and economic blockade of South Africa, rejecting a Western plan to stall the confrontation until December.

If the West cannot mobilize the cry for sanctions, it appears likely that either this weekend or on Monday, a veto in open Security Council sessions seems certain.

The Africans, ulitmate over SWA/Namibia—an immediate start for UN-supervised elections, sanctions—comes soon after the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. Smuts, is understood to have assured the West that his Government, and the representatives elected, would be the agents to negotiate with the UN for the following election.

The assurance is under the terms of the agreement between the US Secretary of State, Mr. Shultz, and the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. Smuts, which was announced by the US Secretary of State, Mr. Shultz, and the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. Smuts, which was announced by the State Department.

The 49-member group, yesterday endorsed a draft resolution including a veto on elections next year could be tested in the light of the December poll results.

Western diplomats have hinted in recent days at a last-ditch attempt to negotiate with the Africans, that, in the event of a refusal to cooperate with UN management, elections next year could be tested in the light of the December poll results.

So long as South Africa is not refusing to cooperate with UNESCO (the proposed Nations Transition Assistance Group) they cannot be ruled out. Sanctions await the decision. The current clampdown is a slap in the face for Western diplomats, who have been urging the Africans in the past few days to "hold the last mile" and hold back a confrontation until mid-December, when South Africa's commitment to UN management of elections next year could be tested in the light of the December poll results.

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VETO HINT

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West with sanctions
S.A.'s three threatening the

Sovereigns and those who want violence

Clearer politics, maybe, but this

Click night's supra: the

AND ANY ACTUAL PUBLICATIONS OR MATERIALS THAT MAY HAVE BEEN MENTIONED OR REFERRED TO IN THIS DOCUMENT ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THE PLAIN TEXT REPRESENTATION.
SANCTIONS AT A MOMENT'S NOTICE

WASHINGTON: President Carter has the power under the Export Administration Act of 1947, to impose a total ban on trade with South Africa at a moment's notice — if he so wishes.

But so far, he has only used the Act to ban the export of an extensive list of goods and services to the South African Armed Forces and Police.

The selective ban, imposed by Presidential Executive Order on February 16, updated a 1963 prohibition on the export of arms to South Africa by bringing it into line with the United Nations mandatory arms embargo and by extending it to include the South African Police.

Since then, Mr. Carter and many of his most senior officials, including UN ambassador, Mr. Andrew Young, have personally intervened — and strenuously — to discourage congressional moves aimed at imposing further sanctions on South Africa.

While the risk of further sanctions clearly remains, administration officials, including Mr. Young, have in recent weeks publicly questioned the effectiveness of such a move.

Even at the height of the confrontation between the Western Five and South Africa, over a SWA/Namibia settlement, American officials were insisting that sanctions were regarded as being only a last, and rather desperate step.

The embargo against the South African Armed Forces and Police covers the re-export of prohibited goods and services via third parties and includes seemingly innocuous items such as pharmaceuticals and even first aid plasters.

American exporters may continue to sell some of the listed items to non-government entities in South Africa, provided they give assurances when applying for export licences that these goods will not be transferred or sold to the Armed Forces or the Police.

There is no special policing authority to enforce the ban, but US exporters face stiff penalties — including fines of $50,000 dollars for each transgression and the revoking of their export licences if they knowingly defy it.

President Carter's order of February 16 outlines in general terms a ban on the export of goods and services to "military and police entities" and then gives an extensive list of the more obvious items.

But US exporters are left to interpret the fine print, as it were, and when in doubt they call upon the Commerce Department to give a ruling.

It does so after consultation with the State Department's agency for arms export control and initially it tended to give the embargo as wide an interpretation as possible.

Thus there was a ban on the export of light aircraft which was later considerably modified to allow such sales provided the planes were not re-sold to the Armed Forces or Police — and a ban on first aid plasters.

Several banned items, including first aid plasters, are now under review.

Presidential power is extensive in other areas too; Mr. Carter could, if he so wished, impose all South African assets in the US or seize South African shipping within US territorial waters.

Theoretically, he could also, if he so wished, declare war on South Africa, or order US warships and planes to harass South African aircraft and ships in international airspace and waters.
Dummy firms set up to beat trade clamp

Tribune Reporter

POWERFUL foreign companies are setting up "dummy" firms to preserve trade with South Africa in case of sanctions.

The companies know President Carter now has the power to impose a total ban on trade with South Africa at a moment's notice.

And while sanctions seem remote at the moment, there are continuing demands at the United Nations for a mandatory oil and economic blockade of South Africa.

KEVIN JACOBS reports from New York that the United Nations' African group — one third of the world's body — has rejected Western plans to stall the confrontation until December.

A veto in open Security Council seems almost certain unless the West can mollify the cry for sanctions in private consultations by Tuesday.

In a related development, the Tribune London Bureau reports British Commonwealth countries are meeting to consider a recommendation calling for an embargo on oil supplies to South Africa unless Pretoria promises to stop sending oil to Rhodesia.

A Swiss-based export consultant claimed in Johannesburg this week that many dummy companies were being set up in "tax havens" countries such as Liberia, Lichtenstein and Panama.

The exporter, who asked not to be named, said the tax havens were more than willing to receive ostensibly local companies for an annual fee of between $200 and $250 US dollars without asking awkward questions or demanding to see financial statements or other documents.

THE PRESIDENT'S POWER

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NOTE

Registration for B.A. please register in the office as stated in the student's schedule.
Africans to press for sanctions against SA

NEW YORK — The UN Security Council is expected to meet today to take up African demands for the ultimate option — the isolation of South Africa through the expansion of Rhodesia sanctions to envelope all white Africa.

The eight-page African working paper with 21 operational paragraphs is a virtual carbon copy of the historic May 29, 1968, resolution that quarantined Rhodesia and is almost mocking in its disdain of the inevitable rejection.

The proposals would have South Africa condemned for "rebellion" against the international community over its South West Africa stand and order nations to stop the import, shipment, sale or supply of all South African goods; block all finance for the Republic, cut its international links and slap a ban on South Africans travelling, except on humanitarian grounds.

It is quite certain to be killed by a full set of Western vetoes, but African strategists say the plan will be to maintain the debate and taunt the West for as long as possible.

They will turn the action over to the 150-nation General Assembly about mid-November for it to whip up the rhetoric again, and then send the issue back to the Security Council with a further call for the implementation of the deadlocked plan for overseen South West African independence.

In this way, they argue, the clamour will be maintained throughout the build-up to the December 4 internal election.

The African decision to go for broke was taken on Friday night despite a deep division in the ranks and the opposition of some powerful nations, including Nigeria.

"We are going all the way because the West came up with nothing." Swappo representative Theo Ben Gururab said. "I almost think they have abandoned the whole thing. I get the impression they are resigned to the fact that the South Africans will go ahead with their own plans, and that after December 4 they will see what to do next."

Meanwhile, Britain, France and West Germany have decided to put forward their own Security Council resolution.

The Western draft, for which the three will seek United States and Canadian support, will express regret at South Africa's decision to go ahead with elections in South West Africa in December.

Rather than threatening sanctions against South Africa, it will seek to have the United Nations special representative, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, return to South West Africa as soon as possible to promote UN-supervised elections. — DDC-SAPA-RNS.
Sanctions ‘until all-party deal’

NEW YORK — A British spokesman yesterday told a United Nations committee there is “no case whatsoever for lifting sanctions against Rhodesia.”

“We believe that it is in the interests of the international community to maintain all pressures on Mr. Smith and his colleagues in Salisbury in order to bring them to the negotiating table and there to reach agreement on a peaceful settlement,” Mr. Merwyn Brown told the General Assembly’s Decolonization Committee.

Mr. Brown, speaking at the start of a debate on Rhodesia, said economic and other sanctions imposed following UDI in November 1965 had been “of real value in putting additional pressures on the Salisbury regime.”

He added: “In the view of the United Kingdom government, it is therefore, axiomatic that there is no case whatsoever for lifting sanctions.”

Exodus

Mr. Brown said that although Mr. Smith and his colleagues asserted their internal settlement was working 1,300 whites had emigrated each month in the last two months for which official Rhodesian figures were available. In the US he said this would be equivalent to an annual outflow of more than 12 million people.

Measures purporting to remove racial discrimination were widely seen to be totally inadequate since they left untouched Rhodesia’s Land Tenure Act and rules governing school, housing and hospital segregation.

The British representative, condemning all acts of violence in Rhodesia and across its borders said the one way to prevent them was to deal with the root cause.

Mr. Brown told the committee there were no secret deals when Mr. Smith met officials in America recently.

There was no question of a departure from the terms of the Anglo-American settlement proposals, he said.

He noted that on October 29 documents setting out the proposals in greater detail and suggesting certain alternatives had been handed to the leaders of the parties concerned and to governments most closely concerned.

“We now await the reactions of the parties to our proposals,” Mr. Brown said.

In London last night Rhodesian black leader Bishop Abel Muzorewa said there were “two empty seats” for Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, the joint leaders of the Patriotic Front al-


delay puts black leaders on spot

The Star’s Africa News

SALISBURY — Two internal nationalist parties are worried that any delay in one-man, one-vote elections scheduled for the end of this year will dent their credibility with the black electorate.

When the internal accord was signed on March 3 this year, it was agreed that elections followed by a transfer of power to a black majority government would take place by December 31.

This date — although only nine months away from the internal agreement — was vitally important because it finally put independence within reach of the nationalists after 13 years of wrangling since Rhodesia’s unilateral declaration of independence.

The December 31 date was used by Bishop Abel Muzorewa and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, especially, to sell the agreement to supporters in their respective UANC and ZANU parties who were unhappy about many of the concessions that had been made by the nationalists in negotiations with the Rhodesian Front white minority Government.

Now it looks as though elections will not take place this year after all and Bishop Muzorewa and Mr. Sithole will have to put forward very good reasons for their delay.

Rhodesia’s Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, said at the weekend the elections would probably “spill over” a few months, for “reasons of mechanics.” He said the committee drawing up the new independence constitution was behind schedule and he expected a report on the issue this week.

Bishop Muzorewa immediately issued a hard-hitting statement from London that there would have to be very good reasons for the postponement. He would seek clarification of Mr. Smith’s statement when he arrived back in Salisbury.

The importance attached to the election timetable was stressed by the bishop this month when he said the main issue involved in the March 3 agreement was the commitment to the transfer of power at the end of the year.

In a BBC radio interview Bishop Muzorewa said: “I will have to be convinced — and my party will have to be convinced — that there are enough problems to delay our elections.”

Mr. Sithole said in London that if an objective report showed that it was not feasible to hold the election on the planned date, the Executive Council would meet and take the appropriate decision.

Mr. James Dzorova, public

city secretary for Zanu, said yesterday that any move to delay the transfer of power from whites to blacks “would seriously undermine the credibility of the transitional Government in the eyes of the world.”

Another nationalist par-

ty involved in the internal agreement, Senator Chief Chirau’s Zuppo, has come out in favour of postp

onement of the elections.

Chief Chirau admitted at the weekend that elections could not take place while the war was still on
Sanctions would hurt West more
— French MP

A high-powered French delegation led by a former member of the French Cabinet and member of the French National Assembly, has been visiting South Africa for two weeks, investigating investment possibilities.

The delegation included representatives of electronics companies, specialists in building and equipping hospitals, representatives of the food and pharmaceutical industries, and companies involved in large-scale public works like harbours, dams, roads and housing projects.

It was led by Mr. Jacques Soustelle, Member of Parliament on a mission for the present French Government.

JOINT VENTURES

In an interview, Mr. Soustelle said the mission's aim was to find some fields in which joint ventures between French and South African concerns could be organized.

Although the mission visited this country at a time when the French Government is one of the Western powers threatening South Africa with sanctions, he said he emphasized that the mission was not a political one.

"I personally think it would be very unwise for the Western powers to indulge in approving sanctions towards South Africa," he said.

"We have been collecting information and establishing contacts, and the members of the delegation have been amazed by the extent of industrialisation and economic development in South Africa," Mr. Soustelle said.

"We hope to establish a new interest in France for investment and co-operation with South Africa," he said.
Threats to SA oil supplies

LONDON — South Africa's oil supplies are being threatened.

The Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa meets here tomorrow to consider a report which urges action to tighten oil sanctions against Rhodesia. The report says this will involve "confrontation" with South Africa to cut off supplies to Rhodesia or jeopardise its own supplies.

The strike at Iranian oilfields, which supplies South Africa with 80 per cent of its oil, will also affect the country.

The Commonwealth Committee report was drawn up by two British economists, Martin Bailey and Bernard Rivers, but does not necessarily reflect the committee's views.

The Bailey-Rivers report is a summary of a much longer report commissioned recently by the UN.

The report argues that it is feasible to apply oil sanctions against South Africa by monitoring the movements of tankers and seizing them when they return to the ports of oil-producing countries.

According to recent reports even the Shah of Iran concedes now that, if oil sanctions are applied by the UN against South Africa, his country will have no choice but to fall into line.

At its meeting in October last year, the Commonwealth Committee agreed unanimously that action should be taken to secure "effective guarantees" from the South African Government that its oil would not in any circumstances reach Rhodesia.

The committee agreed further that South Africa should be told it faced a "stark choice" between co-operating with the international community to ensure that oil sanctions against Rhodesia were not evaded, and placing its own oil supplies in jeopardy.

Most Western and Commonwealth countries, however, are not in a mood to apply effective oil sanctions against South Africa, and although further stern warnings are expected, they are likely to blur the issue.

— SAPA-DDC.
Sanctions bid at UN scorned by West

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Western governments yesterday scorned an African and Eastern bloc bid to brand their economic and diplomatic ties with South Africa as "collusion and collaboration.

Western delegates pointed out that some Eastern European sponsors of the draft condemnation also traded with South Africa — as proved by published trade figures.

Sixteen states opposed the draft resolution adopted yesterday by the General Assembly's decolonisation committee, among them the five Western countries currently leading the SWA/Namibia exodus.

The wide-ranging resolution condemns "collusion" with South Africa in political, economic, diplomatic and military fields and singles out the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Belgium, Israel, Italy and Japan.

The text also asks the UN General Assembly to condemn "collusion" in nuclear technology, specifically addressing the charge to France, West Germany, Israel and the US.

The draft also asks oil-producing countries to block non-agricultural goods to South Africa.

The resolution was backed with 85 votes in favour — 41 against.

Britain's Ambassador, Mr. J. W. Ireland said it was "misleading" to believe that the Namibia negotiations could succeed without diplomatic and political contact with South Africa.

He said Britain believed that economic relations could assist peaceful change in South Africa.

"It was "illogical and unjust" to single out the Western countries for condemnation in the light of trade between South Africa and Eastern Europe countries, reflected in the African Abstract of Economic Statistics.

Mr. Ireland said the content and tone of the draft resolution were "misleading" and would, in time, diminish the value and authority of General Assembly resolutions.
A new sanctions call likely

NEW YORK. — An African demand for mandatory sanctions against South Africa was the most likely outcome if any resolution were to be tabled when the Security Council resumed deliberations on South West Africa today. African and Western sources agree.

They also agree that the Western powers would be bound to cast their third veto against such action.

Representatives of both sides are trying to put a more acceptable face to such a confrontation.

They said it would not necessarily mean the end of the negotiating process aimed at getting SWA independence under UN auspices.

African sources said if they formally asked the council to act, they could not shoot for less than chapter seven of the UN Charter — reserved for situations threatening world peace.

It is almost two weeks since they "urgently" summoned the 15-nation council to consider South Africa's "defiance" of its resolution 435 for UN supervised elections in SWA.

Some highly-placed African diplomats privately admit they might have been rushed by Swapo into calling too early for the meeting.

Western sources said the African "steering committee" was still looking at the suggestion by the Indian Ambassador, Mr. Rahi Jaipal, that the council, under threat of the continuation action, call on South Africa to scrap the December poll and comply with resolution 435 — Sapa.

Western sources insist the vote would "kick back" if Pretoria tried to transfer any representative authority to the winners of the December poll.

The African "steering committee" was still looking at the suggestion by the Indian Ambassador, Mr. Rahi Jaipal, that the council, under threat of the continuation action, call on South Africa to scrap the December poll and comply with resolution 435 — Sapa.

Swapo had succeeded in mustering uncompromising opposition from most of the 49 African nations to the deal struck between the South African Government and the five Western members of the council in Pretoria last month.

The inelasticity of the Frontline states to exert further pressure on Swapo had, underscored the hard African line, they said.

Opposition to the Pretoria communiqué was so strong that they had all but scrapped hopes of sending special UN representative, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, back to Windhoek.

Nevertheless, the Western powers had to block punitive action against South Africa at this stage. Pretoria could not yet be deemed in defiance of council resolution 435, they added.

The absolute test could only come after the internal election next month.

Western sources insist the vote would "kick back" if Pretoria tried to transfer any representative authority to the winners of the December poll.

The meeting ended at 2.50 this afternoon.

The meeting ended at 2.50 this afternoon.

Report would declare a tie.

The committee expired at 1759.

ACCREDITATION PORIA 1979

UN newsmen invited to see SWA election

WINDHOEK. — The Administrator-General of South West Africa, Mr. Justice Marinus Steyn, has invited about 100 guests, including a number of United Nations correspondents, to attend the December election in the territory.

He told a weekend meeting near Windhoek that the invitation was aimed at giving foreign journalists an opportunity to see for themselves how the election was conducted.

Commenting on the announcement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, that Western countries had donated more than R80,000,000 to Swago over the past three years, he said the five Western powers involved had rendered their intentions towards SWA questionable, and they owed the people of the territory an explanation.

There was little time for the United Nations and the Western countries to give an explanation, because the constituent assembly elected in December would need clarity on the impartiality of the two groups before it could decide on the continued implementation of the Western plan for SWA — Sapa.
Owen runs into sanctions storm

Mercury Correspondent

LONDON — A powerful campaign to force the British Government to lift sanctions against Rhodesia will come to a climax in a two-day debate — which begins in the House of Commons today — on the Bingham Report on Rhodesia generally.

A "softening-up" process, which began several months ago, was accelerated at the weekend by the publication of two anti-sanctions articles in British national newspapers — one by the Rhodesian leader, Mr. Ian Smith, in the Sunday Express, and the other by Lord Blake, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, and author of a history of Rhodesia, in the Sunday Times.

Yesterday, in a fierce attack on sanctions, the Sun wrote: "Like the blind leading the blind — or is it the bland leading the bland? — Foreign Secretary David Owen stumbles through the Rhodesia tragedy with an incompetence that is becoming macabre... His so-called Rhodesia policy has been wrong from the start... Now hardly any time is left to salvage a country that has been one of the most advanced in Africa..."

"For once, the fault does not lie with Ian Smith. He offered Black majority rule within two years, and Britain's immediate task was to grab so big an opportunity and move in fast to ensure that Mr. Smith kept his word."

"Instead, Dr. Owen has sucked up to Marxist terrorists outside Rhodesia, sent military aid to mischief-making Zambia, yet dithered and dallied with moderate Black leaders to the point where they are desperate... Instead of mouting platitudes, cannot the bland doctor see that unless Britain changes course, there will be nothing left even for his guerrilla pals to inherit."

In the two-day Commons debate, former Conservative Cabinet Minister Reginald Maudling will make a determined bid to rally enough votes to defeat the annual renewal of sanctions.

The Conservative Party is divided on sanctions, but Mr. Maudling is expected to muster at least 80 votes.

Dr. Owen, however will make a spirited defence of sanctions.

Even if the Commons were to vote against sanctions, Britain would still be bound by the UN sanctions resolution.

Inquiry

In the debate on the Bingham Report, Left-wing Labour MPs will press for a fuller inquiry and for prosecutions to be..."
West's D-day for sanctions

NEW YORK. — The United Nation's Security Council met yesterday at the request of African delegations to condemn South Africa for calling unilateral elections in South West Africa. But diplomatic sources said the Western powers were proposing to counter an African resolution denouncing the South African decision by giving Pretoria until December 20 to accept the UN plan — or face sanctions.

The Africans called for an urgent meeting last week, saying that South Africa had rejected the UN plan for free elections and transition to independence under the protection of a UN peace-keeping force.

They have drafted an unofficial resolution calling for a tight economic embargo against South Africa.

"We face a grave situation," the Mauritian ambassador, Mr Radha, said yesterday.

"I am very concerned," he said.

He said South Africa had turned down the UN plan. They have also declared they would not recognize the results of the unilateral elections.

But Mr Ramphal emphasized that such elections would automatically exclude the UN solution.

South Africa had been playing for time in showing a willingness to negotiate in the past 18 months and had not been serious in accepting the plan, he said.

"We are on the verge of war in Africa. If the council takes no action against South Africa now, war will begin in Southern Africa and spread to other parts of the continent," he warned.

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Ndl. grammatici (Dr. Pfeiffer) en Ndl. poëtie (Dr. Gilfillen); toetsse sal gedurende September afgeneem word. Die punte sal vir die eksemplar teel.

In die eerste vraestel moet VYF vrae beantwoord word; TWEE vrae uit Afr. A en in Afr. B minstens EEN vraag oor Ndl. en EEN vraag oor Afr. proza en EEN vraag uit Afdeling C. In die 2de vraestel moet ook VYF vrae beantwoord word; minstens EEN en nie meer as TWEE uit Afdeling A en B nie. Uit elk van Afr. C en D moet EEN vraag beantwoord word.
Kamer maan nyweraars teen boikotte

SUID-AFRIKA sal 'n groeikoers van 6 persent moet toon as genoeg werkgeleenthede vir nuwe werknemers geskep wil word, het mnr. S. R. Back, uitvoerende voorzitter van die Kaapse Kamer van Nywerhede gister op die jaarvergadering gesê.

Mnr. Back het gesê hoewel Wes-Kaapland 'n voorkeur-gebied vir bruintense is, is daar veler nywerhede in die struk wat nie sonder 'n beperkte hoeveelheid swart werkers kan klaarkom nie. 'n Fyn balans moet tussen kapitaalintensiewen en arbeids-intensiewe bedrywighede vind word.

Hoewel die Regering te onlangs sameenpikings met die vyf Wêreldse lande die moontlikheid van boikotte vermindert het, moet die moontlikheid nie uitgesluit word nie. Dit is bykans onmogelyk om die oprede van die V.V.O. te voorspel.

Die nywerhede wat afhanklik is van ingevoerde grondstowwe, moet aandag skenk aan hulle leverandiers terwyl uitgevoerde hulle markte moet ondersoek, het hy die lede aanverraak.

Mnr. J.F. Roos, direkteur van die Kaapse Kamer van Nywerhede, het gesê die Regering het "die wyse besluit gegee om te by die Buro vir Ekonomiese Onderzoek opdrag gegee om onderzoek in te stel na die veroorde van die Wes-Kaaplandse ekonomie": Die Buro sal "die voorlopige verslag hieroor voor die einde van die jaar uitingbring.

Hoewel 84.5 persent van die produktsievermoe van nywerhede tans benut word, is daar nog steeds 'n oorskat produktsievermoe weens die onsoortlike vraeg, sê die Kamer in sy jaarverslag, wat by die vergadering aange- neem is.

Die verslag meld dat die Suid-Afrikaanse ekonomie verder gestimuleer moet word met die oog op werkskaf- fing. Die merkwaardige verbetering in die betaalskryf en die skerp stigting in die goedprys stel die Regering in staat om die ekonomie verder te stimuleer.

"Sowat 13 persent van die oorskatproduktsievermoe moet toegeskryf word aan 'n onvoldoende vraeg. Dit is dus belangrik dat die vraag gesti- muleer word. Die verbruik van plaslike goedere moet ook aangemoedig word, meld hy die verslag.

Die Kamer meen dat meer skoole in werking gestel moet word om die werkloos- heidprobleem te oorkom. Dit sal die behoefte aan inge- voerde fabriekstoerusting ver- minder. Dié bestaande fabriekstoerusting moet ten volle benut word. Sodoende sal bykomende werkgeleenthede geskep word."
Africa in UN sanctions call

NEW YORK — Black Africa formally called for mandatory, global sanctions against South Africa yesterday and warned the west that to veto them would prove its complicity with Pretoria.

But it stopped short of tabling the draft resolution it had ready, calling for "Rhodesia-style" isolation, when the Security Council finally met yesterday morning to begin what threatens to be a long, tortuous debate on the deadlock plan for "overseen SWA independence."

Instead, it was all emotion in the chamber, as did the spokesman for the 48-nation Africa group and then Swappo went before the council to allege that a desperate and aggressive South Africa would turn Africa into a permanent battleground unless it was stopped immediately. "They have failed utterly," Mauritius ambassador Radha Krishna Rampal of the West. "Something must be done. It is no longer possible to delay action against South Africa."

The action of the Africans proposed was the invocation of Article 31 of the UN Charter. This allows for the complete or partial interruption of economic relations, of all communications links and of diplomatic relations.

They also broadened the basis of their argument beyond the current failure to implement the UN'S SWA operation and, instead cited, years of South African rejection of international decisions over the territory.

Ironically, a lone hint at moderation came from Swappo. While it strongly pressed the sanctions demand, it also pledged full cooperation in further efforts by all sides to activate the UN operation.

—D.C.

2.7 Cattie
African bloc to insist on sanction vote

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — African delegates are expected to insist today that the United Nations Security Council vote on their demand for sanctions against South Africa and end two weeks of closed-door wrangling with the West over SWA/Namibia.

"I think negotiation has come to a fullstop now," The Africans and the non-aligned representatives have come to a point, I think, where they want a vote," an African source said yesterday.

But Western diplomats were still talking late yesterday as they chewed at a joint, non-aligned and African draft which could be shaped into the compromise resolution the Western group wants — allowing time for South Africa to clarify its political intentions in the territory.

WESTERN VIEW

And African sources say a vote should be called on the sanctions resolution drafted in response to Pretoria’s insistence on the December election, if only to reform their opposition to the move.

Some Western sources hoped a resolution satisfying all groups could be tabled today.

The five-nation Western team on the Security Council has made it clear the three vetoes they hold would be cast if the sanctions issue was pushed to a vote before Pretoria could "questionably be held in defiance of the Council’s mandate for the territory."
Sanctions out, NNF tells UN

By DAVID FORRET
'Mail' Africa Bureau
WINDHOEK — Sanctions or other punitive measures against South Africa should not be considered until all avenues for agreement on the South West African issue have been exhausted, says the Namibian National Front.

But the NNF reiterated its complete opposition to the SA-sponsored election in the territory next month.

However, in an urgent telex to the president of the United Nations Security Council, the NNF supported the joint Western-South African agreement for Mr. Martti Ahtisaari's immediate return to SWA.

The NNF said Mr. Ahtisaari, the UN special representative for SWA, should return to the territory to discuss the implementation of the UN-endorsed Western peace plan with the Administrator General, Mr. Justice Marthinus Steyn.

This would finally establish whether or not the SA Government was sincere in implementing the proposals, the telex said.

"It may be the last opportunity to achieve a peaceful solution to the Namibian problem.

"Sanctions or other measures against South Africa will also directly affect the people of Namibia and in our view should not be considered until all avenues for agreement on the implementation of the Security Council resolution have been exhausted."
thing (e.g., creche, clinic, shearing shed) in their area. However, very few of these people then actually get involved with the voluntary work necessary to establish such projects.

The Tenele centre is Idoiph on which SAVS U.C.T. was involved in, is a typical example of overestimating people’s felt community of interests. The centre was designed to be a market for crafts, vegetables, etc. from all areas of the Western Cape, open to everyone, but although N.N. has contributed to the upkeep of the centre, only a few people have actually joined in the activities. The centre has been used for a few social functions, but the majority of the people have not been interested in it.

Home at about 4pm. They are meant to pay 20 cents a month but only about two-thirds of them. They get a meal and tea every day. Mrs Bonongo has to contribute some of her own money to cover the costs of this (her total income is R17.00 a month). 101 children has signed on, but there are generally 75 who come in summer and 30 in winter.

She has often tried to get people in this area to build a creche building, but although N.N. has contributed to the upkeep of the centre, only a few people have actually joined in the activities. The centre has been used for a few social functions, but the majority of the people have not been interested in it.

The Tenele centre is Idoiph on which SAVS U.C.T. was involved in, is a typical example of overestimating people’s felt community of interests. The centre was designed to be a market for crafts, vegetables, etc. from all areas of the Western Cape, open to everyone, but although N.N. has contributed to the upkeep of the centre, only a few people have actually joined in the activities. The centre has been used for a few social functions, but the majority of the people have not been interested in it.
DIE Veiligheidsraad het gister hier met tien stemme ’n skikvoorstel aanvaar waarvolgens Suid-Afrika gewaarsku word dat hy verpligte sanksies kan verwag as die raad se plan vir Suidwes se onafhanklikheid onder toesig van die V.V.O. nie nagekom word nie. Die raad het Suid-Afrika gevra om aanstaande maand se verkiesing af te gelas.

Die vyf Westerse lidstate, Brittanje, Amerika, Frankryk, Wes-Duitsland en Kanada, het buite stemming geby, berig Sapa.

Die voorstel versoek Suid-Afrika om die beoogde binne­landse verkiesings van 4 tot 8 Desember onmiddellik te beëindig.

Die besluit van die Veiligheidsraad beteken nie nood­wendig dat sanksies teen Suid-Afrika ingestel sal word nie, het die Minister van Buite­landse Sake, mnr. Pik Botha, gisteraard aan ons korrespondent in Johannes­burg gesê.

Die Minister het by navraag kommentaar gelever op die Veiligheidsraad se besluit.

Min. Botha het gesê dat hy, steeds in verbindings met die Westerse Vyf, die Veiligheidsraad en met die Sekretaris-generaal, dr. Kurt Waldheim, "naar ek kan in hierdie stadium nie bekend maak waaroor ons gepraat het nie."

Intussen berig ons korre­spondent uit New York dat mnr. Botha gister aan dr. Waldheim ’n telegram ge­stuur het waarin hy aangifte maak van die verklaring van die WesterseVyf op 14 November in die Raad om die V.V.O. se vaardigheid om ‘n veilige en onafhanklike stem te beheer in die toekoms te nooi.

"Dr. Waldheim, moet op 24 November aan die raad ver­klar doen oor die toepassing van die V.V.O. se stemvraag.

DIE veiligheidsraad het by die besluit dat hy verpligte sanksies kan verwag as die raad se plan vir Suidwes se onafhanklikheid onder toesig van die V.V.O. nie nagekom word nie, die regterbeheer van die moet op 24 November aan die raad verklar doen oor die toepassing van die V.V.O. se stemvraag.
Sanctions ‘if poll is not halted now’

NEW YORK — The UN Security Council yesterday threatened to impose sanctions on South Africa unless the Government cancels the pre-independence election it has scheduled in South West Africa for December 5-8.

The Security Council adopted by 10 affirmative votes a compromise resolution warning South Africa that she faced possible mandatory action if she failed to comply with the council’s plan for the territory’s independence under UN auspices.

The five Western Powers (Britain, the U.S., France, West Germany and Canada) in this 15-nation top UN body abstained in the vote.

The resolution calls on South Africa to cancel the proposed elections immediately. It requires the Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, to report progress on implementation of the measure by November 24.

The key paragraphs in yesterday’s measure demand once again that South Africa co-operate with the Security Council and the Secretary-General in the implementation of its resolutions and warn South Africa that its failure to do so would compel the Security Council to meet forthwith to initiate appropriate actions under the charter of the UN, including (the mandatory) Chapter Seven thereof so as to ensure South Africa’s compliance with the aforementioned resolutions.” — (Sapa.)

*See also Page 4*
US draws up sanctions plan

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — The United States is studying a very wide range of limited sanction options with which to hit South Africa if it finally rejects the United Nations South West Africa independence operation.

They range from some form of oil ban to a curb on airline travel to the West.

But in confirming this, officials made it clear that the aim would not be to cripple the Republic economically, but to impose "finely tuned" measures that would serve as a "clear signal" to Pretoria.

Informed sources indicated the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, might accept United Nations and Western pleadings and fly here before the November 25 deadline, when Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim must report back to the Security Council on the implementation of the still-blocked operation.

An initial request to Mr Botha made more than a week ago was turned down, but it has been renewed in the wake of Monday's Security Council vote now giving only 10 days for South Africa to clearly state its policy.

The United States threat against the Republic was given headline treatment in the New York press and triggered a ripple of anxiety on Wall Street — with brokers and specialists anxiously seeking more details.

Call off poll,
page 11
A TOP Johannesburg economist yesterday said the United Nations would be foolish to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa because it would have severe economic repercussions around the world.

Professor Arie Spandau of the University of the Witwatersrand said sanctions would wipe out 250,000 jobs in Western Europe, impoverish at least four black African states, and set off a new surge of commodity price rises — disrupting the world-wide battle to control inflation.

The move would also seriously impede South Africa's economic development. But the burden of this would fall mainly on the shoulders of blacks in the work force and would dilute pressure for change within South Africa.

There is abundant evidence to show black advances are strongest during periods of economic growth. This is when you develop black consciousness. When things are bad, people are docile and subservient," he said.

The possibility of sanctions being imposed was remote because of these adverse factors. But even if they were passed, it was unlikely that the UN would be able to enforce them, he said.

He drew this conclusion after making a detailed study of the issue, which will be published next month under the title "Economic Boycott against South Africa."

In the book, the professor predicts South Africa could survive for 10 years or more without feeling a severe pinch, even with full sanctions against the nation.

This projection is supported by charts in a pre-publication manuscript. It contrasts sharply with previous predictions that the country would crumble within two to four years. — UPI
Deur FRANK BADENHORST

VERSKEIE Suid-Afrikanse saakmanne, wapenhandelaars en Europese firms is nou betrok hy 'n groot skaalkle wapensmokkelary uit Amerika na die Republiek Suid-Afrika, mnr. Richard Beck, 32, van Johannesburg, en mnr. Seymour Freilich, 'n Amerikaanse burger, is in Chicago gearresteer en staan terug op sewe aanlaste in dié verband.

'N Hulle is tot dusver die eerste twee beskuldigde. Die derde is die Conceivable Body Armour Corporation van Detroit, Michigan. Mnr. Seymour is die sekretaris en rekennemser van die firma.

Volgens die klagdaat word beweer dat hulle saamgewer het om die VSA se neutraliteitswette te oortrek, en dat hulle van April verlede jaar tot April van jaar wapens ter waarde van R297 000 van die lughawe O'Hare in Chicago en die lughawe Kennedy via Zürich na Suid-Afrika gestuur het.

Na bewering is 405 vuurwapens reeds langs die roete na Suid-Afrika gestuur en was 127 onderweg toe hulle by die lughawe O'Hare gekontroleer word. Hierby kom nog 5 000 patrone.

Van die wapens wat in die klagdaat genoem is, is AR-15-smini-automatiese gewere wat vir paraliëre doeleinders gebruik kan word.

Mnr. William Cook, assistent- proskuureur-generaal in Chicago, sê dat die ondersoek was so uitgebrei dat die Amerikaanse departemente van finansies, buitelandse, salte, Interpol, Scotland Yard en Amerikaanse doezen-beampetes daaraan deelgeneem het.

Mnr. Beck is Vrydag deur doezenbeampetes gearresteer nadat hy van 'n vlug van New York op O'Hare afgestap het. Hy het reeds in die hoe verskyn en 'n prokureur het hom verteenwoordig.

Borgte van R400 000 is toegestaan. Dit sal hersien word by 'n voorlopige verskynselsdag. Dan sal mnr. Beck ook die gelykheid hê om hom te sê of die prokureur wat deur die staat aangewys is, hom moet verdedig en of hy se prokureur wil hê.

'N Prokureur uit Suid-Afrika wat sy belange behartig, sal mnr. na Amerika gaan om mnr. Beck by te staan, is gisteraand laat vertrek.

Mnr. Cook sê in die klagstaat is daar ook die name van Europese firms wat deel van die smokkelketting was, asook die name van verskeie ander Suid-Afrikaners wat met die smokkelgamy genoem is. Hulle is in die stadium nie beskuldigte nie. Een van hulle, mnr. Roland Whitening, is 'n vriend van mnr. Beck.

In die klagdaat word gesê dat daar voorgekom is dat die wapens as 'apparatuur vir die spioengeweld en as duktigtert' beskryf is. Mnr. Cook sê dat vier van die aanlaste te doen het met dié beskrywings van die inhoud van die besending.

'Een vriend van mnr. Beck, wat sy naam nie genoem is nie en deur wapenhandelaars as 'veenoot', beskryf word, sê dat mnr. Beck met mnr. Freilich in kontak was vir hy na Amerika teruggekeer het.

Mnr. Freilich het hom verkry dat hy nie vervolg sowel word, as hy terugkeer nie. 'Al wat nodig was, was dat hy seker dekumente ondersteek. Daardeur kon die wapens - waarop beslag geplaas word aan die Amerikaanse verkeersweg - teruggekeer word en mnr. Beck sy geld terugkry.

'Mnr. Beck was ook in kontak met die betrokke Amerikaanse óverheid en het van hulle dieselfde verskynsels geneem. Sy vriende het hom gewaar wat nie te gaan nie.
Wapens na S.A. laat
Holland bloos

Van Ons Korrespondent

UTRECHT — Die direksie van die skeepsvaartondernem-
ning Van Es en Van Ommere-
ren in Rotterdam betuig dit
dat een van hul vragsekte
Hollwitzgrannate na Suid-
Afrika vervoer het.

Die saak is onthul nadat
die Kaahasede Radio onthoof
die CBC berig het dat die wapen-
vervuilingsde Spassk Research
granate via Spanje na Suid-
Afrika vervoer het. Volgens
'n berig in die dagblad Trouw
is die granate juis die vraag-
skip Breezand van Brecon na Durban vervoer.

Die direksie van Spassk Research onthou dat hulle
wapens na Suid-Afrika ver-
skaf het. Hulle verklar dat
die granate via Spanje bestem
was, en dat hulle nie op dié
hoogte is nie wat na die
Vlaktes van Spanje gebeur
het nie.

Van Es en Van Ommere-
ren se dat hulle nie op die hoogte
was van die inhoud van die
krat nie. Segment G. Tegel-
berg het sy spyt oor die saak
uitgespreek.
SA oil boycott move at UN

UNITED NATIONS — The General Assembly’s Trusteeship Committee has approved mandatory oil embargoes against South Africa to stop the flow of petroleum to Rhodesia.

The resolution also deplored the "complicity of successive British Governments" in the violation of oil sanctions against Rhodesia.

The resolution, which was in two parts, was opposed but 10 members abstained on one section and 13 on the other. The affirmative votes were cast by 124 and 125 members respectively.

The committee condemned and rejected the internal settlement reached last March, setting up a multiracial Rhodesian Government.

The policies of governments, especially that of South Africa which continued to collaborate with the Rhodesian authorities were also condemned.

The oil embargo proposal against South Africa was addressed to the Security Council, which alone takes such decisions under the mandatory terms of Chapter 7 of the UN Charter.

The first section of the resolution, which received the stronger affirmative vote, expressed firm support for the "legitimate struggle" by all means at their disposal of black Rhodesians seeking self-determination and independence.

Speaking before the voting began, the British Ambassador, Mr Ivor Richard, complained that the resolution was prepared without general consultation. Britain must abstain and regretted that it was impossible for the UN to speak with a single voice on the Rhodesia issue this year. — SAPA

Figure

Model Organisation of Rural Development

Note: Norman Reynolds is Programme Officer for Rural Development, the Ford Foundation, New Delhi, India. On secondment to SADHU.
No promise on sanctions

LONDON — Britain's Foreign Secretary Dr. David Owen refused yesterday to give an assurance that the British Government would block UN sanctions against South Africa.

The government would not support such a move while it thought there was a serious possibility of negotiated solutions to the problems of southern Africa — particularly Rhodesia and South West Africa.

But he told the House of Commons "South Africa cannot be given a blank cheque to pursue policies in southern Africa, internally or externally, which are in direct contradiction with the United Nations charter."

Dr. Owen was replying to Conservative MP, Mr. Malcolm Rifkind, who had asked for a categorical assurance that Britain would oppose the imposition of oil sanctions against South Africa.

The Tory MP was referring to the British abstention on Tuesday when the UN General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee voted for an oil embargo against South Africa as a way of stopping the flow to Rhodesia.

Before it could be enforced the committee's draft resolution would need endorsement by the Security Council where Britain is among the five veto-holding powers.

Dr. Owen agreed with the "strict logic" of Labour MP Mr. Frank Hooley's submission that an oil embargo of South Africa was needed to stop oil from getting to "Smith's war machine."

The alternative was that South Africa voluntarily stop the flow. This was not likely. — (Sapa.)
African bloc to push for SA sanctions

By Kevin Jacobs

NEW YORK — An African-initiated United Nations Security Council debate on events in SWA/Namibia was abruptly terminated yesterday and the UN's African bloc now plans to push for a sanctions resolution in the General Assembly.

Numerically dominated by Third World states, the 150-nation General Assembly is certain to endorse overwhelmingly any proposal for economic sanctions against South Africa for its continuing presence in the territory.

But General Assembly resolutions carry no obligation binding on member states, and on the SWA-/Namibia dispute it would merely recommend the action to the Security Council.

The African group is likely to sponsor a call for a comprehensive economic and oil blockade of South Africa, when the General Assembly receives the annual report of the UN Council for Namibia, probably tomorrow.

**ACTIONS**

Intending to castigate South Africa once more for holding unilateral arranged elections in SWA/Namibia this week, the 49-member African bloc requested the Security Council meeting, which on Monday heard repetitive denunciations of Pretoria's actions.

But yesterday the council president, West German Ambassador Rudolph von Weizsäcker, said he had been told of the Africans' intention to take the issue to the General Assembly.
"SA sanctions will hit UK workers"

LONDON — Economic sanctions against South Africa could result in more than 250,000 British workers losing their jobs.

This prediction comes from a research paper produced by the United Kingdom-South Africa Trade Association, a pressure group representing most large British firms trading with South Africa.

Ukata also confirms reports that British Government departments such as the Foreign Office and the Department of Trade have informally approached major companies for an assessment of how an embargo would affect their business.

It has now become vitally important that Britain reaches a policy on United Nations sanctions quickly since international unease over the current elections in South West Africa may spark off a Security Council resolution to impose sanctions.

Britain’s attitude to this would have to take into account the possibility of trade sanctions doing more harm to Britain than to the Republic.

A British director of Ukata, Mr John McQuiggan, said: “There is no doubt at all that an embargo of trade with South Africa would do a great deal of damage to our economy. If the Republic decided to stop selling us their goods — such as raw materials obtainable only from South Africa or the Soviet Union — we would be in real trouble.”

The report gives an example of the effect of a halt in platinum supplies. Many sections of the petro-chemicals industry would be severely hampered, as would production of nitric acid, many fertilizers and processes using glass fibre.

The report has also used returns from member companies to compile an estimate of Britain’s invisible earnings from South Africa. These are put at nearly £700 million. This would stop if sanctions were imposed, although the researchers found it impossible to predict what job losses would follow this.

However, an economist who has been conducting a six-month investigation into the subject under the aegis of York University’s Centre for South African Studies has reached a different conclusion.

Mr Martin Bailey said: “One assumes that if sanctions were undertaken the Western powers would use the form which would cause least damage to them and yet hurt South Africa most.”

“This inevitably means an oil embargo. South Africa is totally dependent on outside oil, yet little of it is supplied by the West.”

“While it is true that an all-out stoppage of trade would harm the UK economy, it seems very unlikely to happen.”

The Foreign Office has confirmed that consideration was given to the possible implications of sanctions.

Concern that the British Government is preparing the ground for support of possible UN sanctions has prompted a Tory MP, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, to table a private Member’s motion in the Commons last Friday urging the government to pledge their opposition.

However, the British Government has not changed its policy on economic sanctions and has made no decisions on the question, the Foreign Office Minister, Mr Ted Rowlands, said in reply to the motion.

Mr Rifkind’s motion read: “To call attention to the policy of Her Majesty’s Government towards economic sanctions against South Africa and to move that this House expresses its concern that Her Majesty’s Government may be intending to support the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa and believes that such sanctions, if imposed, would be likely to be unenforceable, would be resented by the black as well as the white community in South Africa, would severely damage the economies of other states in Southern Africa and would have serious consequences for employment in the United Kingdom.”

Mr Rowlands replied that it could not be the position of the government that some time in the future, “in a situation that we cannot now anticipate, we would automatically rule out sanctions.”

“We cannot rule them out absolutely, but we have said that we can only consider sanctions in a situation of the utmost gravity,” he said.

He said the whole thrust of the government’s policy towards South Africa has been to try to solve the problem without recourse to sanctions.

The opposition front bench spokesman on Foreign Affairs, Mr Richard Luce, said that the Conservative Party was totally opposed to the imposition of sanctions.

He also said that he wanted to make it clear that they fundamentally disagreed with the racial policies in South Africa. A failure on the part of the South African Government to find a way to satisfy the aspirations of the black South Africans would be disastrous.
Sanctions threat growing warns ‘briefing paper’

Although South Africa has avoided the immediate threat of sanctions over the South West Africa/Namibia issue, the threat of economic sanctions grows steadily stronger.

This is the general introduction in the latest of a series of briefing papers produced by the South African Foundation, entitled “Sanctions”, and written by Mr. Tony Koenderman, a business writer on the Sunday Times.

One of the first points made in the paper is that South Africans should be aware of the very real effects of sanctions: “It is a dangerous self-delusion to say that sanctions do not work — they do,” says Mr. Koenderman.

“The crucial questions are, however, how long do sanctions take to work, and do they achieve their desired objectives?”

The effect of sanctions on Rhodesia is studied and the paper concludes that 15 years of sanctions did play a large part in bringing about social, political and economic changes in Rhodesia, even though she was bolstered by South Africa, a large and relatively powerful neighbour.

In light of this knowledge, the paper asks whether South Africa, faced with total economic sanctions, can survive.

The paper first deals with South Africa’s “Achilles heel”, her oil supply, and says that this section of the economy is not as vulnerable as people think.

Firstly, oil provides only 25% of the country’s energy needs, power stations are coal-fired and the South African Railways has embarked on an electrification programme.

Secondly, the government has been stockpiling oil in disused coal-mines for years, and although this is a closely guarded secret, it is widely thought to be at least three years supply.

Thirdly, Sasol II comes into operation in 1981, and this oil-from-coal process is designed to provide up to 20% of the projected demand in three years time.

Another import of strategic importance, says the paper, is arms, “and it has become quite clear that South Africa is all but self-sufficient in weapons.”

As far as a ban on other imports is concerned, the paper quotes Dr. Henne Reynders, executive director of the Federal Chamber of Industries, who says that South Africa could “make just about everything we need, even if we have to make it by hand.”

Most experts agree that a ban on imports would lead to a short-term boom in manufacturing.

Mr. Koenderman concedes that a boycott of South African exports would have far more serious consequences for the economy. Even if the boycott was only 20% successful, it would cost the balance of payments R1.480 million and unemployment would increase by 90,000 among whites and 360,000 among blacks.

“The big question here is whether the world, and more particularly the West, can afford to cut itself off from South Africa’s supply of gold, diamonds and strategic minerals.”

South Africa controls 40% of the world’s chrome reserves, produces 80% of the Western world’s platinum group metals, 78% of its gold, 58% of its vanadium and 13% of its uranium.

Although withdrawal of overseas investments would not have a very noticeable short-term effect, the paper concedes that in the long run, an absence of foreign investment “puts an unacceptably low ceiling on possible growth rates.”

This means that job creation targets would have to be reduced, leading to the danger of greater civil unrest.

The paper also draws attention to other factors which should be taken into account. Sanctions against South Africa would harm other Black states.
Economic Affairs Minister Chris Heinus has asked SA oil companies whose parents are members of Iranian Oil Participants to draw up an option paper assuming the worst possible short-range developments in Iran.

For SA there is no alternative to the Shah, the sole bulwark between it and total isolation from conventional chains of crude oil supply. It's a fair bet that a new regime in Iran would scrap the existing special dispensation under which SA gets its oil.

For SA, the extent of the hardship that would follow such an event would depend on the will of oil exporting countries (including a post-Shah Iran) to maintain an SA boycott. During the 1973-74 oil crisis when Saudi Arabia persuaded most oil exporters to adhere to a list of destination embargoes on countries thought to be sympathetic to the Israeli cause, a number of important producers either cheated, defied, or ignored the ban — Iraq, Iran, Algeria, Nigeria, and Indonesia to mention a few.

Of the backsliders, however, only Iran maintained supplies to the top pariahs on Saudi Arabia's list, Israel and SA. Because of its staunch support of the West during the crisis, Iran, the world's second largest exporter, has become the most important single supplier to the US, Japan, West Germany and France. Last year the US and Japan each took about 40 Mt and West Germany 15.7 Mt, roughly the same volume as SA.

Since the outbreak of unrest and the subsequent production cutbacks to 20%-25% of 1977 levels of 5.7M barrels a day (b/d), physical shortages have not made themselves felt because consuming nations have been relying on normal refinery stocks, stockpiles, and commercial stocks of refined products — assisted by the fact that the cutbacks have been erratic and not sustained to the point where there has had to be drastic rescheduling of supply logistics. In addition, the Iranian oilfield strikes occurred as most oil importing nations in the northern hemisphere were rounding off their seasonal winter stockpiling programmes, which had begun earlier than usual in anticipation of higher 1979 prices.

Assuming a post-Shah Iran dominated by religious mullahs, bent on abrogation of existing arrangements with SA, what will Pretoria do?

The bulk of Iran's oil production comes from fields operated by the consortium of Iranian Oil Participants' led by BP with 40%, Shell 14%, Gulf, Texaco, Mobil, Chevron, and Exxon (7% each), and Total (6%).

As events in 1973-74 showed, the oil multi-nationals stuck scrupulously to destination embargoes imposed by host governments. The cheating that did take place was conducted by oil exporting countries themselves or by free-booters and independent refiners. The international crude oil spot market helped many governments to overcome short-term supply problems.

If Iran joins the boycotters, SA will have to resort to unorthodox methods of acquisition. This could add as much as 15% to the 14.5% higher prices sought by Open in 1979.

Or would the oil multi-nationals devise an elaborate paper chase to break the embargo, as some of them did in post-UDI Rhodesia? This is highly unlikely for the simple reason that it would be an elementary exercise to monitor oil movements to SA, whereas landlocked Rhodesia was fed by SA and Mozambique, which acted as a sieve by leaking supplies off the top of their own substantial requirements.

The loss of Iran would not bring SA to its knees immediately, but it would make life difficult and very expensive for many years.
SA can last 2 years if oil cut off — report

LONDON — South Africa's economy could last only about two years if its oil was cut off by an embargo, according to a study made for the United Nations Centre against Apartheid.

Two British economists, Mr Martin Bailey and Mr Bernard Rivers, prepared the report, which is due to be published in New York next week.

They said South Africa was able to survive the 1973 Arab embargo because major oil firms and Iran had been willing to make regular supplies.

Iran now provides about 90 per cent of South Africa's oil needs, the draft said. Some of the rest originates in Arab gulf states and is sold by oil companies to South Africa.

"If there was a cut-off on imported oil then the country would probably last for about two years, but the economy would enter a severe recession long before the end of that period," the report said.

Although oil meets only 20 per cent of South Africa's energy needs, compared with 40 per cent in Britain, "South Africa is extremely dependent on imported oil.

The economists described oil as crucial for South Africa's highly-mobile police and armed services.

They cited an incident in November 1973 in which they said a tanker carrying aviation fuel was delayed in the Middle East. Privately-owned aircraft were grounded until the tanker arrived.

"Thousands of these aircraft are organised together under the air command system, and make up a vital element in the government's "counter-subversion" measures.

"An oil embargo against South Africa is a feasible proposition if tackled on a multilateral level under the authority of the United Nations Security Council," the economists said.

"The simplest way of enforcing an embargo would be to make any tanker delivered oil to South Africa liable to seizure at its next port of call.

"Lesotho and to some extent Botswana and Swaziland could be seriously affected by an embargo as they get refined oil products from South Africa, the study said.

A stockpile to protect these countries if they could obtain oil elsewhere where would cost about $40 million.

Rhodesia depends on South Africa for its supplies, the economists said."
1.

It must be emphasised here however that the statistical information relates only to the stark physical conditions encountered. What is really needed for a full understanding of these physical conditions is the opinions of the contract workers themselves. This would require a new project to be initiated, the broad nature of which is sketched in Chapter 6 of this paper. It cannot be stated strongly enough that before an attempt is made to alter fundamentally present conditions, or to build any new housing, it is vital to ask the men themselves what they dislike, what they want, and how they would like things changed.
Rhodesia announced plan to ditch racism

SALISBURY — Rhodesia's interim government is considering a comprehensive and "practical" programme for removing discriminatory laws.

This was announced yesterday by Prime Minister Mr. John Wrathall, when he opened a new session of Parliament — the first under the transitional government.

But Mr. Wrathall did not give any details and observers believe a clash is likely on this question later this year between the white and black elements of the interim government.

At issue is what happens in areas like education and health. Will government hospitals become integrated? Or will integration in these areas be confined to private schools and hospitals?

Mr. Wrathall's use of the description "practical" in referring to the programme for removing discrimination points to a pragmatic approach.

Mr. Wrathall said the Government would carry on until "reasonable" a general election on universal adult suffrage even though the Patriotic Front leaders had rejected an offer to return and take seats in the government.

Legislation for the new constitution could be introduced as soon as possible.

Parliament would also enact new laws.

Mr. Wrathall said the transitional government for its part, wishes to live on good terms with all our neighbours in Africa, and will watch carefully for any sign that they are ready to share our peaceful sentiments.

There was little pomp, but much circumstance at yesterday's opening of the historic session.

At the stroke of noon, 49 white MPs; 11 black nationalists — including the three black members of the executive council — and 14 elected black MPs rose in support of Mr. Wrathall.

Bishop Muzorewa, current chairman of the executive council and leader of the United African National Council, was not present at the last session.

...but sanctions body votes for clampdown

LONDON — High commissioners representing 13 Commonwealth countries decided here yesterday that UN sanctions against Rhodesia would not be lifted until an acceptable agreement has been reached.

This emphatic statement is a blow to the hopes of the Patriotic Front leaders, and the Patriotic Front seemed to be more remote yesterday than they were last week.

Mr. P. M. Smit, assistant secretary of the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa that the Anglo-American negotiators were still trying to find a framework for the conference.

Mr. Mansfield said the British Government wanted the conference to be held as soon as possible, but he could give no date for when it might be held.

The Anglo-US envoy, Sir John Graham and Mr. Stephen Low, are expected to return to Salisbury today in a further attempt to persuade the government to take part in the all-party talks.

They left Salisbury last week after yesterday's one day of talks.

The executive council refused to see them as a body, although the three black members — Bishop Muzorewa, Thabo Nkomazi and Albert Ndhlovu — were present.

Mr. Graham and Mr. Low have asked for an interview with Dr. Banda, who for the first time in years, might be drawn into Southern African discussions.
LONDON — South Africa was an "area of disturbance" and prudent countries should be looking around for alternative sources for the important minerals imported from South Africa, the British Prime Minister, Mr. James Callaghan, said here yesterday.

Asked if this was what Britain was doing quietly, he replied: "If we were I wouldn't tell you, because then we wouldn't be doing it quietly."

In an exclusive interview with the Associated Press he said Moscow's policies in Africa, its harsh reaction to President Carter's human rights campaign and its arms build-up had adversely affected public opinion.

"But that does not prevent the leaders of the countries concerned from judging where their interests lie," Mr. Callaghan said.

It was a shared American-Soviet interest to conclude a squarely balanced second-phase strategic arms limitation agreement.

To hold that up because of Soviet "adventures in Africa would be quite wrong," Mr. Callaghan was asked if he thought the Soviets' strategic aim in Africa was to create a belt of friendly states across the width of the continent, below the Sahara, linking the Indian and Atlantic Oceans.

"I'm sure they would like to," he said, but added they would not push beyond a certain point if they thought it was going to cause other troubles.

Asked if it would be serious for the West to be cut off from the mineral resources of sub-Saharan Africa — such as uranium, copper, chrome, cobalt, zinc, industrial diamonds, platinum — Mr. Callaghan said: "The Africans are going to be African anyway, They're going to sell these things if they want."

Mr. Callaghan said he would be against any East-West talks on the future of Africa, either to benefit the Africans or keep big-power rivalries out of the region.

"I'd be very reluctant to do that unless the African countries themselves asked us."

Fierce

African nations would react fiercely if they thought White Europeans and North Americans were deciding "either how they're going to parcel up, or refuse to parcel up," their continent.

He had received letters from the Tanzanian President, Mr. Julius Nyerere, and other African leaders about this.

Mr. Callaghan said their reactions were "really fierce" when four Western nations planned and launched their mission last month to rescue beleaguered Whites in the Shaba province of Zaire.

Mr. Callaghan said the present leadership of the Soviet Union would be just as ready and keen to reach a SALT agreement as the American Administration.

He appeared to base his judgment of Moscow's position at least in part on a Pentagon appraisal he had seen on what would happen if Washington and Moscow failed to agree on SALT.

"You'd feel the gloop, not at the prospect of an outbreak of nuclear war, but at the use of resources — the money that would be involved, the skilled people who would be required to fulfill the kind of programmes that would be within the capability of both the U.S. and Soviet Union. It would be a ridiculous diversion of resources."

Pentagon

The Prime Minister gave no details of the unpublished Pentagon charts.

He was also asked: "How do you assess some of President Carter's major initiatives, such as his human rights campaign and his efforts for a new and ordered world regime to check the spread of nuclear weapons?"

He replied: "Wholly good. I would want to see an American President, the leader of the free world, saying what he thinks is the best way forward."

"How successful he will be on these issues is not the question. He's made people think." — (Sape AP)
Dink, vra dr. Tom die Yanks

'n ARTIKEL wat dr. Tom Muller, voorsitter van Yako, in 'n invloedryke Amerikaanse tydskrif geskryf het, het gesaghebbende in daardie land aan die praat en maak hele bygedra het tot 'n beter perspektief oor Suid-Afrika.


Hy se dat voor daar bevind, word oor Suid-Afrika oor die wat te stoot, sonder dat die land die gelei-

heid gegee word om sy probleme op 'n ordelike en evolutionêre manier op te los, daar-gedink moet word.

"Dink asseblief, dink aangévuldig," vra dr. Muller.

Hy skryf dat dit 'n bekend de feit is dat Suid-Afrika deur die wêreld onder druk geplaas word oor sy binne-

landse beleid. Hierdie druk neem toe en is van 'n ekonomiese en politieke aard. In sommige gevalle word steun seits verleen aan terroristie wat op die land se grense bedrywig is.

Sonder om my op die gebied van die politiek te begeewe, wil ek graag die mening uitspreek dat Suid-

Afrika meer is in staat om 'n wilige bedreiging in Afrika te hanteer.

"Dit is teegterde, die agter-

grond van die vraag die belangrying van Suid-

Afrika se mineralen-skepe, is die albei.

onderwerp waarop albei in die onlangs verlede-

gelede beleide. In die onlangs verspreide, sommige kommentare het die afhankelikheid van die Weste op hierdie reserv-

we, beklemtoon, terwyl ander die belangri-

gheid daarvan, probeer verkler-

neer," se dr. Muller.

'n Oorlangs sprake oor die gees: "Die verlies van jul mineraloring vir die Weste sal ons seerskerlik in die ver-

lenheid stel. Maar ons kan goed daarsonder klaarskom."

"Maar wat is die ware toestand," vra dr. Muller. "Hy verwees daarna in 'n tabel oor net sewe van die sewe-een-

vytig mineraloring wat die land produseer. In hierdie tabel, dui dr. Muller aan watte persent-

"uutmaak en ook watter deel Suid-Afrika se reserve wêreldse reserves is met dié van Rusl

van die wêreld se reser-

is. Hieruit blyk dit dat Suid-

Afrika en Rusland sesame nie minder nie as 99 per-

sent van die hele wêreld se platinum besit. Suid-Afrika beskik hieroor 86 percent van die wêreld se reserves.

Wat vanadium betref, beskik Suid-Afrika oor 64 percent van die wêreld se reserves en saam met Rus-

land oor 97 percent. In die geval van mangan het die
twee nesse 53 percent van die wêreldse reserves.
Carter's whole Rhodesian policy endangered by Senate vote Sanctions shock

By Hugh Robertson

Washington

The United States Senate came breathtakingly close to lifting sanctions against Rhodesia late yesterday. In a 48-42 vote it rejected a resolution which would have lifted sanctions until September 1979.

The vote was dramatic evidence of growing congressional support for the internal settlement and was a blow to the Carter Administration's policy on Rhodesia.

A spokesman for Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, who proposed the resolution to end sanctions, said today: "We lost this by the narrowest of margins."

"Senator Helms and others who support us on this are buoyed by the result and we have decided to try again at the very first opportunity."

"We are now examining pending Senate bills to find an early and suitable legislative vehicle. We have been given certain assurances since yesterday's vote, which lead us to hope that we will do far better luck next time."

The vote came after Senator Helms had proposed an amendment to the $1 billion State Department Authorization Bill, which would have immediately lifted all economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

During the same debate, the Senate voted 58-20 for a "non-binding" resolution urging President Carter to end the recently resumed diplomatic and economic links with Cuba until Cuban forces had been withdrawn from Africa.

Warning

"The Rhodesian vote — taken in the absence of key senators, says of whom are thought either..."
We are not alone
But what if we were?

The UN feasibility study of sanctions against SA by two British economists (PM most likely to due to be published within days. It seems certain to set off a lively debate on the subject.

Within SA there is virtual unanimity of opinion that the total sanctions are not feasible. However, they were imposed - loopholes would surely be found and sanctions would continue, if not at present levels, then only slightly below

It is pointed out, for example, that Britain's exports to SA are worth more than $1bn a year. According to the Confederation of British Industry, a trade boycott of SA would add 70,000 workers to Britain's already high unemployment force. Hence, it is argued, Britain would strenuously oppose sanctions.

The weakness in this argument lies in changing world trade patterns. New markets, like Nigeria, are appearing elsewhere for SA's traditional trading partners, particularly among Third World countries, who are the most vociferous in their demands for sanctions to be applied. These markets are no longer being looked at by Western nations as additional markets but as alternatives.

Self-interest on the part of our trading partners could, in fact, work to SA's disadvantage if these nations are forced to choose between a diminishing market (SA) and a growing one (Third World). In fact, it is already happening.

Recently, British PM James Callaghan said prudent countries should look for alternative sources of important minerals from SA. In other words, while such a development is by no means certain, a fairly severe boycott of trade with SA is feasible. The question is: what would be its effect?

So far, most public attention has been paid to imports, the most important of which is oil. Exports, however, are equally significant.

According to Arnt Spandau in his Economic Boycott against SA, a 50% trade boycott in 1976 would have decreased our exports by R4.4bn and the consequent fall in GDP would have amounted to R3.7bn. Unemployment would have increased by 1m, 830,000 of whom would have been black. Incomes would have fallen by R2.6bn.

That is too simplistic an analysis. It does not take account of the large amount of switching from export producers to domestic import-replacement production that would inevitably take place. A more realistic scenario would look like this.

It's 1984, two years after the imposition of a total trade boycott by UN members. Although the embargo means that air and sea communications have been cut, some minerals are still finding their way onto world markets. The Swiss, for example, not being UN members, are flying out gold, diamonds and platinum.

But bulk minerals are a problem. Very little chrome, manganese (or ferro-
Schmidt rules out sanctions

LUSAKA—The West German Chancellor, Mr Helmut Schmidt, wound up his first-ever African tour here yesterday with a defence of his Government's decision to oppose UN sanctions against South Africa.

At a press conference before his departure for home, Mr Schmidt called for the implementation of Western settlement proposals for Rhodesia and South West Africa.

"Hundreds of schoolchildren were marshalled on Lusaka's streets as Mr Schmidt and Pres Kaunda drove to the airport after 12 hours of talks over the past few days.

"From a long-range point of view it is wise not to destroy the South African economy," Mr Schmidt said. Dr Kaunda — whose Government favours sanctions — sat beside him at the press conference.

But Dr Kaunda averted a public showdown by declining to give his views on Western attitudes to sanctions against South Africa. "This is the Chancellor's show, not mine," he told pressmen.

Mr Schmidt said West Germany's export industry's labour force of seven million people and South Africa's black workers would suffer from economic sanctions.

Germany's trade with South Africa had fallen by 17 per cent over the past year, while trade with Nigeria and other independent African States was rising.

At the same time Mr Schmidt said: "We condemn apartheid in South Africa." On Rhodesia, Mr Schmidt said: "Time is running short in Zimbabwe. We have seen the situation on the border. Further delays will bring on the danger of even more spilling of black and white blood. The senseless killings of missionaries should challenge everyone to seek peace."

Both he and Dr Kaunda agreed that the Anglo-American proposals for a Rhodesian peace should be "vigorously" implemented."
Sanctions opposed by Schmidt

LUSAKA — The West German Chancellor, Mr. Helmut Schmidt, wound up his first African tour here yesterday, defending his Government's decision to oppose the imposition of UN sanctions against South Africa.

At a Press conference before his departure for home, Mr. Schmidt also promised new efforts to increase the copper revenues of developing countries and called for the implementation of Western settlement proposals for Rhodesia and South West Africa.

Hundreds of school children were marshalled on to Lusaka streets as Mr. Schmidt and President Kenneth Kaunda drove out to the airport in a Rolls-Royce after some 12 hours of talks.

Long-range

"From a long-range point of view it is wise not to destroy the South African economy," Mr. Schmidt said. Dr. Kaunda — whose Government favours sanctions against South Africa — sat beside him at the Press conference.

Averting a public showdown, Dr. Kaunda declined to give his views on Western attitudes to sanctions against South Africa. "This is the Chancellor's show, not mine," he said when asked for his comments.

Mr. Schmidt said West Germany's export industry labour force of 7,000,000 people and Black workers in South Africa would suffer if economic sanctions were imposed against South Africa.

Fallen

His country's trade with South Africa had fallen by 17 per cent over the past year, while trade with Nigeria and other independent African States was rising.

At the same time, Mr. Schmidt said: "We condemn apartheid in South Africa."

He urged South Africa to agree on the last two issues which are still outstanding in the negotiations on a South West Africa settlement.

On the Rhodesia issue, Mr. Schmidt said: "Time is running short in Zimbabwe. We have seen the situation on the border. Further delays will bring on the danger of ever more spilling of blood, of Black and White persons." — (Sapa-Reuters.)
Military spending puts squeeze on Russia

ECONOMY show that Moscow has been able to create this power only by heavy economic and social sacrifices. Almost half the machinery produced in the Soviet Union is probably military equipment of some sort. This represents an alarming diversion of resources from investment badly needed to modernize Soviet industry.

If the Soviet Union has paid a high price to catch up with the West militarily, it will have to pay an even higher price to hang on to that position if military competition continues.

There are various estimates of what will happen to the Soviet economy over the next 10 years but they all agree that it will grow at a slower pace than before. By the 1980s the figure could be between 2% to 3% but, whether to be the same, or rather below, that expected for the industrialized West.

Far behind

Investment to maintain equality with America in a new round of weapons competition would have to be extracted from proportionately diminishing funds, while the investment itself might be proportionately higher than in the past because the Soviet Union is far behind America in important areas of new military technology such as miniaturisation.

Technological backwardness means that the Russians match the West only at the price of extremely inefficient use of materials and resources: for example, lighter planes that are (by Western standards) far too heavy, and missiles that are wastefully large.

There is, practically no doubt that the Soviet Government, if it judged it necessary, could continue to squeeze the money from its economy to pay for new weapons as it has in the past.

Latest proof

The Soviet response to President Carter's unexpected proposals last year for drastic cutbacks in strategic weapons which the Russians believed disadvantageous to them was only the latest proof of this.

Moscow sent defiant messages to Washington which said, in effect: We do not want a new round in the arms race but we have made sacrifices before to maintain our power. Have no doubt that we shall do so again if it is necessary.

But it is hard to believe that this is what Moscow wants to happen.

MARK FRANKLAND
London

Moscow has for some time intrigued Western strategists. A good many of them have been invited to China where almost without exception they have praised their hosts by expressing an appreciation of China as a military counter-balance to the Soviet Union.

Accusation

But while China remains for many Westerners a useful factor in theoretical strategic calculations, it is for Moscow an outright and immediate threat. The new Chinese leadership, Soviet officials now say, is every bit as bad as the late Chairman Mao.

An important article in Pravda last week accused China, of preparing for a third world war. It was followed by another arguing that Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's adviser on national security affairs, had on his recent visit to Peking agreed on a "joint political line with China on a wide range of international problems on an anti-Soviet basis."

The Soviet Union has not yet accused the West of a military alliance with China. But it is clearly worried that Britain and other Western European countries might sell China military equipment, which showed strong interest in the British Harrier jet.

Western suppliers of arms sales to China have not yet thought through the consequences of such deals. Certainly the British Government has not made up its mind whether it would do more good than harm.

West warned

The Russians have no doubt. They have already warned Western European governments that they will co-operate with China do "irreparable damage" to their relations with Moscow.

An economy that cannot satisfy both civilian and military needs, at least with the necessary speed, has a potentially enemy to its east, as well as its west: there at least are the problems that the West does not appear to have set for itself.

RECOMMENDATIONS:
The Townships

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Moreover, there is companies that pro economically count designs there is dormitories in are directly responsible each day, water to condense

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The type of accommodation the basic material whatever his back poor and often unh
Van HENNIE PRETORIUS

WASHINGTON

IN breë historiese termes is daar baie min logika dié rede vir die idee dat ekonomiese stagnasie 'n beter agtergrond voorsien vir vreedsame transformasie van institusionele rassisme na 'n veerklare gemeenskap. Ekonomiese opbloei onder kruisvervoer beland en hoofsaaklik van lank- en universteitsgroepse. Skerp geskryf onderwerp word om te verdiep: waarom nóg sake in Suid-Afrika gedaan word nie. So word ook gekonfronteer deur die grootste politieke verskeiding op die hele wêreld sodat sommige ook hulle toegang tot universteite sowat 70 persent van die...
Owen knor uit
sý hoek uit

Van Giellie de Kock

DR. DAVID OWEN, Britse minister van buitelandse sake, se beroep op Britse
nyweraaars om versigtig te dink voordat hulle verdere beleggings in Suid-Afrika
maak, het sy kritiek die geleentheid gegee om weer te wys op die dubbele
standaard wat die Britse Arbeidersparty toeas.

Hulle wys daarop dat hy
vroeër vanjaar tydens sy
besoek aan Moskou feitlik
voor pres. Brezjjev gekruip
het om ekonomiese en poli-
tieke steun te verkry. Die
Rus het egter net geduldig
na sy jong besoeker geluis-
ter maar geen beloftes ge-
maak nie.

Ook wat handelsbetrek-
kings betref, kon dr. Owen
geen goeie nuus aan sy
mense huis toe bring nie.
Die Russe neem nog maar
feitlik alles wat hulle kan
kry en gee omtrent niks
terug nie. Die in-
uitvoergaping is steeds so
groot soos dit was.

Hierannaal sluk Brittanje se
sakeucli swaar, net soos wat
hulle nie kan verstaan hoe
by aan die een kant na die
Kremil se pyke kan dans
terwyl "Hy Suid-Afrika ver-
doen nie. Wie is dan nou
eintlik die vyand??" word in
kringe gevra waar dit saak
maak.

Dr. Owen en sy departe-
ment het dit vandeesweek
duidelik gemaak dat die
toenemende wêreld me-
ning teen Suid-Afrika se
apartheidsbeleid handels-
sanksies uiteindelik on-
voorkombaar sal maak.
Maar terselfdertyd het hy
in die verlede al laat byk dat
hy as 'n kusings sal optree
om die volle geweld van
sulke pogings te probeer
afweer.

Intussen word hier be-
weer dat die Britse depar-
tement van buitelandse
sake besig is om die betrok-
kenheid van twintig voorste
Britse maatskappe in
Suid-Afrika onder die ver-
groottagte plaas. Die Brit-
te wil 'n volledige ontle-
ding hê van hoe die maat-
skappe. Suid-Afrika sal
can raak ingeval sanksies
toegepas word.

Nyweraaars hier sten dr
Owen se skulp as 'n voorspel
tot 'n verdere verskuwing
in regeringsbeleid teenoor
Suid-Afrika.
This is what really happened in that US Senate vote last weekend.

The Senate was about to vote on the bill to authorize funding of the US State Department for the upcoming budget year. Senator Jesse Helms, a conservative Republican and frequently pro-SA cause, moved an amendment to force the US to repudiate the UN embargo against Rhodesia.

On a roll call vote of the 100 senators, the Helms amendment was defeated 48 to 42 and Helms was quick to claim a moral victory. The narrow six vote loss, he said, shows the "considerable dissatisfaction with the administration's present Africa policies."

As the debate continued the senators then approved by majority voice vote a resolution saying that the internal settlement achieved in March "should be given serious consideration and not rejected out of hand" by the White House. The resolution is merely an indication of sentiment and is in no way binding on the Carter Administration.

Even if the Senate had passed the Helms amendment overwhelmingly, no one, not even Helms, would argue that the measure would carry in the House where sentiment is clearly anti-white on southern African matters. And even if the House had agreed, Carter could have vetoed the demand.

So what did happen? Was it a moral victory, as claimed by Senator Helms, and a significant turning of American political opinion back to one of sympathy for Rhodesia, and by implication SA?

"Of course not," says Senator Clifford Case, the equally conservative Republican who sponsored the successful resolution urging consideration of the internal settlement. "There is a feeling in the Senate that the State Department, and the White House, may lean toward the view that the guerrillas must be brought into the Rhodesian government at any cost. A majority of us feel and so voted that we should not scrap the agreement already reached between Smith and the moderate blacks out of hand. We feel our policy should be to give it a chance to work. If it fails, then go on to something else by all means.

"Anyone who reads more than this into the vote is making a big mistake."
UDI oil ban 'beaten by UK firms'  

LONDON — More secret information about the operations of major British oil companies in a illegally circumventing sanctions against Rhodesia has been disclosed.

It comes from Mr Jorge Jardim, a former Portuguese official in Mozambique. The Observer reported yesterday.

The revelations in Mr Jardim's book "Sanctions Double Cross" have delayed the report of an investigation ordered by the British Foreign Secretary into allegations of sanctions evasion by British oil companies.

Several MPs are determined to force a debate on the report if Mr Owen declines to publish it. (they are angry)

Mr Jardim was responsible for the road oil which passed through Mozambique from the time of Rhodesia's UDI declaration of independence in 1964 to the end of Portuguese rule in Mozambique in 1974.

Mr Jardim revealed last week that, at the height of tension between Portugal and Britain over the evasion of sanctions through Mozambique in 1990, he personally confronted the British Ambassador in Lisbon, Sir Archibald Ross, with what he called conclusive proof about the role of Shell and BP.

"Sir Archibald was flabbergasted and worried," Mr Jardim said.

Mr Jardim has also submitted reports showing how oil companies' profits increased in Rhodesia and how they competed with each other to secure a larger share of that market.

The profitability of the oil trade, Mr Jardim adds, gave Shell and BP a pre-1974 of 230,000 Rhodesian dollars each year, a share of 15%.

"In 1974 we made more money than that," he said.

Mr Jardim said he left the government in 1972 and from then on he was always in contact with officials in the Rhodesian Ministry of Mines and Energy.

He also said he was in contact with officials from the Ministry of Home Affairs and that he was told by officials that the sanctions were not working and that the international banks were not interested in the sanctions.
New oil for sanction busting fire

LONDON — More evidence pointing to sanction-busting operations by major oil companies in Rhodesia after UDI is about to be released in Britain.

A book by the former Portuguese representative in Mozambique, Mr Jorge Jardim — the man responsible for handing all oil traffic to Rhodesia — has claimed concrete proof of sanctions-busting, profiteering and investment, mainly by Shell and BP.

The impact of the book, Sanctions Double Cross, has delayed the report of Mr Thomas Bingham QC, the investigator appointed by Foreign Secretary Sir David Owen, to investigate sanction evasions.

The report now has additional evidence from Mr Jardim and will present the government with the problem of legal action. Several MPs are determined to force a debate on the report if Dr Owen does not publish it.

Mr Jardim’s book claims that:

- At the height of tensions between Portugal and Britain over sanction-busting in Mozambique after UDI, he personally confronted the British ambassador in Lisbon, Sir Archibald Ross, with “conclusive proof” of the role of Shell and BP in supplying oil to Rhodesia;
- Oil companies competed with each other to secure a larger share of the Smith regime’s profitable business;
- Shell and BP decided to invest their profits in a block of flats in Umtali, and sought to do the same in a tourist complex in Victoria Falls and a cattle ranching project.

Mr Jardim said Shell and BP earned about R2m in profit in Rhodesia in 1974 alone — 14 per cent after taxes.

So far both companies have refused to comment on the disclosures, but the government may have to consider action once the Bingham report is completed.

The book quotes an explosively secret memo from the Shell/BP director for Rhodesia, Mr C. M. Low, to his superiors on coal mining opportunities in the country.

The memo suggested BP could “muscled in” on Shell’s coal rights, despite sanctions and the fact that BP was then a substantially State-owned company.

It says: “The suggestion is made without regard for the implications of orders-in-council sanctions legislation, but, possibly, if Shell think the risk worthwhile, BP may also consider it justifiable.” — DDC.

80 can return

MAPUTO — Pres Samora Machel has allowed 80 people expelled from Mozambique last year to return, a presidential statement said yesterday.

SAPA-RNS.
SA firm accused of key role in sanction-busting

Political Staff

An Anglo-American Corporation subsidiary, Freight Services, has been accused of playing a key role in breaking oil sanctions against Rhodesia.

Freight Services was the second main intermediary used by oil companies to supply Rhodesia's petroleum products, according to two British researchers, Martin Bailey and Bernard Rivers.

Their report, in this week's New Statesman, criticises the complex methods used to keep Rhodesia running since UDI in 1965, concentrating mainly on Shell. But they say other major oil companies — Mobil, Caltex, BP and Total — used similar methods and also operated through the Johannesburg-based Freight Services which was taken over by Anglo-American in January 1973.

Spokesmen for Anglo-American Freight Services and Shell would not comment yesterday.

In the report on their four-year investigation, Bailey and Rivers said Shell and BP supplied Rhodesia with about R150-million worth of oil and that a subsidiary, Shell Mozambique, destroyed incriminating documents on how oil was sent to Rhodesia.

They said the Rhodesian Government would have crumbled long ago if the regime had not been able to rely upon a continual supply of oil.

The main oil supplier intermediary, according to Bailey and Rivers, was Genta, an organisation established by the Rhodesian Government after UDI.

Citing Freight Services Limited as the second main intermediary, they said "The oil companies were unwilling to sell directly to Genta — it was a Rhodesian body — so they needed an intermediary...which could appear on their records as a normal customer.

"Immediately after UDI a number of intermediaries were used. But by the end of the sixties, they dealt with one company — Freight Services."
OAU ministers urge total oil embargo on SA

KHARTOUM. — Foreign ministers of the Organization of African Unity pursued efforts yesterday to impose a total oil embargo against South Africa with the aim of bringing an end to apartheid.

The ministers, preparing for the OAU summit next week, reviewed a report by "Committee of Seven" which during the past year has visited nine oil-producing states in an effort to persuade them to support an oil embargo.

The OAU spokesman, Mr. Peter Ona, did not reveal the degree of success met by the committee, but said that members were unable to visit Iran.

Iran is the largest supplier of oil to South Africa, and the two countries have strong trade ties.

Efforts by the committee to meet the Shah of Iran, according to sources here, were politely rebuffed.

Mr. Ona said the aim of the committee was "to put the screws on South Africa" because of its apartheid system of separate racial development. "You will be hearing more about Iran later," Mr. Ona said.

The oil-producing states visited by the committee were Venezuela, Ecuador, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Middle East states of Abu Dhabi, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Iraq.

According to African sources here the ministers have also been examining the possibility of further weakening South Africa's economy by banning companies that operate there from operating elsewhere in Africa.

The ministers, responsible for making recommendations for the meeting of OAU heads of state, reaffirmed their total support for SWAPO — SepaAP.
Quiet, but the trade is there

Despite boycotts, SA exporters are doing well in the Middle East

Few businessmen want to talk openly about their trade with the Middle East. But behind the rhetoric, there is plenty of activity.

Exports to the region, which extends from Turkey to Saudi Arabia and Iran (Israel is normally considered a special case — see box), are estimated to be worth about R100m a year. Iran, the biggest customer, took R54m worth of SA goods in 1975/76 compared with R30m two years earlier. But SA exporters have also managed to sell successfully in many of the countries which claim to boycott us, such as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

SA's share of the Middle East market is a tiny fraction of the total, but as Salto's general manager, Pat Keiser, noted at a recent export congress, "just a small piece of that market is nice business."

The hassles are legion. With the exception of Iran, Lebanon and Turkey, all Middle East countries have slapped official boycotts on SA goods. And there are fears that the move reconstruction and Lebanon gets from the Arab League will mean the pressures on it to break links too.

The boycotts are not to be sneezed at. One trader tells of a shipment of SA canned goods turned away at Kuwait when customs officials noticed the "keep South Africa Clean" stamps. An SA patent mark on a bottle top gave away a shipment of syrup waiting to be off-loaded in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

Most agree that checks on documentation and goods are becoming more and more thorough. The old play of using Botswana, Swaziland and Mozambique marks of origin does not always work as officials get to know what those countries do and don't produce.

Questions have been asked about ships that claimed to carry European origin produce but did not pass through the Suez Canal. It has been suggested that an Arab consul in Maputo was recently withdrawn after certifying SA goods as of Mozambique origin.

An engineering company, which has tendered for work in Jordan, says it has had to convince the potential buyers that there are no Jews on its board.

Besides the boycotts, there are the usual problems of poor infrastructure, insufficient and corrupt bureaucracies, and strange customs.

Despite the hurdles, however, about a dozen SA trading houses are actively doing business in "boycott" countries. One man claims his annual sales to the region total almost R5m.

"If you've got the right contacts, you don't have to abide by the rules," observed Form-Scaff financial director Richard Davies at the export congress.

Says a supplier of engineered building materials, who has supplied Saudi Arabia and several Gulf states: "One secret is to make sure you don't get a major share of the market. If we did, our competitors would put questions into our customers' mouths."

A leading foodstuffs exporter who has diverted some of his produce from European markets to satisfy Arab buyers, adds that "the Saudis know where the..."
THE KOSHER CONNECTION

Only in recent months have trade figures begun to reflect the post 1973 surge of interest in SA Israel links.

Non-military imports from Israel in 1977 (R15.5m) were R1.5m down on the previous year. Likewise, exports stagnated at around R30m. But during the first four months of this year trade has taken off. According to Israeli figures, SA imports, for instance rose 30% - from R6m to R9m.

SA's major export is steel, with about 12,000 tons moving to Israel each month. Recently, two full shipments of cardboard cartons were delivered to Israel citrus packers.

Other major exports include sawn timber, asbestos, tobacco, hardwood, ferro manganese, canned foods, vet medicinal, pesticides and wine.

Faraway SA's biggest import from Israel is potash, used by the Mintets phosphate plant at Richards Bay. Other purchases include animal feeds, canned goods, specialized machinery, textile piece goods, chemicals, vehicle components, pharmaceuticals, and solar heating systems.

Zimcor Lines (a partnership between Unicorn and Israel's Zim Line) offers a monthly container service and one or two breakbulk vessels a month.

stuff comes from, but they prefer to keep their eyes closed.

A wide range of SA-made products is finding its way to the Arab world. Kuwait last year bought a large quantity of building material. Timber exports to most of the Arab states have grown quickly in the past two years. Frozen chickens and eggs are regularly carried to Bahrain and Dubai. Fruit and vegetables have been eagerly snapped up.

And, despite Jordan's and SA boycott imposed last December, at least one local firm is still hoping for a lucrative order for transport equipment. "It's not a general rail boycott," notes an executive. "It all depends where the money comes from.

Some experts say SA businessmen between Durban and Filat. Vessels call at Cape Town every second month and at Port Beaufort in between.

In addition, several SA exporters have used the Redem Land bridge, a worldwide container service operating from Israel. It has proved especially useful for shipments from SA to east Mediterranean ports.

There are numerous SA-Israel joint commercial ventures. Despite rumors a few months ago that the Israeli industrial giant Koor had pulled out of its partnership with Iscor, the association continues to flourish.

Besides, South Africa's well known the up with Koor in the production of farm chemicals. Calan has taken in J_ADVAN Israel Hoechst Industries as a partner in Consolidated Power, the Pretoria battery maker.

Euphagemon Rain, Israel's counsel for economic affairs in SA, notes that "there are a number of projects in Israel for which South African companies are aiming.

One is the filament Beersheba rail link, for which Rain stresses, tenders have not yet been awarded. Another is a coal terminal for a power station near Haifa. A big coal contract is "in the final stages of negotiation."

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Delegates clash over SA sanctions

MASERU — Western and third world delegations at the United Nations symposium on human rights here clashed yesterday over the question of how to bring economic pressure to bear on South Africa.

The symposium is discussing the "exploitation of blacks in South Africa and "Namibia" and prison conditions in the Republic.

The Nigerian delegate, Mr. J. Idakwu, called for disinvestment in South Africa by Western countries and the stoppage of all financial assistance to South Africa as part of proposals to eliminate apartheid.

A Netherlands delegate, who did not want to be officially associated with his government, said disinvestment would bring about "a noticeable deterioration in the economic position of African workers in South Africa."

He said the matter should be investigated first "lest the South African black workers should be placed in jeopardy."

Delegates from Angola and Mozambique called for intensification of economic sanctions against South Africa and the withdrawal of all military support to the Republic.

The West German delegate, Dr. L. Bentin, sharply criticised remarks made by the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa concerning military and nuclear co-operation between West Germany and South Africa.

"We have heard these allegations before. There is no military or nuclear co-operation between the federal government and the Government of South Africa," he said.

On the question of economic relations between West Germany and Southern African states, Dr. Bentin said development assistance to independent states in Southern Africa contributed in a practical way to economic growth and stability of these countries and helped to reduce their dependence on the Republic.

Replying to The Netherlands delegate on the question of harm to black workers as a result of disinvestment, the leader of the Lesotho delegation, Mr. J. Kotsokoane, said disinvestment "is only one of the many weapons we want to use to break the system of apartheid."

"The myth that blacks will suffer more than the whites must be exploded once and for all."

"If the economic collapse materialises in South Africa, it is the whites who will suffer because they have lived in luxury all along," he said.

— SAPA.
Still time to pressure SA — Tutu

From STANLEY UYS

LONDON. — There was still time for the international community to apply diplomatic and economic pressures on South Africa to avert a “holocaust”, Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said in an address to the Royal Commonwealth Society yesterday.

Bishop Tutu said that, in deciding what it should do about South Africa, the Western community should remember that blacks in South Africa were going to get their freedom anyway and when they did “we will remember who our friends were”.

Addressing the international community, Bishop Tutu said: “This is your last chance to contribute to reasonably peaceful change in South Africa.” Blacks in South Africa understood the fears of whites and had no desire to drive them into the sea, as whites sometimes feared they would. But if change were delayed for too long, while fears could become self-fulfilling prophecies.

The situation in South Africa seemed hopeless, said Bishop Tutu, “but I have hope, because I believe in a God who cares about injustice and oppression”. If blacks and whites could resolve their differences, they would have a big contribution to make to Africa.

He believed that after the Soweto disturbances in 1976 many whites had been ready to “support bold and imaginative steps to bring about fundamental change”.

Furthermore, the last General Election showed that the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, had nothing to fear from the right wing. But Mr Vorster persisted in “looking over his shoulder”, and the government had failed to grasp the opportunity which had presented itself.

Instead, it had become increasingly intolerant of individuals and organizations who articulated black grievances, said the bishop. If Christ were in South Africa today, and the security police acted against him, several people would say they had always thought there was “something fishy” about him.

Only a miracle was preventing “the whole thing blowing up”. If South Africa remained on its present course, it would face the alternative which Mr Vorster had said was “too ghastly to contemplate”.

“Please help us before it is too late,” Bishop Tutu appealed. “Let’s draw back from the edge of the precipice.”

He warned that there was a “new breed” of young blacks in South Africa who were not afraid of the police or of death. He predicted that Soweto’s Regina Mundi cathedral, where last month’s two-day memorial service for Soweto victims was held, would one day become a “shrine”.

White South Africa had “not taken the measure” of the young blacks who were resisting apartheid in South Africa. Blacks had called on white South Africans to join them — “because we are on the winning side and they are on the side that’s lost”.


cape times 21/7/78 280
experts warn

Boycott could

At the same time, however, the government of the United States has been putting pressure on South Africa to reconsider its policy of apartheid. The United States has threatened to cut off all economic aid to South Africa until it fully implements the United Nations resolutions calling for an end to apartheid. This has led to a growing economic crisis in South Africa, with unemployment and poverty rates reaching new highs.

The Sanctions Commission, which was established by the United States Congress, has been actively lobbying for a boycott of South Africa. The commission has been calling for a complete embargo of South Africa's exports and imports, as well as a ban on all direct investment in the country.

However, the boycott has not been without its critics. Some argue that a boycott would only hurt the South African people, while others believe that it is the only way to bring about change in the country. The debate continues, with both sides presenting strong arguments for their positions.
The Renaissance in Italy

The reasons for this were that the rise in agricultural production was not of enough to bring about an increase in trade. The new practices of the wealthy and the increase in art and culture led to a decrease in the power of the Church and the economic growth of the bourgeoisie. The new methods of production allowed for the expansion of the urban centers, and the growth of the cities led to a decrease in the power of the Church and the rise of the bourgeoisie. The new methods of production allowed for the expansion of the urban centers, and the growth of the cities led to a decrease in the power of the Church and the rise of the bourgeoisie. The new methods of production allowed for the expansion of the urban centers, and the growth of the cities led to a decrease in the power of the Church and the rise of the bourgeoisie. The new methods of production allowed for the expansion of the urban centers, and the growth of the cities led to a decrease in the power of the Church and the rise of the bourgeoisie. The new methods of production allowed for the expansion of the urban centers, and the growth of the cities led to a decrease in the power of the Church and the rise of the bourgeoisie.
HISTORY I - CALVINISM

1 GEORGE L. MOSSE, CALVINISM (1957)

Introduction
History must not be read backward. One would not expect to find the modern definition of democracy expressed in the thought of these men of the sixteenth century. If we define democracy as the selection of their rulers by all the people, and the constant scrutiny by the governed of those so elected, a government so defined would have been anathema to the men of the sixteenth century. We must ask instead what role, if any, Calvinists played in directing political thought toward this modern definition.

What is important in assessing the contribution of these Calvinist writers toward democracy is their attitude toward political authority itself. The question is not whether, in their view, modern democracy should replace absolute political authority but rather whether, and under what circumstances, such authority may be resisted. Was it merely a passive resistance which these writers had in mind, or was it an active resistance in the name of a principle higher than the authority of the ruler? If it were active, who could lead this resistance - the people themselves or the aristocracy only? If the latter, how do we understand subsequent writers conceive of such an aristocracy? 

merely the hereditary aristocracy of olden times involve... Western Europe. As Calvinists develop, does this power to resist mean some kind of control by the representatives of the people over the royal authority? 

These are some of the considerations which should go into the analysis of these documents.

Together with such considerations, there are additive questions of importance which you must ask. Is it really theocracy which these men are advocating? Does the principle of resistance to authority come to mean merely an absolute rejection of the Church? What about the elective principle in the Church? Is this principle mean elections... modern sense, and is it transferred from the religious to the political realm?

2 JOHN CALVIN, INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION (1559)

Chapter 20 XXV

XV. But, if we direct our attention to the word of God, it will carry such further, as to submit to the government, not only of those princes who discharge their duty to us with becoming integrity and fidelity, but of all who possess the sovereignty, though they do not perform the duties of their function. For though the Lord testifies that the magistrate is an eminent gift of his liberality to preserve the safety of men, he prescribes to magistrates themselves the extent of their duty, yet be at the same time declares that whatever be their characters, they have their government...

government only from him; that those who govern for the public good are true specimens and mirror of his beneficence; and that those who play in an unjust and tyrannical manner are raised up by him to punish the iniquity of the people; that all equally possess that sacred majesty with which he had invested legitimate authority.......

Chapter 20 XXIX

XXIX... therefore, if we are inhumanly harassed by a cruel prince; if we are rapaciously plundered by an avaricious or luxurious one; if we are neglected by an indolent one; or if we are persecuted, on account of piety, by an impious and sacrilegious one, - let us first call to mind our transgressions against God, which he undoubtedly chastises by these scourges. Thus our impatience will be restrained by humility. Let us, in the next place, consider that it is not our province to remedy these evils, and that nothing remains for us, but to implore the aid of the Lord in whose hands are the hearts of kings and the revolutions of kingdoms. It is "God" who "standeth in the congregation of the mighty," and " judgeth among the gods"; whose presence shall confound and crush all kings and judges of the earth who shall not have kissed his Son....

sanctions

Washing...
Senate 'no' to lifting sanctions

By SIMON BARBER
WASHINGTON. — The United States Senate last night voted to retain sanctions against Rhodesia by a 56-3 vote majority, handing a rare victory to the Carter Administration.

The amendment to the International Security Assistance Bill, proposed by conservative Senator Jesse Helms which would have lifted the embargo automatically for six months if the elections be held and a new government established in Rhodesia. Elections are now tentatively scheduled for December.

The Carter Administration has been under pressure to lift sanctions against Rhodesia in order to bolster its efforts in the war against guerrillas in the Rhodesian bush. The amendment sets two pre-conditions for lifting sanctions: one would require that elections be held and a new government established in Rhodesia. The other condition is very uncertain. The amendment, if passed, would still lift the embargo.

The defeat of the Helms Amendment is a victory for the Carter Administration.

In an interview this week, he said unless sanctions were lifted, there would be a major white exodus from Rhodesia. Given the limitations in the transitional government, sanctions could be lifted, hence the need for the amendment. The Carter Administration was using every means to stop his amendment, including calling to North Carolina — the state he represents — warning that Helms was hurting the tobacco industry.

27 MAY 1978
US Senate votes for Rhodesia sanctions

WASHINGTON.—The Senate yesterday voted to retain United States trade sanctions against Rhodesia until a new, freely-elected government is installed there.

The successful proposal was sponsored by liberal Republicans, Senator Rob Javits and Senator Clifford Case, and Democrat Senator Daniel Moynihan, a former ambassador to the United Nations.

Senator Helms put forward his plan as an amendment to a foreign aid bill.

He said the State Department had resorted to extreme tactics in its opposition to the amendment.

These included telephone calls to his home state of North Carolina, warning tobacco growers that passing the measure would hurt their interests, the senator said.

Senator Helms, who missed by six votes last month in trying to obtain a 15-month suspension of the sanctions, sought to attach his modified plan to a $240 million foreign military aid bill. — Sapa-Reuters

1750 onwards, and above all by the imposition on the Russian peasantry in 1799-99 of the Pothozak (literally soul tax, Padeghaya Prava). Peter the Great and the following emperors were responsible for the collection of this tax and for the supply of recruits from its earnings. By doing so, they were able to supplement the military budget of the state.

THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

PEASANT REVOLTS

27/11/78

The Carter administration had said that lifting the trade ban "now would erode the chances for a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia and promote chaos there."

The bid for an immediate end to the sanctions was sponsored by Republican Senator Jesse Helms.

He had proposed there should be no enforcement of the commercial ban between now and the end of the year in recognition of the settlement of March 5, 1978, reached by leaders representing a majority of southern Rhodesians. Senator Helms' proposal remained alive for further debate, but the White House indicated its preference for continuing sanctions, pointing out that any compromise amendment was passed yesterday indicated his proposal had little chance of superceding it.
Sanctions: US stand welcomed

SALISBURY. — Bishop Abel Muzorewa, UANC president and a member of the Executive Council, yesterday described the US Senate's qualified approval of lifting economic sanctions against a new-look Rhodesia as a "breath of confidence in the future."

In a telephone call from his Washington hotel to the weekly Salisbury newspaper, the Drums of Zimbabwe, the bishop said the vote would "produce a new life into the economy of Rhodesia."

He was satisfied that he had achieved the objective of his visit to the United States. The bishop said his mission was "to marshal support for democracy in Zimbabwe against the totalitarian forces now threatening us."

"I believe the US Senate responded to this call ... to arouse and invoke the democratic conscience of America."

"The US Senate has now removed the main doubts lingering in the minds of many of our people as to whether sanctions would ever be lifted. Our people and nation can now plan on the basis of the early lifting of sanctions," the bishop said.

The result could only be an improvement in "the quality of the life of all our people," particularly the black majority, who were forced out into the cold of unemployment and poverty because of sanctions.

He had spoken with US Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, and Mr Vance's counterpart in the former Nixon Administration, Mr. Henry Kissinger, and other leading political figures.

Mr Muzorewa, who flew to London yesterday, said he planned to speak to "representatives of the British people" and tell them sanctions had no place in Rhodesia now that majority rule was to be achieved.

The Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith, said last night he was "greatly encouraged" by growing United States support for the transitional government.
SANCTIONS

Commonwealth action

In a recent widely quoted speech, Commonwealth Secretary General Lindsay Ramphal said that negotiations were no longer a substitute for war in southern Africa.

In an exclusive interview with the *IM* in London last week, when asked whether this comment included SA he said that the “armed struggle in the Republic had not reached the level of the war in Rhodesia, and “there could still be time.” If hard-headed self-interest prevailed a conflagration might still be avoided — but “I can’t say that I am optimistic.”

Ramphal pointed out that in its final communiqué the Commonwealth Prime Ministers’ Conference last year recognised “the need to compel SA to dismantle its apparatus of oppression.” Economic sanctions would be almost bound to change white attitudes. The Commonwealth Southern Africa Committee, of which Britain is a member, had already gone quite far in projecting the possibility of sanctions in the context of Rhodesia, signalling “the need to make demands on SA for guarantees that oil would not be shipped to Rhodesia on pain of sanctions against SA itself.”

This recommendation had not been put in a time frame because of the prospect of talks based on the Anglo-American plan. Action had also been delayed by the Bingham Inquiry, set up by the UK government to investigate claims that UK-based oil companies broke sanctions. But the Southern Africa Committee had been told at its meeting last month that the Bingham report would be made available “at an early date.”

It was Ramphal who originally commissioned Rivers and Bailey to investigate oil sanctions busting. Their report produced much of the evidence which forced Britain to set up the Bingham inquiry. Rivers and Bailey recently completed a further study, this time for the UN, on the feasibility of applying oil sanctions against SA. Ramphal conceded that sanctions against SA had to be decided at the UN, but said he hoped that the Commonwealth, with its special interests, would play a major part.
Sanction vote:
Smith looks for bright side

SALISBURY — The Rhodesian interim government, clearly disappointed by the refusal of the United States to lift sanctions, yesterday sought comfort in the attention drawn to them during the build-up to Wednesday's Senate vote in Washington.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Smith, last night expressed his appreciation to Sen. Jesse Helms and his associates for what he called their determined efforts to bring "the realities of the Rhodesian situation and the dangers of current State Department policy to the attention of the American Congress and the American people."

Mr. Smith also paid tribute to the "good work" done by Bishop Abel Muzorewa in canvassing support for the proposal to lift sanctions.

He said their efforts in Washington were responsible for "forcing" the United States administration to reconsider its commitment to accepting a compromise motion and illustrate the growing strength of conservative opinion in the United States.

"We have not got everything we hoped for, but I am greatly encouraged by the strong standing in the United States for the transitional government," he said.

Bishop Muzorewa put on a brave face following the Helms defeat. Despite ten days of constant lobbying by the Bishop, Sen. Helms amendment to remove the Rhodesian embargo until December 31 never even came to the vote.

Instead, a counter-amendment tacitly supported by the Carter administration won the day, leaving it up to the President to decide whether the transitional government was making enough efforts to negotiate with the Patriotic Front.

If he believed it was, and a "freely and fairly elected government" was installed in Salisbury, he would then be obliged to end sanctions.

Having watched the debate, Bishop Muzorewa said: "Half a loaf is better than nothing."

But the winning amendment, which links the lifting of sanctions to an all-party settlement with guerrillas, did not seem capable of persuading the transitional government to attend a round-table conference as proposed by Britain and the United States.

"As far as we are concerned, we still stand by our position that all-party talks would not serve any useful purpose at all," said a spokesman for the Zimbabwe African National Union of the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole.

And a spokesman for Bishop Muzorewa's United African National Council said: "I don't see the motion providing any impetus for all-party talks."

Bishop Muzorewa had been encouraged, the UANC spokesman said, by his visit to the United States.

"He has had extensive publicity over there for his case and we expect to draw dividends from his tour," he said. - SAPA.
US may ditch
South Africa — congressman

Johannesburg — If an international sanctions agreement against South Africa did not materialize, it was likely that the United States would act unilaterally and pull out, an American congressman said here.

He is Mr. Andrew Maguire, who undertook an 11-day tour of South Africa, including a visit to King William's Town, where he presented a humanitarian award posthumously to Mr. Steve Biko. The award was made by the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, the biggest civil rights organisation in the United States.

Mr. Maguire said at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving South Africa that South Africa was a police state which had suppressed and eliminated black leadership.

“'We want to distance ourselves from this misnamed South African Government,' he said.

The attitudes of mainstream American thinking about South Africa had changed drastically since the death of the Black consciousness leader, Mr. Steve Biko, in detention, and the Soweto unrests, said Mr. Maguire.

The October 19 detentions and bannings had also gone a long way in changing American views on the country.

"This Government has systematically intimidated, harassed and forced into exile the black leadership of the country," he said.

South Africa was in the centre of a race conflict, he said. He warned that the US would not intervene on the side of the Government.

"We do not want to be accomplices with this Government," he added.

He himself advocated sanctions against South Africa and said he did not share the view that blacks would be the hardest hit because they were "oppressed."

Racism in South Africa was institutionalised, and America and, to a certain extent, the United Kingdom, wanted to dissociate themselves from South Africa.

South Africa would not receive American military aid in the face of a communist onslaught, he said.

American attitudes would not change with a change of American administration.

Among changes the world would like to see in South Africa were "willingness on the part of the South African Government to initiate fundamental political changes, consultation with other leaders in the country to work on formal constitutional changes and an end to detention without trial."

Speaking about detentions, Mr. Maguire claimed that torture weapons were used on detainees under security legislation in South African prisons.

He said he had information from "inside" and "outside" sources of the torture techniques used on detainees to coerce them into making statements.

The techniques included electrodes on the necks and wrists of detainees and electric shocks, he said.

Mr. Maguire said while in South Africa, he had requested, and been refused, permission to see several detainees, including student leader Mr. Sebabu Moutsa and former Black People's Convention leaders Mr. Tom Mantshata and Mr. Thandisizwe Mazibuko.

After Mr. Maguire's press conference his allegations of torture in prisons were referred to the Department of Prisons. A spokesman said the allegations were untrue but asked that they be referred to the Security Police.

The chief of the Security Police, Brig. C. F. Zietsman, declined to comment and the Commissioner of Police, Gen. Mike Goldenhuys, could not be reached — DDC-SAPA.

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Freemasonry"

We therefore have the right to expect all Companions to remember this and to ensure that no action on their part results in disharmony in their Chapters.

Most, if not all of you are aware of the works of William Shakespeare, works that contain philosophies and phrases that have become the very fabric of the English language.

Let us therefore, as Royal Arch Companions, adopt as our creed that advice given to Laertes by his father, Polonius, as expressed so well in the play "Hamlet, "THIS, ABOVE ALL, TO THINE OWNSELF BE TRUE, AND IT MUST FOLLOW, AS THE NIGHT THE DAY, THOU CANNOT BE FALSE TO ANY MAN"."
Sanctions spring a trap

LAURENCE MARKS: Washington

AMERICA's commitment to continue economic sanctions against Rhodesia was preserved by the Senate last week, but in a manner that plants some unpleasant political booby-traps in President Carter's path.

It was undoubtedly a short-term victory for Mr Carter, heading off a threat of an unconditional end to sanctions that would have scuppered the Anglo-American plan.

The episode confirmed, however, that a majority of the Senate, and probably of Congress as a whole, is now unhappy about America's rejection of Ian Smith's internal solution and is likely to make trouble again if Mr Smith manages to hold democratic elections before the end of the year.

Many Americans feel frustrated over Rhodesia, 'a far-away country of which they know nothing,' as a State Department official put it sadly the other day. They are 'prejudiced' in favour of democratic forms of government - and this is what Mr Smith appears to have promised to introduce.

They are deeply opposed to political terror. Recent reports of mass killings by the guerrillas have not helped to sustain support for the Anglo-American plan. Americans tend to look at Rhodesia in terms of simple political principle (democracy versus violence), not in terms of the brute practicalities (what will produce a lasting peace) that impel the British and US Governments.

When the Senate agreed in March last year to end US imports of Rhodesian chrome, which had breached UN sanctions for five years, the vote was 66-26. That 26 represents the irreducible hard-core support for Mr Smith.

Then came the Salisbury Agreement between Mr Smith and three non-violent nationalists (including the Bishop) in March this year. That crystallised the unease many Congressmen feel about bringing the guerrilla-backed Patriotic Front leaders into the settlement. A month ago, a resolution to lift sanctions at the end of this year, proposed by Senator Heims, a conservative Republican, was defeated by a narrow 49-42, which took the Administration by surprise.

This time Congressional supporters of Mr Carter's Asia policy saw the threat coming. When Senator Heims proposed to try again in the debate on this year's bill to authorise foreign military assistance, they mounted a diversionary tactic.

There are now only about 15 or 20 Senators willing to give the Administration unqualified support on sanctions. Worse still, Bishop Muzorewa, back in town, was lobbying with great effect for the Smith Government and in favour of ending sanctions.

To buy off the middle-of-the-road waverees, two liberal Republicans, Senator Case and Senator Javits, sponsored an amendment requiring the President to lift sanctions - but only after a democratically elected Government in Salisbury has committed itself to negotiate with the Patriotic Front.

For a week Senator Dick Clark, chairman of the African Affairs subcommittee, argued in favour of wording that would allow the President, as free a hand as possible. Mr Carter joined in, personally lobbying 20 Senators against the Heims proposal.

With a bit of procedural juggling the Case-Javits amendment came up first last Wednesday. Senator Clark led all the pro-sanctions liberals except Edward Kennedy (who is against any compromise on the issue), into supporting the amendment, which passed 59-36. This satisfied the waverees.

Two hours later a proposal to lift sanctions unconditionally for a trial period of three months starting in October was beaten by a decisive 54-42.

The official State Department response to the vote was that the result was encouraging, and that the amendment is consistent with the goals of US policy. Privately, Administration officials admit that their belief that the threat was headed off is mixed with anxiety about what lies down the road.

The amendment leaves the President free to determine whether the conditions for lifting sanctions have been met. In practice, therefore, its effect is not mandatory.

But the conditions were couched in such general terms - in order to attract broad support - that they could strengthen opposition to sanctions later this year.

The wording of the conditions is, first, that:

'A Government has been installed, chosen by free elections in which all population groups have been allowed to participate freely, with observation by impartial internationally recognised observers.'

There is concern about what Congress would regard as a satisfactory commitment of minority rights, the Anglo-American plan and the terms of the Salisbury Agreement, and, secondly, that:

'The Government of Rhodesia has committed itself to participate in, and negotiate in good faith at an all-parties conference held under international auspices on all relevant issues, including the terms of majority rule and the protection of minority rights, the Anglo-American plan and the terms of the Salisbury Agreement.'
The pressures are coming.
Buthelezi opposes sanctions

WASHINGTON. — A proposal yesterday to ban new investment in South Africa drew opposition from the Carter Administration and from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi who is on a visit here.

The Assistant US Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. Richard Moose, told a House of Representatives sub-committee that prohibiting new investment could jeopardise South African co-operation with American plans to bring about majority rule in South West Africa and Rhodesia.

Chief Buthelezi said in a seminar here that economic sanctions against South Africa were not favoured by the average South African worker.

FOR CHANGE

But a Representative, Mr. Stephen Solarz, sponsor of the legislation, said it was essential if peaceful change was to come to South Africa.

He said: "The only way to bring the white South African establishment to understand the need for fundamental change is for us to translate rhetoric into action." Mr. Solarz, a New York Republican, said in an interview here.

He pointed out that his Bill would not require American firms to remove their current investments from South Africa. Nor would it prohibit them from reinvesting profits earned in South Africa.

NEW FUNDS

It would ban investment of new funds but in the current climate of unrest in the country, this amounted to only R47.8 million last year, he said.

The Solarz Bill will require American corporations to enforce a fair employment code which will require equal pay and equal opportunity for black workers.

Pressure has been building on Capitol Hill for more stringent American sanctions against South Africa. — Sapa-AP

7/28/78
The price of support

At their meeting in London a year ago the Commonwealth heads of government requested Commonwealth Secretary General Ramphal to undertake "a study of the economic costs to the front line states of various practical measures taken by them in support of the liberation movement." The report which resulted is now being considered by the UN Economist and Social Council, currently in session in Geneva.

The picture which is painted is one of appalling economic and social disruptions in Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique. (Angola could not be included.)

The four countries have been compelled, it is argued, as a result of the southern African situation to undertake investments prematurely, or on a larger scale, than would have normally been required. The need to develop new hydro electric sources in Zambia, a thermal power station in Botswana, and the construction of new transport links are examples of areas where priorities have been distorted. Such substantial investments would otherwise have been made in more immediately productive areas.

which would have increased GDP.

Moreover, security costs have escalated. For the four countries annual defence costs are probably about 5% of GDP; similar developing countries with comparable "external threats" spend between 1% and 2% of GDP on security.

For Tanzania, the major cost apart from defence is in the transport sector in which Tanzania related projects - the Tanzam road, the Tanzam pipeline and the Tazara railway - have been given priority. Although this infrastructure will be useful for future development, completion of these lifelines for Tanzania has meant lower growth in Tanzaman output over recent years. Revenue from the Zambian traffic should more than cover recurrent costs, but Tanzania's balance of payment problems has made it difficult for Lusaka to meet the bill, so that the Tanzaman banking sector has been strained. And the need to give priority to Zambian goods has had adverse effects on the handling of Tanzania's own exports.

In Zambia the situation has been compounded by the collapse of copper prices, but without the Rhodesian border closure, in 1973 Zambia would have had reserves to withstand the copper crisis. Up to 1977 the monetary costs to Zambia of imposing sanctions were US$744m. There have been indirect effects: for instance, transport difficulties have hindered Zambian exports of its 1977 surplus maize production. Lusaka also supplied the Commonwealth secretariat with details of nearly 60 Rhodesian "acts of aggression" in the six months beginning September 1977.

In Mozambique the total direct cost of applying sanctions in the first year was estimated at between US$139m and $165m. Moreover, widespread destruction especially of transport facilities as a result of Rhodesian raids, has paralysed economic activity in the border area. The attacks on Mozambique have caused more than 1,000 deaths, 50,000 Mozambicans have been displaced, and there are 40,000 Rhodesian refugees in the country.

The report concludes that "it is still not too late for the international community to adopt policies which will bring southern Africa back from the brink of catastrophe. Such policies must include effective and adequate support for the frontline states which by their commitment to change and their readiness to run risks and accept sacrifices have borne the brunt of the burden involved in working for liberation - a burden which should be carried by the international community at large.

The other side - white southern Africa and its friends - will argue that most of this is hull, that there is no "economic development" in some of the allegedly affected border areas even in times of peace, and that detente and trade with the white south would do wonders for all those economies.

Yet Ramphal's voice carries further. White southern Africa should not ignore it.
RHODESIAN OIL
Where there's a will...

A political scandal with international implications is about to erupt in Britain in connection with the sanction-busting activities of two UK-based oil companies. The matter has been investigated by an inquiry conducted by Thomas Bingham QC, whose report will go to Foreign Secretary Owen later this month.

Under British law, the oil companies could face criminal prosecution if the inquiry confirms that they supplied oil to Rhodesia, and from the information which has so far been leaked, there is little doubt that they have done so for many years, apparently with the knowledge of successive British governments.

The story starts late in 1967, when UK intelligence discovered that an oil company based in Lourenco Marques (now Maputo) which was jointly owned by Shell and BP, was carrying oil by rail to Rhodesia. This information went to George Thomson (now Lord Thomson), the Commonwealth Secretary, who summoned the MDs of Shell and BP to a meeting. Shortly afterwards the oil companies concluded a swap arrangement with France’s Total: Total would supply oil for Shell and BP customers in Rhodesia via Mozambique; in return Shell and BP would provide an equivalent amount of oil for Total customers in SA.

In its evidence to the Bingham inquiry BP said that senior government officials had accepted that “the effect of the change would therefore be a purely cosmetic one in the sense that the same amount of oil would reach Rhodesia by the same route but would appear to have originated from the French instead of an English company.” Moreover, when the Shell and BP directors met Thomson again in 1968, they outlined to him their swap arrangement. A few days ago, when questioned about this, Thomson stated that the swap “was not our direct concern and responsibility. Our responsibility was to stop British oil going in.” He said that his views had been shared at the time by the senior men in the Labour government concerned with enforcing sanctions.

Harold Wilson, who was prime minister at the time as well as chairman of the cabinet’s Rhodesia committee, comments now that “the only sanction busting reported to me was what General De Gaulle was doing.” Lord Caradon, then Britain’s UN representative, maintains he had been completely unaware of the arrangement.

According to Thomson, prosecuting the oil companies for sanction-busting was considered by the Ministry of Power and the Attorney General and was a matter of high policy, but legal action was not taken because it was felt that the most practical way of stopping British oil from going into Rhodesia was with the co-operation of the oil companies.

In 1970 a Conservative government came in. Julian Amery, who was a junior minister in the Foreign Office from 1972 on, explained that the Tories were lukewarm on the question of sanctions — and in that atmosphere Shell and BP felt safe enough to switch back to the old system of sending British oil directly into Rhodesia from the Lourenco Marques depot.

Labour returned to power in 1974 but according to BP “there followed a long silence between government and BP on the question of the enforcement of sanctions.” BP argued that government itself should have asked the oil companies what they were doing. This is a delicate legal question for Bingham — was it up to government to make enquiries, or was it up to Shell and BP in London to inform government that their subsidiaries were once more sending in direct supplies to Rhodesia?

Throughout this period the UK government had been assuring the UN, the Commonwealth and the OAU that oil sanctions were indeed being observed by the UK. A UK statement to the UN in 1976 said that the UK government “had accepted assurances given by Shell and BP that neither they, nor any company in which they have an interest, have either directly or with others supplied oil to Rhodesia.”

Old supply line... the flow continues
Big-business links with SA attacked in US

NEW YORK. — A multi-pronged assault on big business links with South Africa was launched this week when the US Senate's African Affairs chief called for "active discouragement" of investment, and a trio of US specialists tabled a flood of allegations before the United Nations.

The same techniques used to leap-frog Rhodesian sanctions are now being used to dodge the arms embargo against the Republic, Professor Anne Seidman told the United Nations Apartheid Committee when she distributed "linkage charts" purporting to expose in detail the way US arms are pumped into South Africa through third nation licensing deals. A team of US academic

practices to be introduced by the US Government.
- Withdrawing official endorsement of bodies such as the US Chamber of Commerce in South Africa, unless they fully support the US stand.

MILITARY STRENGTH

This package was "moderate, pragmatic and constructive", he claimed. If it failed to budger South Africa, "then stronger measures may be called for in the future".

Professor Seidman attacked big business for providing South Africa with the base on which to build its military strength.

Mr Gisselquist, from the Centre for International Policy in Washington, emphasized that the IMF was a specialized UN agency. Yet through its generous loans the IMF was "encouraging belligerence in South Africa by reducing the domestic, political and economic costs of the Republic's policies."

Professor Seidman, of the University of Massachusetts, cited a string of big corporations and traced a pattern of supply of their know-how and equipment to the South African forces.

An example was the supply of various Lockheed aircraft through its part-owned Italian associate, Aeromacchi. In at least one instance, aircraft supplied in this way apparently had been passed on to Rhodesia.

now plan to pool their information on the most sensitive areas of the Republic's trade. They will prepare "depth research" papers for a special meeting in May.

The International Monetary Fund also came under attack when Washington-based consultants Mr James Morrel and Mr David Gisselquist released to the UN the minutes of confidential IMF meetings in 1976 that resulted in just over R400 million in loans through to 1977.

At the same time, Senator Dick Clark, chairman of the Senate's Africa Panel, went public with a call on the Carter administration to take the Western lead and hit South Africa with all the investment curbs Sweden supports.

"Financial support of apartheid should no longer be tolerated," he urged in an article prominently displayed in the New York Times.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE

South Africa received almost R2 billion in US bank loans which matched the foreign exchange needed to cover defence and its oil imports, he said.

Senator Dick Clark proposed:
- Halting all official investment support, including a stop on all-loan and insurance guarantees, the withdrawal of the commercial attaché and a ban on all visits by Commerce Department officials.
- Denying tax credits to US firms paying taxes in South Africa that back any of the Republic's strategic projects, Bantu-state or-border developments, or who fail to enforce a code of fair labour
SABC man in sanctions clash with Woods

LONDON — A South African black, Mr Justice Tshungu, crossed swords here with exiled editor Donald Woods, in a BBC programme yesterday on whether trade sanctions should be applied to South Africa.

Mr Woods takes a strong line in support of sanctions and Mr Tshungu is as strongly opposed to these measures. He says that it would be tragic if they were applied.

Mr Tshungu is a public relations officer for the SABC's Radio Bantu. He arrived by air in Britain on the day the programme was recorded. As a black man from South Africa, he was produced as a trump card in the debate, speaking against Mr Woods' motion.

Mr Tshungu told me his timely arrival in London was "killing two birds with one stone." He is also visiting broadcasting stations here and in Europe in the course of his radio work.

In the Programme, You the Jury, Mr Woods' motion for sanctions was opposed by Mr Eldon Griffiths, Conservative MP. The two opponents were each allowed to call two witnesses. The studio audience was the jury. Their voting was 45 per cent for sanctions and 54 per cent against, with one uncertain.

During the debate, Mr Tshungu said: "Apartheid is an unfortunate word. What we actually have is a plural society."

Although Mr Griffiths said he was opposed to and hated apartheid, his witness, Mr Tshungu, spelled out the advantages of the system. "South Africa has been called an oppressive society. But the black man in South Africa is strong economically. There are five millionaires in Soweto. One can see long lines of shiny cars on the road from any township."

Mr Griffiths said: "This motion in fact calls for economic war. I detest apartheid. What we all want is to enfranchise the black majority. The more jobs there are for blacks, the more strength they will have to achieve their political aims. Trade sanctions would lead to unemployment in Britain and in South Africa."

Another pro-sanctions witness was the head of a British building firm who had been to South Africa to start a branch there. On principle he had decided against it.

Besides Mr Tshungu, Mr Griffiths called a trade union shop steward who spoke of unemployment in Britain if sanctions were applied.

He said: "The only way one can influence anyone is by being involved. I have never seen poverty or unemployment do anyone any good."

Mr Tshungu, in support of his argument, cited members of his family who had high educational qualifications and professions. — DDC.
Sanctions or control?

In his letter "Is this humane?" (February 2),
Mr John Maloomess said:
"you say of Donald Woods
that he is concerned for
justice for all people. Is it
justice to call for san-
tions against all South
Africans whatever their
colour or political af-
filiations? Is it humane to
cause the consequent un-
employment and suffering
from starvation? Is it
Christian?"

At a public meeting at
Bolo during the provincial
by-election campaign for
Griqualand East in 1976,
Mr Maloomess spoke up
very strongly indeed in
favour of import control
for the protection of local
urban industries against
foreign competition. As
sanctions would have the
same effect of protecting
local urban industries
against such competition,
why is Mr Maloomess mak-
ing such a fuss over Mr
Woods' alleged advocacy
of sanctions?

D Acton,
Sunrise, P. O. Bolo
Reserve.
bombshell on sanctions and SWA

CAPE TOWN — The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, dropped two bombshells in Parliament yesterday — expect international sanctions; don't expect an internationally acceptable settlement in South West Africa.

In a heated reply to an Opposition motion in the House of Assembly calling on the Government to end policies and activities which played into the hands of South Africa's enemies, Mr Botha said:

"I tell you as I am standing here today it is not at all certain — indeed it looks to me unlikely — that an internationally acceptable solution will be reached. I say it here in all honesty."

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, listened closely as Mr Botha told the House that difficult times lay ahead. He added: "I want to say here today that we may get possible sanctions — that pressure on us will increase, and that an escalation of violence may come in Southern Africa."

But, Mr Botha said, things would get better after they got worse.

"Eventually, after all these tremendous problems and difficulties, I foresee a beautiful future for us in which, through our technical knowledge and economic strength, we will together form a bastion against Russian aggression."

The various races in South Africa did not hate each other. There was a tremendous fund of goodwill between all peoples which was seldom stressed.

Mr Botha emphasised that the South African Government would still "lean over backwards" to achieve a settlement in South West Africa. "But we cannot allow the territory to fall into the hands of a Marxist tyranny," he said.

The people of the territory had asked South African troops to remain there, "but South Africa was being asked to reduce its troops to a level which military experts said was lower than that needed to guarantee the safety of the people."

Mr Botha said he would not be drawn by Mr Japie Basson, Opposition spokesman for foreign affairs who introduced the motion, into a detailed debate on South West Africa. He explained that any discussion of the subject would not be in the interests of the people of the territory.

Mr Botha said South Africa was agreeable to elections on the basis of one-man, one-vote in South West Africa and the removal of discrimination on the grounds of colour.

But in the inner circles of the Carter Administration, the thinking was "more or less that there is actually no place for a white government in Africa. They are therefore afraid to be associated with any form of white government."

Introducing the Opposition motion, Mr Basson had said the Government should not delay in giving an "honest account" of the "stumbling blocks" which still prevented South West Africa from achieving an internationally recognised independence.

The Opposition agreed largely with Government's view of Swapo as a Marxist-inspired movement.

"Swapo and its army have become Moscow bound. If they opt for a peaceful settlement they will not only lose their Soviet support — but the leader who opts for peace might very well find himself displaced by another who is prepared to carry on with the war," Mr Basson said.
Botha warns S

prepare for sa

SA

Botha warns SA

Continued from page 1 25c

"It is tantamount to firing on the ship for the sake of proximity talks," said Mr Garrrah. "It now seems they are going to pursue an internal settlement. Theonus is now on the West to decide what their next move is." South Africa has already responded through diplomatic channels to the West's "clarifications" and revisions of some of the language of their proposals, it is understood.

Mr Garrrah confirmed this, but said he had not been briefed yet on the reasons.

The tone of Mr Botha's statement surprised many United Nations observers. Some commented that they had expected him to be less forthcoming.

In their "clarifications" the Western powers made it clear to South Africa that if forces as S/WA-Namibia would have to be cut to 1,500 from its last offer of 3,000, but rejected SWAPO's call for them to be restricted to Karasburg in the far south. The West made it clear that the status of Walvis Bay should not be dealt with until after S/WA-Namibia's independence.

On the issue of the police, it is understood that the West rejected SWAPO's call for them to be restricted to Karasburg in the far south. The West made it clear that the status of Walvis Bay should not be dealt with until after S/WA-Namibia's independence.

Not prepared to debate

Mr Botha said he would not be drawn by Mr Japie Basson, the Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs who introduced the motion, into a debate on S/WA-Namibia, on the grounds that any discussion of the subject would not be in the interests of the people of the territory.

Earlier yesterday, during question time, Mr Botha also said he would not table a White Paper on S/WA-Namibia in this stage.

The Foreign Minister's announcement was greeted with incredibility by Western diplomats involved in the S/WA-Namibia negotiations. In view of the ongoing low-level contacts between South Africa and the West, the stance of one Western diplomat described Mr Botha's outbursts in Parliament as "completely out of place".

Arguing his case, Mr Botha said that South Africa had been agreeable to elections on the basis of one man, one vote in S/WA-Namibia and the removal of discrimination on the grounds of colour. But in the inner circles of the Carter administration, the thinking was "more or less that there is actually no place for a white government in Africa. They are therefore afraid to be associated with any form of white government. America does not see it in its long-term interests to have any form of co-operation with any government in Africa that has a white skin," Mr Botha said.

The stumbling-block

Introducing the Opposition motion, Mr Basson had said the government should not delay in giving an "honest account" of the stumbling-blocks which still prevented S/WA-Namibia from achieving an internationally recognised independence.

The Opposition agreed largely with the government's view of SWAPO as a Marxist-inspired movement.

Mr Basson said: "Swapo and its army have become Moscow-bound. If they opt for a peaceful settlement they will not only lose their Soviet support, but the leader who opts for peace might very well find himself displaced by another who is prepared to carry on with the war.

"We might as well face the facts. Swapo and its army will not retreat, not participate in free elections and peaceful independence."

The next move is up to the West, SWAPO's United Nations representatives, Mr Thoo Ben Garrrah, said in response to Mr Botha's warning.

Mr Botha's statement came as reports circulated the United Nations that the West was preparing to send their contact group to Cape Town.

Continued on page 2

Union chief wants US to cut SA ties

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The United States's top trade unionist, the doughty octogenarian Mr George Meany, called on the Carter administration to sever diplomatic ties with South Africa and urged US business to boycott the Republic over apartheid.

He spoke after hearing from Mr Donald Woods, the banned former editor of the East London Daily Despatch.

The alternative to ending apartheid, he maintained, was violence in South Africa.

Mr Meany, who is usually conservative in foreign policy matters — he supported the US war effort in Vietnam almost to the bitter end, told the convention of the American Federation of Labour Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL/CIO) of which he is president: “The oppression in South Africa must be viewed with particular alarm since it is committed under the guise of parliamentary democracy.

Mr Meany insisted that the US Government must take the lead in helping end the “vicious policy of apartheid”.

Referring scornfully to US business firms who trade with or operate subsidiaries in South Africa, he went on: “I am sure the profit-hungry corporations of America will cry crocodile tears” if called on to halt business with the Republic. He conceded that to do so might cost some US jobs. But he maintained it was worthwhile.

“In the final analysis the big job is to bring human decency to South African workers,” he said. “Maybe the South African workers would understand and be willing to make whatever sacrifice is involved, to avoid the catastrophe of bloody civil war.”

The trade union executive council issued a call to the Carter administration to:

- Halt all Export-Import Bank insurance, credits and loan guarantees that promote the flow of capital and trade with South Africa,
- Start the severing of diplomatic relations between Washington and Pretoria,
- Halt all participation in “social, cultural, athletic and other activities,” with South Africa, and
- Support United Nations disciplinary actions against South Africa.

The idea that a selective boycott should be applied to exports from South Africa to the United States would however, require further study, the council found.
Kritiek oor SA besoek

CONCORD (New Hampshire). — Mnr. Meldrim Thomson, goewerneur van dié staat, is Vrydag hier skerpend gekritiseer oor sy onlangsse besoek aan Suid-Afrika en die steun wat hy vir Suid-Afrikaanse beleid sou uitgespreek het.

Die kritiek het gekom van eeww. Ralph Henry en 25 betogers. — (Sapa—A.P.)
Trade ban could spell doom for black states

Any concerted international attempt to throw a trade cordon around South Africa in the wake of Canada's recent move to curtail its business with the Republic will spell almost certain economic doom for independent black states throughout central and southern Africa.

That's the message from businessmen and industrialists in Johannesburg who see the Canadian Government's action as an "empty gesture" which is unlikely to have much immediate impact on trade between the two countries.

Local businessmen, however, fear that Canada's "emotive and ill-considered action" will give impetus to rapidly rising pressure in the United Nations for total trade sanctions against South Africa.

But they warn that since sanctions work both ways, moves to economical- ly isolate the Republic could bring industry in Europe's OECD member states to a virtual standstill.

Industry in the United Kingdom and Western Europe, economists point out, rely heavily on raw materials which are mainly imported from Southern Africa.

Latest estimates indicate that South Africa, the Transkei, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and South West Africa, which together form the Southern African Customs Union, and Rhodesia, control:

- 90 percent of the world's chrome;
- 90 percent of the world's platinum;
- 99 percent of the world's gold;
- 74 percent of the world's niobium;
- 76 percent of the world's vanadium; and
- up to 50 percent of the world's uranium.

They add that action designed to undermine the Republic's economic and socio-political stability will place Western Europe at the mercy of Russia and give international communism its biggest prize to date — control of mineral resources vital to Europe's economic well being and the strategic Cape route along which about 80 percent of Europe's oil flows.
SANCTIONS

One up to Woods

Last week's abrupt and dramatic call by American labour czar George Meany for sanctions against SA needs a bit of explaining. While it is easy to dismiss the 84-year-old Meany's turnaround from being an arch-opponent of sanctions to being a supporter as signifying very little, it does have some importance.

First and foremost, American labour unions are rigidly anti-communist, a fact which explains both Meany's previous attitude — and his conversion.

SA unionism has been seen by the AFL-CIO hierarchy in the US as having much in common with the American labour movement — hence the AFL-CIO's links with bodies like Tusca in SA.

Indeed, that feeling still pervades the rank and file and was the reason Meany's resolution stopped short of demanding a selective boycott of SA products shipped to the US.

Instead, the AFL-CIO voted to ask Carter to take actions which are already being implemented or are not on the cards at the moment. Of the four points demanded, two are already de facto realities — the halt of Export-Import Bank credits for SA business deals and US participation in UN "disciplinary actions." The other two (severing diplomatic relations with SA and halting all "social, cultural, athletic and other activities") are irrelevant to the AFL-CIO.

Why did Meany turn around? The answer lies once again in his — and US labour's — fierce anti-communist bias.

They have been converted by the White House and other liberal groups to the view that SA has become a "destabilising force" in Southern Africa and that it is helping the Soviet-Cuban adventure there get its foothold. Indeed, it was Andrew Young and his friend Hudding Carter Jr who saw to it that Donald Woods was invited to address the AFL-CIO executive. Woods' remarks pre-empted opposition to the Meany conversion within his own ranks.

What the demand means remains to be seen. The AFL-CIO is not about to launch a human rights crusade against SA or anyone else. Not in the midst of a major economic recession in the US, when pocketbook issues become supreme. The fact remains, however, that on the record at least, the SA government has lost a valuable American friend in organised labour.

Financial Mail March 3 1978
UK move for blanket arms ban

LONDON - Britain took parliamentary action yesterday to outlaw the sale of all arms and dual-use goods to South Africa, move in line with a mandatory United Nations ban on the supply of weapons to the Republic.

Two orders, announced last night, that before the House of Commons for approval by the Department of Trade and the Foreign Office, provide respectively that:

- No person or firm can enter into any licensing arrangements, patents and design agreements, or technical deals, that will allow South Africa to manufacture any British-developed weaponry.

- All goods and items of equipment that could have a military or police function have now been made subject to export control procedures.

Any orders placed by South Africa for goods such as aircraft or spares of any kind will require the authority of the Department of Trade before they can be exported. The authority, under the new legal arrangements, will be refusing.

For some years, the Labour government has voluntarily restricted military sales but banned South Africa. But it was a ban with loopholes.

For instance, it did not stop British firms from selling South African officials from manufacturing certain types of militarily useful goods that had been developed in Britain.

British firms were permitted to go on supplying spare parts and replacements. (Of course, no police force can function without new weapons; acquisition by other forces, by South Africa, in the past.

Now all that has to stop, even though no legal trade has been going on in that field.)
Rhodesia terms

SALISBURY. - The Rhodesian constitutional agreement reached here yesterday declares that the 28 white members of a black-dominated parliament will be debarred from forming a coalition with any single minority party for the purpose of forming a government.

The provision is believed to be aimed at alleviating black fears that the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith, might make a deal with Senator Chief Jeremiah Chirau of the Zimbabwe United People's Union, to retain effective control of the country under one-man, one-vote There are no surprises in the document, all key issues having leaked to the press during the course of two months of talks between Mr Smith, Chief Chirau, Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the United African National Council and the president of the ANC (Sikhote), the Rev Ndadzangwa Sithole.

The format of the 3,000-word agreement contains echoes of the declaration of independence made by Mr Smith on November 11, 1965.

The instrument of UDI began with the words 'whereas in the course of human affairs history has shown that it may become

necessary for a people to resolve the political affiliations which have connected them with another people.

Yesterday's agreement begins with the admission: "Whereas the present constitutional situation in Rhodesia has led to the imposition of economic and other sanctions against Rhodesia and armed conflict within Rhodesia and from neighbouring territories."

The preamble says it was necessary an agreement be reached to avoid the lifting of sanctions and the end of the war and that it had been achieved on "certain fundamental principles to be embodied in a new constitution that will lead to the termination of the aforementioned sanctions and the cessation of the armed conflict."

"Now therefore," reads the settlement, "it is hereby agreed that a constitution will be drafted and enacted which will provide for majority rule on the basis of universal adult suffrage on the following terms."

Among the provisions is the promise of a 100-seat legislature a and a common voters' roll for which all citizens over 16 years will be eligible "subject to certain recognized disqualifications."

Blacks will have 72 seats reserved for them, elected by common roll voters of all races and 28 seats will be reserved for "Europeans as defined in the 1959 constitution" - this will include Rhodesia's 10,000 Asians and 20,000 coloured people with the 268,000 whites.

Of the 28 seats, 20 will be elected on a preferential voting system by whites on the common voters' roll, and eight will be elected by voters of all races on the common roll from a selection of 16 candidates nominated in the case of the first parliament, by an electoral college comprising the 50 Rhodesian Front MPs - all are white - in the present 66-seat House of Assembly.

In subsequent parliaments the 28 white MPs will comprise the electoral college nominating the 16 candidates.

The reserved seats will be retained for at least 10 years or 3 parliaments, whichever is longer, after which a commissioner headed by a court judge will review electoral arrangements. Any changes recommended by the commission would require "a simple majority of 51 votes, not the 78 normally required for entrenched provisions of the constitution."

The members filling the reserved white seats "will be prohibited from forming a coalition with any single minority party for the purpose of forming a government."

A justicable declaration of rights will protect individual rights and freedoms, and property may not be expropriated unless "adequate compensation is paid promptly." Pension funds rights will also be protected.

The independence and qualifications of the judiciary will be entrenched, and judges will have security of tenure.

An independent public services board, with secure members, will be responsible for appointments, promotions and "discharges" in the public service.

The armed forces, police force, defence force and prison service will be maintained in a high state of efficiency and free from political interference.

Pensions paid at present from the government's consolidated revenue fund would continue to be guaranteed payable in this way, and would be "vested outside the country."

Citizens entitled to dual citizenship "will not be deprived of their present entitlement."

All these provisions would be entrenched in the constitution and may only be amended by a poll supported by 76 of the 100 House of Assembly members.

The next section of the agreement deals with the establishment of a transitional government which, it says, will be the "next step."

The prime function of the transitional government will be to bring about a ceasefire, to settle the composition of future military forces "including those members of the national forces who wish to take up a military career," and "the rehabilitation of others, together with all who have been affected by the war."

If will be the duty of the transitional government to deal with the release of detainees, the review of sentences for political offences, the further removal of racial discrimination, the removal of all forms of discrimination relating to the holding of free and democratic elections; the drafting of a new constitution in terms of the agreement and the registration of voters for an early general election.

The transitional government would consist of an executive council, comprising Mr Smith, Bishop Muzorewa, Mr Sithole and Chief Chirau, and a ministerial council comprising two white ministers and two black ministers.

The four leaders would rotate as chairman of the executive council and as de facto prime minister on an equal basis. Again, the chairman of the ministerial council would rotate between white and black.

For each portfolio or group of portfolios there will be a black and a white minister who will share responsibility.

The ministerial council will be responsible for legislation, and its decisions would be by majority vote, subject to review by the executive council.

The constitution would continue to function under the transitional government, as and when summoned by the executive council. To provide for the registration of voters, and the 1978/79 budget.

It would enact any other legislation - such as for the removal of racial discrimination, which is not forward by the transitional government, and the new constitution.

The work of present parliamentary select committees and the senate legal committee would "proceed as normal."

"It is also hereby agreed that independence day shall be December 31, 1978," the document ends. Attached were the signatures of Mr Smith, Mr Sithole, Bishop Muzorewa and Chief Chirau. - Sapa
New Rhodesian govt operating in two weeks

SALISBURY. — Rhodesia's new broad-based government, with at least 12 black ministers, will begin functioning within two weeks after yesterday's historic signing of an internal agreement.

Prime Minister Mr Smith, whose powers are unchanged by the agreement which all four parties to it hope will result in independence by the end of the year, is waiting for Bishop Abel Muzorewa to return from overseas before starting his cabinet-making.

Mr Smith, as Prime Minister, retains the prerogative of allocating portfolios and bringing in whom he chooses, although he will consult the new executive council on which he will sit with the three black internal leaders.

The agreement does not say how many ministers there will be in the ministerial council. But essentially it will be the present cabinet expanded to bring in an equal number of black ministers.

Portfolios will be grouped and ministers will work in tandem - a white minister with a black colleague.

But as the Kissinger agreement of September 1976 provided, Mr Smith is retaining the portfolios of defence, law and order and finance in white hands during the 10-month transition.

He has already told the black leaders this and they have not objected. Within hours of signing the agreement Bishop Muzorewa - with two top officials of his United African National Council - left for London to fulfill a five-week-old invitation to see British Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen.

His first question to Dr Owen will be to ask him to recognize the agreement or at least to give it a chance to work in spite of any deficiencies the British government may believe it has.

Mr Smith himself was confident yesterday that the free world — his favourite phrase when referring to the non-Soviet nations — was morally obliged to recognize the Salisbury agreement and allow it to progress to a full settlement.

The agreement, as signed yesterday, contains no surprises. Most of it has already been published in the past weeks by the world's press as bits of it were leaked by the negotiators.

Its essential features are that the black leaders have agreed the House of Assembly and the Senate to continue functioning as they are constituted at the moment.

Thus the government that will emerge on Bishop Muzorewa's return from overseas will be an expansion of the present Rhodesian Front government and not a 'completely new interim government.'

Its prime function as spelt out in the document released yesterday will be to bring about a ceasefire in the bloody bush war and to reorganize the future Zimbabwe military forces to include nationalist guerrillas who want an army career. Others will be rehabilitated.

It will also deal with the release of detainees, the review of political sentences, removal of race discrimination, the creation of a climate for free and democratic elections and the drafting of a new constitution.
Lenings
van SA

DETROIT. — Die Amerikaanse Verenigde Motorwer-
kerekvakbond sal sy geld ont-
trek van elke bank wat
lenings aan Suid-Afrika toe-
staan, het die voorstuur hier-
bekend gemaak.

-Die vakbond het 1,5 mil-
joen lede. — (Sapa—A.P.)
Weste moet nou self sien kom klaar
— P.W.

Van Johan Vosloo

PIKETBERG.

SUID-AFRIKA gaan voortaan 'n beleid van neutraaliteit volg. Hy is nie meer bereid om sy seuns op die slagveld vir die Weste op te offer nie, het mr. P.W. Botha, Minister van Verdediging, byvoorbeeld:

"Die Weste het ons verwep en aan die nulke uiteengepel. Wat my betref, moet die Weste voortaan self sien hoe klaar.

Die Weste in huidige hou-

ing in dié van ebelelang:
Die gaan om nie en handels-
boekhouding nie. Hulle moenie se hulle bring S.A. in die maats van geregelde nie.

Suid-Afrika is nou in dié pad van die groot moont-

defede. Daar is vir ons geen hell in om voor hulle te gaan en vertrap te word nie.

Die is nie meer nooddelik om Suid-Afrika, met 'n wapenboek op die knie te bring nie. Ook die handels-

boeklire waarvoor die planne betraad word, sal te boewe-

kom van.

In die verte heet Suid-Af-

rika 'n paar daer langs geheer.
wat hy houing tenoor dié

Weste vandag helpnoed. In die

verte Wêreldstasfie het on in opdrag van die Weste Suid-Afrika verwoes. In die

Tweede Wêreldstasfie het

12 000 Suid-Afrikaners vir die Weste se saak gesterk.

Dit het in Korsa torn die

Maritime greep en die Duit-

ters in Wêreldstasfie met 'n

lugbrand gehelp. Die dank

daarvoor is 'n wapenverbod

en 'n voorbereiding om satel-

ites toe te pas.

Daar is nou 'n neiging om,

die strategiese waarde van dié

skeurre om die Kaap te klei-

neer. Hy wil met daarop wys

dat groot dienskeipe nie deur
die Soed-Afrikaan kan vaar nie.

VSA 'sensitief' oor Pelindaba

"N AANSOEK om 'n Ameri-

kaanse reeks na Suid-Af-

rika se Koeberg-komplex projek

tu te voer, sal onlangs stren-

geer uitvoermaatregte ngsorgudig" oorweg word. Die Koms om 'n Amerikaanse reeks na Pelindaba te kyk, is eger nu.

'e Amerikaanse voedar-

der of daar is 'n rems op

een piek" in Suid-Afrika,

Amerikaanse kamps. Die 

regte beperkings van die 

Carrière-regering is in-vergely-

king, met die rems gebruik 

dat van in Suid-Afrika heer 

berg. Reeksen mag nie meer 

aan die Weste mag en die Polit-

ne verkoop word en ook de-

kans aan die Departement van 

Plaaslike Ontwikkeling en vir 

uraniaanlewing dit.

Die voedoorvoer met 

leef op die Amerikaanse 

s die Suid-Afrikaans 

oor Pelindaba, skyn.

't Aansoek om 'n lieme om 

reeks na Koeberg uit 

te voer, sal verder oor-

weg word. "Ons sal dit nie 

kategories verder nie. Maar 

Pelindaba is 'n percel van 'n 

ander kleur. "Pelindaba sal nie 'n kom-

pky nie. Daar is

egter nie dienslike gevoelig-

heid vir Koeberg, nie, het hy gesê.

pyle gebruik kan word, kom-

munisiasieontwikkeling, chemi-

kale, vlegmagkisiasieont-

rusting en groot reeks.

'N Beelds eet die Jappe

verte deel van die hoor 

langs geheer. "Ons sal dit 

kategories verder nie. Maar

Pelindaba is 'n percel van 'n 

ander kleur. "Pelindaba sal nie 'n kom-

pky nie. Daar is

egter nie dienslike gevoelig-

heid vir Koeberg, nie, het hy gesê.
OPEN LETTER TO A COLLEAGUE

The General Secretary of the NUDW/NUCAW, Ray Altman, recently sent the following letter to Lord Alfred Allen, General Secretary of the giant British union, the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers:

Dear Lord Allen,

I was saddened to read in "Dawn" that you had recently sent a letter to Dr David Owen expressing the support of your Executive Committee for a ban on all South African goods brought into the United Kingdom.

Whilst agreeing fully with your condemnation of the apartheid system in South Africa, I certainly cannot agree with the concept of a trade boycott against South Africa. Such a move, if successful, would result in a serious weakening of our already grave unemployment problem, and it will inevitably be the African, Coloured and Asian workers who will be the hardest hit. Thousands of employees would be thrown out of work in the food and canning industry, in the fruit and vegetable industry, in the dairy industry (all of which are big exporters to Britain and other overseas countries), and in many subsidiary sectors of the economy which manufacture for export.

Not only would a trade boycott be counter-productive in harming most whom it is intended to help, but it would also have the negative effect of still further hardening of attitudes on the part of a great many Whites (as has already been demonstrated by the general election of 30th November 1977, when the Government's rallying cry was "Down with foreign interference").

I fear that a trade boycott and the consequent hardening of attitudes on the part of those in power will gravely diminish the prospects of peaceful change in this country. And don't forget that there are many of us who are working for peaceful change—so please don't make our task more difficult.

If you want to help those of us who are opposed to apartheid and to repressive legislation, and who are working towards meaningful changes in the system, become more involved, instead of withdrawing and leaving us in isolation. Bring your influence to bear upon British firms operating in this country to ensure that they carry out the "British Companies Code of Conduct" and the "E.E.C. Code of Conduct", especially in so far as these relate to wage levels and the recognition of trade union rights for the African workers.

Send a delegation (USDAW or TUC) to come and see for yourselves what problems there are and in what ways you can help us.

Support us in getting South African manufacturers and exporters to carry out the terms of our own Urban Foundation Code of Conduct, and persuade your Government to offer tariff concessions to those who do so.

Incentives of this kind are likely to be far more productive than wielding the big stick, and will result in improved standards and living conditions for our workers. We badly need economic growth, which has already proved to be an important factor in breaking down racial barriers in commerce and industry during the past few years.

This is, in my view, a far more desirable objective than the unemployment and hardships which will result from an effective trade boycott of South Africa, which in turn will only lead to greater obdurancy of those in power here.

Don't punish us because of the policies of our Government—us instead, and above all don't abandon us.

Lord Allen's reply will be published in our next issue.

1. Nomr
2. Naar
3. Oude
4. Coas
5. Ras
6(a) Sk
(b) Sk
7. Soor
8. Hoe
9(a) Pe
(b) Ja
(c) Ja
(d) Be
(e) Ho
10. Aan
(a) Wo:
(b) Jaarlikse verlof deur boer betaal
onbetaal
11. Kontantloon (weeklikse)
12. Ander betaling (weeklikse)
(a) Vleis: hoeveelheid
prys (as nie gratis verskaf word nie)
waarde aan boer
waarde aan werker
end SA loans

CAPE TOWN — The largest bank in the United States, The Bank of America, is to continue trade financing in South Africa.

And a motion on the bank’s proxy statement to shareholders is almost certain to be defeated.

The motion by the anti-apartheid church group, the Interfaith Council on Corporate Responsibility, wanted to end the bank’s lending activities in South Africa.

The bank, one of the largest private banks in the world, said in a statement it was not as heavily involved in South Africa as other United States banks, but had commitments of about R125 million in trade financing in South Africa.

This was a small commitment in terms of its world-wide operations, but a bank spokesman said yesterday they would reject any attempt to restrict their activities in any country, particularly as many had worse records for contravening civil rights than South Africa.

The bank said the extension of credit in any country did not imply support for any particular political policy or government of a foreign country.

A three-man delegation from the bank is in South Africa and is headed by a senior vice-president, Mr. J. Kearney, and a vice-president, Mr. Charles Billmyer.

They saw the Minister of Finance, Son Borwood, and the president of Bophuthatswana, Chief Lucas Mangope, yesterday.

The delegation have also met the Opposition spokesman on finance, Mr. Harry Schwartz, as well as the banned former Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr. Donald Woods, in London.

The Bank of America has not made any short-term loans to South Africa and it is unlikely to do so, but will keep up its trade-financing operations. — PC
Bank to lose cash over SA

WASHINGTON — The 1.5 million strong United Automobile Workers Union's president has announced his union will withdraw its funds from banks and financial institutions that give loans to South Africa.

Mr. D. Fraser predicted that "the present policies of the Vorster government can only lead eventually to broad-scale economic boycotts, more repression and finally massive violent destruction."

The union, along with the International Metalworkers Federation and a number of church and civil rights groups in America, were setting aside March 13 to March 21 "as a period of campaigning against apartheid." Mr Fraser said.

Mr Fraser said he would encourage the Carter Administration to take the following steps:

End all export-import bank insurance, loan guarantees and discount loans to United States companies exporting to South Africa;

Withdraw government services to American businesses trading with or investing in South Africa;

End all discount benefits for corporations dealing with South Africa;

End all forms of nuclear collaboration with South Africa;

Discourage investment and loans to South Africa;

Follow the European Economic Community on guidelines for fair employment practices by the 300 United States companies that have invested over $1 000 million in South Africa over 20 years;

Urge international financial institutions to set human rights conditions on loans to South Africa — BDC.
Take sanctions threat seriously warns Heunis

Hugh Robertson

WASHINGTON — The Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, warned today after a brief visit to the United States, that South Africa should not underestimate the threat of economic sanctions.

At a meeting with South African reporters in the US, he also said he did not believe that foreign companies operating in South Africa should be penalised for acting on the instructions of their Governments.

Mr Heunis did not meet any members of the Carter Administration during what he said was a private visit, but he had held discussions with the heads of American corporations with investments in South Africa.

In reply to a question on the implications of last month’s Carter Administration embargo on exports to the South African police and military, he said: “One should not underestimate actions in the economic field against South Africa. They might be very real.

“Countries which have set themselves the task of having a political dispensation in South Africa different from the one that pertains, have now identified the economic field as the one they think most vulnerable.

“We should pay attention to these threats, and we should co-ordinate our own attempts in every field to resist them, and if it is not possible to resist them then to plan to reduce their impact.”

Mr Heunis, who said American businessmen had indicated their intention to remain involved in South Africa and to even increase their operations in the country, added that he personally was opposed to any steps against companies which acted according to the dictates of their governments.

“We in South Africa would be wrong to penalise those companies acting on the instructions of their governments. What we can do is to take cognisance of the steps, actual or threatened, in the economic field and take appropriate counter measures of our own.”

Mr Heunis said the Government had made contingency plans to counter economic embargoes and sanctions and had spent enormous amounts on an economic infrastructure which included a second Sasol, nuclear power stations, a uranium enrichment plant and the stockpiling of strategic commodities and raw materials, including oil.

Reacting to statements by American officials suggesting that new investments in South Africa had dropped to such a low level that a ban on new investments had been rendered a moot issue, Mr Heunis said “that is simply not the case.

“In any event, we probably need less foreign investment now than we did during the early 1970s when we expanded our infrastructure and built Richards Bay, the Sishen-Saldanha railway line, the new Saldanha harbour, another Iscor at Newcastle, and other very large projects.

“We will begin to reap the full benefits of these projects when the economies of Europe and our own economy move up, and we need not repeat such projects.

IMPRESSION

Mr Heunis said he had got the general impression from American businessmen with subsidiaries in South Africa that they would want to comply with the requirements of the Carter Administration, but that at the same time they “most definitely” wanted to stay in South Africa and expand.

“I have not experienced a negative approach or a lack of confidence in South Africa or the South African economy. I have, in fact, experienced a large measure of understanding of the situation,” he said.
The ban bites

Where there's a will there's a way is the motto of buyout-busters. But a sizeable group of US companies seems to think that, when it comes to Washington's recently announced ban on sales of strategic equipment to the military and the police, there may not be a way after all.

"There's a bit of a panic going on," notes one bigwig in the electronics industry. He's not wrong. One firm reports that two US suppliers have already warned they will no longer deliver equipment to SA customers for fear that if the goods are passed on to the police or defence forces, their export licences to other parts of the world may be revoked.

Motorola, the US telecommunications giant, has told some of its local customers, known to be suppliers to the military, that it can't accept new orders. And Kodak reports that in the past few weeks it has had to refuse two orders in terms of the new restrictions.

Says the chief executive of the local subsidiary of a large US electronics firm: "We are affected by the ruling, and we are going to comply. But it does hurt us from a professional standpoint. We have actively pursued this customer area, and we don't like to treat good customers this way."

What's more, there are rumours that some local companies, fearful for continuity of supplies, are trying to renege on contracts with US-based principals.

Then there are those who — probably wisely — are still looking at the many do's and don'ts of the complicated new regulations. A spokesman for IBM says "we're trying to get interpretations from Washington, and in the meantime are telling our customers to hold their horses." He points out that military and police orders are a relatively small slice of IBM's business: "Our present intention is to continue serving our customers not affected by the regulations, whether government or commercial."

Likewise, Ford executive John Roberts notes his firm is trying to get clarity on the rules, while a spokesman for Beckman Instruments asserts that "people are in a tizz, because they don't know what's going on."

One virtually unnoticed aspect of the sanctions which is particularly worrying (especially to computer distributors) is the tightening up not only of product sales, but also of transmission of know-how. The US government regulation provides for instance, that "no technical data may be exported or re-exported to SA or Namibia where the exporter...knows or has reason to know that the data or any products of the data are for delivery, directly or indirectly, to or for use by or for military or police entities, or for use in servicing equipment owned, controlled or used by or for such entities."

The embargo is aimed only at SA's military and police forces, but covers both direct and indirect deliveries. Thus consignees, end-users and US exporters must certify that goods will not be sold or used contrary to the terms of the embargo.

Among the restricted products: parts to service arms and ammunition including nuclear devices; parts to service any equipment used by the SADF or SAP; equipment for the production of military explosives; machinery for the manufacture and testing of arms and ammunition; military vehicles and certain military construction equipment; and certain aircraft accessories.

Washington has also banned the supply of all technical data "to service equipment owned, controlled or used by" the police and defence force. Seemingly a tough clamping down, which in the words of one electronics man, puts "the computer industry in a different position to Ford or General Motors."
Loan pressure 5M 10/3/78
The United Auto Workers Union, whose 300,000 members dominate the US auto industry, announced this week that it will no longer keep its union funds in American banks that lend to SA. The union has $20m in pension and other funds deposited at a number of major US banks. Union officials say they will not withdraw their funds until they have consulted with the banks about their SA loan policies.
Numbers of vociferous democrats (and others) are advocating sanctions against the hated South African regime. It is right that apartheid should make people angry but that shouldn't mean that they have to stop thinking. Yet that is what most of the “boycott boys” have done. They want illogical action against racism which affects them not at all, but provides them with a warm, humane ideology, and an irren- risible righteousness.

But are sanctions having any effect?

I believe they are actually working — in reverse.

Let's examine a few of them.

• First, the boycott on drama and literature. This anti-apartheid weapon wielded by some Western playwrights, authors, actors and TV men is insidious, yet ultimately can produce dramatic effects on apartheid. What it does so well is shore up support for racism. It denies South Africans of all colours any thought-provoking works of Western liberalism, and it under- mines the majority of people in this country are fed an unrehearsed diet of sixteen-somer, richman-porn, pop-group and bedroom farce. In the field of farse one might include all the “world contender” boxing matches.

In sum, the effect of the artists' boycott is to encourage mindless (and reactionary) emotionalism. It discourages rational debate.

• The academic boycott. This has been less effective, in that the universities, Africannas as well as English-medium, have managed to produce within the borders of this country a number of free-thinking academics who have not been indoctrinated in our race-orientated environment. Those overseas universities, which, in their “liberalism,” turned their backs on isolated South African colleagues have not, therefore, encouraged racism in this country as much as they might have done. Still, the boycotters have not been totally ineffectual in the cause of apartheid.

• The arms boycott. This should be the most logical of all sanctions imposed on SA by those democrats and peace-loving nations that manu- facture huge supplies of military weapons. Unfortunately, however, ar- mias have merely galvanized this “country into joining the arms race.

And now the arms boycott is about to become absurd or sinister. On March 24 Britain will specifi- cally prohibit the shipment to SA of any goods which include anti-riot shields; water cannon, and acoustic crowd dispersal devices. The result? Our police become immune to the criticism levelled against them for failing to use non-lethal riot equipment in the Soweto riots of June 1976.

The logical effect of Britain's ban will be to encourage the use of gunfire and teargas. Britain will then be able to wring her hands in horror and demand to know why the crowds were dispersed with bullets instead of the latest riot-control methods.

• Press sanctions. This week a delegate to the International Press Insti- tute congress in Australia proposed that South Africa be expelled from the organisation. Very clever move. The only possible effect would have been to rap the independent SA Press sharply on the knuckles and leave the Government-supporting Press (which does not subscribe to IPI) unaf- fec ted except, of course, by understandable feelings of mirth. Fortunately wiser counsels prevailed at the IPI congress.

• Trade sanctions. Anti-apartheid groups in Britain, from Alan Paton to Helen Sumran; from Gatsha Butheleni to Harry Cus- heimer have explained to the world that radical steps in this regard might lead to race polarisation, black suffering and bloodshed. It has been esti- mated that if trade san- cions could be made 50 percent effective it might put more than a million people (including 350,000 black breadwinners) out of work.

As a weapon for reform the trade boycott, there- fore, could be as effective as a nuclear bomb. Either way, it won't bring peace.

Running newspapers has its hazards in Iran as well. So the Shah's secret po- lice, SAVAK, has issued a helpful curtailment on the loc- al newspapers on how to keep out of trouble.

Of the 10 points for editors to remember, some are pretty basic. For ex- ample: “Countries unfriendly towards Iran are not to be prated, and any news that may be to their advantage is to be omitted.”

It is when SAVAK turns its sharp eyes towards financial matters that a fascinating distinction is made. Point 10 says: “A office is not to be exposed or reported in the Press.”

So life looks toughest for the small fry.

At work...

A colleague brought me this view from der "Merseyside".

Seems the poor chap lost £100 on the fourth race at Turfoton and a further £200 with a bet on the "by way" that night on TV.
Maputo, Zamibia: Sitting Ducks

Sanctions tilted
Britain must get
Blacks say '93/94

No back-down on Jef ter—Smith
Sanctions threat hits PO plans

The threat of economic sanctions against South Africa has caused the Post Office to postpone committing itself to firm contracts in its massive scheme for a fully-electronic telephone exchange system.

This emerged today in the Post Office budget of the Minister of Posts, Senator van der Spuy, delivered in the Assembly this afternoon.

Senator van der Spuy outlined a plan to introduce one French and one German electronic switching system alongside if negotiations were concluded to the Post Office's satisfaction.

But, he went on to say: "In the meantime, decisions regarding arms embargoes have underlined the risk element and the whole question is still under consideration."

"As we are to a large degree self-sufficient in the electro-mechanical area, there is no sense in exposing ourselves to unnecessary risks."

BACKGROUND

The Minister's words are being read against the background of the recent French Government decision to place an embargo on arms sales to South Africa, resulting in a warship already under construction, and partly paid for by the Government, not being delivered.

Outlining the history of South Africa's search for a modernised switching system, Senator van der Spuy recalled the Government's decision last year to cancel the manufacture of the semi-electronic German CP-24 and CP-44 switching exchanges in the light of "staggering developments in the field of micro-electronics."

Following an investigation, the Government decided to adopt fully electronic, or digital systems subject to satisfactory negotiations being concluded on guarantees, prices, licence arrangements, local manufacture and other factors.

If the negotiations were satisfactorily concluded two digital systems would be introduced.

- The B-10 French system, which would be introduced first. It was intended to import the first system next year, with local manufacture starting as soon as possible after that, and;
- The German EWS-D system, which might be available in South Africa by 1981. If satisfied with price, technical performance and other factors, the EWS-D system would be adopted as the second standard system alongside the E10 system;
15. Do the workers will stop the shipment to South Africa this week of Landrovers and Leyland parts and kits.

A spokesman for the State-owned motor group said: "There is likely to be some delay in supplies to the Republic but to what extent we 'cannot' tell."

16. Will you use the same tools?

"Why/Why not?"

17. Is there currently a shortage?

18. Do you foresee a shortage?

If yes, why?

How will you cope with this shortage?
Owen appeals for renewed peace talks

LONDON, — An urgent appeal to all parties in the Rhodesian dispute to join peace talks, without prejudicing their previous positions, was made by Britain’s Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, here last night.

He was speaking at an Anglo-American cultural function shortly after a two-hour meeting with Joshua Nkomo and Mr Robert Mugabe, the co-leaders of the Patriotic Front.

The Foreign Secretary could draw little comfort from the statements made by the guerrilla leaders as they left Whitehall.

They made it clear they envisaged a two-stage peace push.

The first part should involve what Mr Nkomo called “all of us generals” in military talks, the second part would cover constitutional issues.

The internal leaders could involve themselves at this latter stage provided they renounced the agreement signed in Salisbury on March 1.

Mr Nkomo said when he was talking about generals, he meant himself, Mr Mugabe, the British Resident Commissioner Designate, Field Marshall Lord Carver, and Lieutenant General Prem Chand, the special representative of the United Nations Secretary-General.

Talks among these four would be a resumption of the adjourned Malta meeting last January 31 and February 1, he said.

Mr Mugabe later ruled out involvement by Cuban soldiers in the fighting in Rhodesia, although he said the guerrillas would take arms and aid from any countries which could give it.

“We exclude anybody from playing a physical role insofar as our armed struggle is concerned,” he said on BBC television.

“Dr Owen said he was not prepared to use the Salisbury deal as a new basis for discussions, completely abandoning the basis we see in the Anglo-American proposals.”

But it was not acceptable, he said, that the black leaders who had made a deal with Mr Smith in Salisbury should be brought into talks.

Dr Owen said at the function: “Britain and the United States, in calling for further discussion, are facing reality that a negotiated settlement cannot be imposed,” he said. “It has first to be agreed.”

The Carter Administration is not rejecting the internal settlement arrived at by Mr Smith and three black moderate leaders.

A spokesman said the Administration believed it would have been helpful if Bishop Muzorewa “as one of the principal leaders in Rhodesia”, had had a chance to present his views to the Security Council at the United Nations.

In Salisbury the Zimbabwe United Peoples Organization, which yesterday received an invitation to participate in an enlarged constitutional conference on Rhodesia, said yesterday external leaders had a right to return for “free and fair elections”.

Zupco president, Chief Jeremiah Chirau, who left Salisbury last night for London where he hopes to discuss the settlement issue with Dr Owen, said in a statement that a decision on a renewed conference would have to be taken jointly by all signatories of the Salisbury agreement.

The first vice-president of the United African National Council, Mr James Chikerema, yesterday opposed a new conference on the Rhodesian issue.

He told a press conference in Salisbury that any suggestion to reopen negotiation was an attempt to delay peace and prolong the suffering of the people.

Kaunda warns of war

LUSAKA — President Kaunda yesterday warned that he would be forced to seek increased Eastern help if the West recognized the internal settlement signed in Salisbury.

He charged that the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Smith, was seeking just such a polarization of the conflict, and warned that a major “conflagration” would result.

Once Western countries go to the assistance of Ian Smith, we will have no choice but to go to Eastern countries to come and support us. That will mean the conflagration will have started,” Dr Kaunda said he had not retaliated for last week’s Rhodesian air and ground assault against Zambia because to do so would unleash the war of which he warned.

“Zambia has the capacity and the ability to strike back at the enemy deeper than he is able to, but I realize that will mean Zambia and its people will be playing Smith’s own trump card.”

However, Dr Kaunda warned, he was not sure how much longer he could resist the “pressure” to retaliate.

Dr Kaunda claimed that Zambian forces downed four Rhodesian jets, three Cheetah helicopters, and one Beaver spotter in last week’s battle at Kavulumanja, in the Feira (Luangwa) district of Zambia.

He revised earlier Zambian estimates of casualties, saying 25 Zambian soldiers and 12 civilians were killed.

Many of the civilians were killed when Rhodesian jets strafed a civilian lorry. Only three of the soldiers died at the front, the others were killed in the bombing and strafing deeper inside the border.
Anti-SA move at Leyland

LONDON. - Anti-apartheid action by workers will stop the shipment to South Africa this week of Land Rovers and Leyland parts and kits.

A spokesman for the State-owned motor group told Sapa: "There is likely to be some delay in supplies (to the Republic) but to what extent we cannot tell. They do have a buffer stock in South Africa."

The Leyland workers, mostly from the Transport and General Workers Union and the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, are observing the international trade union week of action against apartheid which started yesterday.

Shop stewards approached Leyland management and forced them to declare that "in order to allow continued production" work at these plants "has been scheduled this week to avoid shipment to South Africa."

Direct action like that taken by the Leyland workers has not been urged by the TUC.

Instead the TUC has centred its campaign this week on industrial relations. One million leaflets have been circulated to unions and trades councils. These call on British firms employing black South Africans to recognise them and grant them negotiating power.

Shop stewards dealing with British management were urged to get detailed information about their employees' treatment of black South African workers.

Trade union pressure would be applied to British companies in the Republic to observe the EEC code of conduct, a TUC spokesman said.

Civil and Public Services Association members at the British Library are "blacklisting" South African books and research material. Anyone asking for a South African book will not be helped. New books from the Republic will not be processed -- Sapa
Sanctions out if SA agrees to West’s plan

John Paton, Political Correspondent

If South Africa were to accept the West’s plan for South West Africa/Namibia independence, it would be wise to consider international sanctions — even if SWAPO refuses to participate in the proposed free elections.

This is the view of Western diplomatic circles at the West’s "Big Five" UN Security Council meetings, which are scheduled to submit their final revised proposals to the South African Government later this month.

With an agreed formula for the independence plan for SWA/Namibia so close, it is believed in diplomatic circles that the South African Government would put the bull squarely in SWAPO’s court if South Africa accepted the West’s plan.

With South Africa’s acceptance of the plan confirmed, any United Nations proposals aimed at applying sanctions against it could not get past the Western veto, if SWAPO were to reject the plan at that stage for any reason.

Diplomatic circles are privately puzzled by the aggressive line being followed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, over disclosures of SWAPO’s plans for a power grab in SWA/Namibia.

They regard it as absolutely standard for an organisation working for the “liberation” of a territory to maintain total hostilities till the moment a peace agreement is signed.
No loans to SA-US bank

WASHINGTON - There were no new loans made to South Africa by the First National Bank of Chicago during 1973 because of the Republic's racial policies, a First Chicago Corporation spokesman said yesterday. "Management believes that amelioration of South Africa's racial policies is necessary to assure that the country remains creditworthy," he said in reply to stockholders' request for a report on the company's current loans.

Last week Cuthbert of New York, the second largest bank in the United States, announced it had decided to cut off future loans to Pretoria.

Data Bank of press clippings said those mainly consisted of loans papers had a shortage of Government and other publications.

Mr. Horner's third project was to be discussed more fully at the annual meeting in March. These would supply up-to-date information on housing, housing stock, population and income in the Coloured group areas of the Divisional Council and City Council of the Cape. She was also collecting data on squatters in all areas. Her work is being done as a member of a team, led by Professor George Ellis (Applied Mathematics), to estimate future housing needs in greater Cape Town.

Delia Essery is working on the Handbook of Labour Statistics covering Southern Africa, she reported that it was difficult to obtain information from other countries. It was suggested that the 2nd edition of the Statistical Handbook may be on a more regional basis. Miss Essery is going to Sussex to work with Professor Michael Ward with a view to studying the redesigning of social statistics towards the end of 1976. She will then return to work on the 2nd edition of the Handbook which should be more up-to-date and have a far wider coverage.

Alide Kooy reported that she was preparing two papers for the Agricultural Conference in September 1976. One on permanent farm workers and the other on sheep-shearers in the Beaufort West district. She has already visited Beaufort West with a questionnaire for the farmers and will return there in January to interview more farmers and workers before returning to write up her findings.

Rogie Africa is also preparing a paper for the Agricultural Conference. The topic is 'Mechanisation in South African Agriculture with special reference to the Western Cape'. He said the object of the paper was to ascertain the socio-economic consequences of mechanisation and changing techniques in a particular area. Mr. Africa is planning to do casual labour on a farm in the Montagu district in January.

Sekamzzi Ntobe was busy assisting Mr. Horner with clippings for the Data Bank.

Jos Garson reported on the squatters project that was now in its second draft. He explained that his aim was to produce a comprehensive survey of squatters in Cape Town in breadth rather than depth. The paper would include information about location, size, nature, maps, socio-economic background, consequences, education, International squatting and solutions.
Russians spread their influence down south

Pretoria Bureau

The military phase of the Soviet Union's quest for power in Africa is now well under way and must be expected to escalate rapidly.

The fomentation of civil war and terrorist activity in several areas of the continent has been succeeded by the insertion of Cuban troops, thousands of them, where Soviet influence is most vigorously contested.

The next step, if any, could be the direct participation of Soviet military personnel in conflict situations.

Well-informed sources point out that the Soviet Union has diplomatic ties with all but six of Africa's 50-plus states — South Africa, Rhodesia, SWA/Namibia, Malawi, Transkei, and Bophuthatswana.

It supplies a large proportion of them with arms, it has directed the introduction of about 27,000 Cubans into Africa, and naval vessels in the Indian Ocean are up to 50 Soviet craft and South Atlantic Ocean vessels. These include combat vessels, minesweepers, landing craft, support vessels, and one or two carrying sophisticated electronic equipment.

The growing insensitivity of the multi-pronged, multi-faceted campaign for influence in the countries close to South Africa is illustrated by developments there, including the recent arrival of an acknowledged Africa expert, Mikhail Petrov, as Soviet ambassador to Botswana.

It is estimated that there are between 320 and 350 communist bloc fishing vessels in the waters off southern Africa, but so far there have been no violations of South Africa's fishing zone since it was extended from 12 to 200 nautical miles with effect from November last year.

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contracted workers employed

"  "  

women  men

Number of permanent workers employed:

mutton  wool

Number of sheep:

Kind of activity:

If possible, percentage of farm income due to each:

Size of farm (hectares): 

Distance from nearest town (kilometers):

Parm number

Questi...
SAIC call to leave us alone

Mercury Reporter

THE withdrawal of foreign investments from South Africa would not help solve the country's problems, Mr. J. N. Reddy, executive chairman of the South African Indian Council said in Newcastle yesterday.

Mr. Reddy was opening a new R550 000 housing scheme built by the Dorman Long Vanderbijl Corporation for its Indian employees.

He said that in recent months, there had been repeated calls for the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa and the withdrawal of foreign investments.

"We must tell all those countries and people who are campaigning for the withdrawal of foreign investments from South Africa that we South Africans would like to be left alone to find acceptable solutions to the problems facing our country," he said.

He said economic sanctions would hurt the non-Whites most.

Mr. Reddy said that Indians, Coloureds, and Whites should echo the sentiments of the Blacks, who recently publicly announced their total opposition to the withdrawal of foreign investments."
Staff Reporter
NEWCASTLE — Mr J N Reddy, executive chairman of the Indian Council, has earned the admiration of local Afrikaners here after a hard-hitting speech opposing economic sanctions against South Africa.

Reacting to his speech, Mr J. van Eingen, the Nationalist MEC for Newcastle, said: "He spoke like a nationalist. It was an excellent speech."

Mr Reddy yesterday opened the first phase of a R2-million housing scheme built by Vencon, a subsidiary of Dorman Long (Vanderbijl) for its employees.

Mr Reddy said: "Economic action can only harm stability and growth, slacken development and increase unemployment. This will depress conditions in black areas and they will lose everything they have."

"The international community should leave South Africa alone to find acceptable answers to our own problems."

"Those who call for sanctions are not our friends, and we must tell the world they are not helping us."

"We must not be silent spectators and we must be seen on the right side. As a person involved with the Indian community I cannot sit where sanctions will help."

LONDON — The Midland Bank, one of the Big Five in Britain, is to announce on Thursday that it has accepted Anti-Apartheid Movement arguments against lending money to the South African Government.

In his annual chairman's statement Lord William Armstrong will tell shareholders that the bank has decided to "modify" its policy and reduce the amount it lends to the South African Government and its agents. This was confirmed by a senior spokesman for the bank who said: "We still make our judgments on commercial rather than political or moral considerations. But, in common with others, we have come under such moral and political pressure that it has had to be reconsidered. Our changed attitude will be explained fully in Lord Armstrong's statement."

The Anti-Apartheid Movement is celebrating the change in attitude by the Midland Bank as possibly its greatest victory yet. A spokesman said: "One of the most powerful banks in the world has agreed with us that by lending money to South Africa it is helping to prop up apartheid. They are going to reduce, and we have no doubt, eventually end their aid to the South African Government and that is an incredible change of mind by a commercial institution. We see this as quite historic."

The decision by the Midland Bank follows the move by Citicorp, America's second largest bank, last week to end loans to the South African Government and the country's public corporations. — DDC.
Top US unionist calls for boycott of SA

WASHINGTON — America's top trade unionist, the doughty octogenarian George Meany, has called on the Carter Administration to sever diplomatic ties with South Africa and urged United States business to boycott the Republic over apartheid.

He spoke after hearing from Mr. Donald Woods, the exiled former Editor of the Daily Dispatch.

The alternative to ending apartheid, he maintained, was violence in South Africa.

Mr Meany, who is usually conservative in foreign policy matters — he supported the American war effort in Vietnam almost to the bitter end — told the convention of the American Federation of Labour - Congress of Industrial Organisations, of which he is president: “The oppression in South Africa must be viewed with particular alarm since it is committed under the guise of parliamentary democracy.”

Mr Woods was guest of the convention.

Mr Meany insisted that the United States Government must take the lead in helping end the “vicious policy of apartheid.”

Referring scornfully to American business firms who trade with or operate subsidiaries in South Africa, he said: “I am sure the profit-hungry corporations of America will cry crocodile tears if they are called on to halt business with South Africa.” He conceded that to do so might cost some American jobs, but he maintained it was worthwhile.

“The final analysis the big job is to bring human decency to South African workers,” he said.

The trade union organisation’s executive council issued a call to the Carter Administration to:

Halt all export-import bank insurance, credits and loan guarantees that promote the flow of capital and trade with South Africa;

Start the severing of diplomatic relations between Washington and Pretoria;

Halt all participation in “social, cultural, athletic and other activities” with South Africa; and

Support United Nations “disciplinary actions” against South Africa.

The idea that a selective boycott should be applied to exports from South Africa to the United States would, however, require further study, the council found.

Meanwhile, Pres. Nyerere of Tanzania has criticised French union leaders for their reluctance to advocate a break in economic and military ties between France and South Africa.

He told a three-member delegation from the French Confederation of Workers: “Precisely because France has huge investments in South Africa, which are said to mean jobs for the French workers, someone in France has to educate the French worker that the workers of South Africa are fighting for democracy, a decent wage and the vote, things which the French workers gained a long time ago.”

DDC-SAPA-RNS
Banks resist anti-SA pressure

The Argus Bureau.

NEW YORK — Two of the largest U.S. commercial banks, J.P. Morgan and Manufacturers Hanover, are resisting shareholders’ proposals for an end to loans to the South African Government.

J.P. Morgan has recommended that shareholders vote against a proposal put forward by the Protestant Episcopal Church calling for further information about lending policies.

The management of the bank condemned apartheid but said a refusal to make loans could put considerable hardship on all the people of that country.

The directors of Manufacturers Hanover, responding to a proposal by a shareholder that the bank should join the growing number of financial institutions that have decided that South Africa is no longer a good risk, financially or morally, recommended that shareholders vote against the proposal.

Six major banks announced recently that they will no longer lend money to the South African Government.
InVESTMENT CURBS?

There are growing signs that the British government has recently decided to discourage new British investment in SA. Although no formal announcement is expected, a new policy will probably become evident in the near future.

According to Labour MP Alex Lyon, the decision was taken by the Cabinet during the past month. Lyon, who was a minister in the Home Office until last year, refuses to say how he learnt about this development, but other informed sources in London confirm that there has been "an important shift of emphasis" following recent Cabinet discussions on economic links with SA.

Officially, Whitehall goes only as far as admitting that economic policies regarding SA are under review. But an indication of Britain's changing attitude was provided last week by Foreign Secretary David Owen, who remarked in the course of a speech that "in investment and in trade, this country faces a painful dilemma in its relationship with South Africa. We must reduce our over-dependence on that country economically. We stand to lose more than most if things go wrong. Prudent businessmen and prudent investors, no less than the British government, should be taking a hard look at the South African connections."

Measures under active consideration include the limitation of export credit guarantees, a reduction or complete withdrawal of official support for trade missions, and an end to tax advantages for companies investing in SA. Britain's state-owned industries will probably make no fresh SA investments.

Britain has come under heavy pressure to take such action from trade unions, Nigeria, and the US.
**Boikot-miljoene**

**VERVOLG VAN BL. 61**

*Vier behoud van die bo-
belasting van 15 persent op
hierf.

"N Matige toename in
staatsbesteding.

"N Taamlike ooroskot uit
die afgelope belastingjaar.

"Maatlike toegewigs vir
maatskaplike pensioentrek-
kets.

Kennis lig verder op bl.
1 van Sake-RAPPORT drie
dinge toe.

Jan Hupkes, 'n assist-
stent-hoofbestuurder van
Federale Volksbeleggings,
skets die Minister van Finan-
sies se probleme met die kap-
taalrekening.

Dr. Martin van den Berg,
besturende direkteur van
Interbank en 'n vice-president
van die Afrikaanse Handels-
instituut, skets die huidige
ekonomiese probleme en se
watter soort maatreëls 'n
mens kan verwy.

Mar. Hennie Wlehahn, 'n
ekonomo van Sengbank,
lewer nog vir laas 'n pleidooi dat
daar 'n slag aan die verbru-
ker gedink moet word. Dis
immers vanjaar die jaar van
die verbruiker! se hy.

In der waarheid kon Suid-
Afrika dit eintlik nie bekostig
hetom duikbote en korvette
aan te koop, om die seeroote
vir die Weste te help bevelle
niet.Noudat die Weste deur
hul bolkoete self verhinder
dat Suid-Afrika hierdie
toeurstingskoop, verval die
verpligting.

In der waarheid kon niks
beters gebeur nie, se
waarnemers.

Suid-Afrika self het nie nou
duikbote en korvette nodig
in die stryd wat hy voer nie,
maar konvensionele wapens.
Dis dit wat nu op veel groter
skaal in Suid-Afrika ver-
vaardig sal word.

Dis 'n land se weerver-
baarheid, ook sy vermote teen
insurgerende, geweldig ver-
sterk, se financiele sowel as
militêre waarnemers.

Die verwagting is dat die
degte vir verdiging vanjaar
niet beter sal word nie.
Verdele jaar is dit met 20
persent opgetoot tot sowat
R1 650 miljoen, en vanjaar
can dit eerder effens meer
wees as minder: in die lig
die geval waar die land
bedreig en die koste van
wapentuig, sou dit onverant-
woordlik wees om te besnoei.

**Leningsheffing**

Maar geen dramatiese ver-
hoging soos verlede jaar
voorsien nie. Dit is in pas
met algemene gevoel dat min.
Horwood vanjaar met 'n
begroting kom wat min ingry-
pende else of toegewings
bring.

Moenie wonderwerke ver-
weg nie: dit die boodskap
wat Sake-RAPPORT ook voor
Woensdag se begroting bring.

Ekonomie en die sake-
wêreld verwy.

* Geen regstreekse belas-
tingverligting nie, maar 'n
verligting in die leningshef-
fing wat die totale afsetting
vir belasting sal vermind.

* "N Maatlike verhoring van
die aksyns- of ander
unregstreekse belasting
iets wat elke jaar in 'n
minder of meerdere mate
beur.

**VERVOLG OP BL. 4"
Sanctions ads: black leaders not asked

Political Staff

THE ASSEMBLY — The Government did not ask black South African leaders, including Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, for permission for them to be quoted in a series of newspaper advertisements overseas.

This emerged in Parliament today when the Minister of Information, Dr Connie Mulder, replied to questions by Mr Bay Swart, Progressive Federal Party MP for Musgrave.

The advertisements quoted the black leaders in their opposition to sanctions being placed on South Africa by the international community.

The other leaders involved were Dr W J Bergius, leader of the opposition in the Coloured Representative Council, Mr J N Reddy, chairman of the executive of the South African Indian Council, trade unionist Mrs Lucy Mibelo, and Chief Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei.

The advertisements appeared in the Toronto Globe and Mail, Canada, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Germany, the Sunday Express, The Times, the Guardian, the Daily Telegraph and the Economist (London), Britain, the Washington Post and the Wall Street Journal, United States, and Le Figaro, France.

Dr Mulder said the black leaders' consent was not sought because this was not customary in the case of well-known personalities.

Commenting afterwards, Mr Swart said he thought it would be only courteous to ask the consent of individuals for extracts from their speeches to be published.
Business world can be a force for change

The South African system, where racial segregation is not only officially sanctioned, but is also a carefully constructed network of discriminatory legislation, is totally unacceptable to any civilized person or nation in the world today. And so it should be!

But it is one thing for a foreign power to press South Africa into ridding itself of an unjust system of government based on racial discrimination, and quite another thing to seek to impose simplistic solutions based on the concept of one man, one vote.

It is probably true to say that the Western diplomatic response to South Africa's situation and Mr Vorster's intransigence, has been counter-productive.

No one who has any real knowledge of South Africa really believes that universal suffrage on the Westminster pattern is the solution to our problems. If it were, that the Nationalist Government has the remotest intention of allowing it, except over our dead bodies.

Of course, no amount of diplomatic ineptitude or lack of imagination can excuse the regime's use of apartheid or the tendency of Mr Vorster to stifle dissent by reaching for the handcuffs and governing by fear and repression.

Jolt

In this latter respect, the condemnation of the Western world for what they see as their intransigence seems to make no impression whatsoever.

In this scenario, what role is there for the business community? I am sure that the business community has a unique opportunity and an important and constructive role to play. It has the ability to become a major force for change and a source of constant pressure in some of the main and most intolerable areas of discrimination which, if they are broken down, in the work environment, will have a spill-over effect into many other facets of society.

A Code of Conduct for business enterprises was recently issued by the Urban Foundation, a body which seeks to promote the quality of life in urban black communities in South Africa, and which felt it necessary to jolt employers out of their comfortable inertia.

This was an important document because it embodied as its overriding and basic premise, the elimination of discrimination in all aspects of employment practice.

Remember that this was a code for South Africa by South Africans for South Africans, thus presumably free from the taint of foreign interference or imposed solutions. Interestingly, it was endorsed by a coordinating employer body which represents something like 80 per cent of South African employers.

The Urban Foundation's Code of Conduct is too new a development to be judged, and it remains to be seen whether or not it will turn out to be effective, or whether it will simply turn out to be a pious statement of intent.

Enormous

But it is in areas such as this that a major opportunity exists for American (or other foreign companies) to play a constructive role — to act in terms of, and expand, the principles underlying these codes and to conduct their affairs in this country in terms of them.

Over 360 American firms operate in South Africa. Nearly 50 per cent of them are controlled by parent companies in the United States who own more than 50 per cent of the capital. In May 1976, these firms employed nearly 90,000 people of all races — the figure is probably closer to 100,000 today.

There is an enormous potential for influencing a much larger circle if these corporations were to set the pace, so to speak, in dismantling the apparatus of discrimination in employment, in the treatment of their employees, in their training and promotion programmes and in the granting of socio-economic benefits which could be extended to the families of these employees.

Example

I argue strongly and persistently for the extinction rather than the diminution of American interests in South Africa.

I argue for the extension of diplomatic, cultural, athletic and economic ties with this country.

I argue for increased investment, not boycotts — to lead by example, not to isolate by withdrawal.

To demonstrate in an effective and in a practical manner that enterprises can be run on a non-discriminatory basis and yet remain viable.

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To demonstrate in an effective and in a practical manner that enterprises can be run on a non-discriminatory basis and yet remain viable.

Courage

To maintain moral integrity and at the same time to achieve constructive gains.

To use the carrot instead of always the stick.

Every time that Arthur Ashe plays tennis in this country racial barriers tumble. Every time that Arthur Ashe is turned away from the gate at a soccer match, changes in attitudes occur.

And every time that the Black American Consul in Johannesburg, Mr Joe Seegers, is refused admission at a restaurant, dozens of other restaurants apply for registration on an integrated basis.

Every time an American corporation desegregates a canteen, promotes a black manager, increases the skills and job opportunities for black staff members, other corporations gain the courage to do so.

Constructive

Payment of the rate for the job, training programmes, promotion opportunities, pension benefits, medical aid assistance, housing subsidies, educational bursaries for employees' children and legal counselling are but a few of the constructive and positive programmes in which US business can involve itself, not only from philanthropic motives — in most cases, it makes good economic sense as well.

I would like to see a flood of academics, artists and athletes of all races coming to South Africa, by all means firm in their intention to perform before desegregated audiences only, and I believe it would be extremely difficult and extremely embarrassing for the Government to deny this firm intention in the face of their often expressed, but seldom carried out, intention to move away from discrimination.

South Africa is very much at the crossroads — the Government now has to summon its courage and choose its road. If it chooses the one which will carry its bold statements about the removal of discrimination into practice, then one can proceed with some degree of confidence that the potential of this great country of ours can be realised.

Responsibility

If, on the other hand, South Africa were to choose the other road, cling to the oppressions of the past, retreat into its heavily-armed white laager and embark upon another disgraceful wave of arrests and hangings then, although I have no doubt that we will survive, the period that lies ahead is not going to be a pleasant one.

The responsibility for the choice is a heavy one and it is here that the US and its political and commercial interests can make a positive contribution. Economic and political isolation is a negative and retrogressive step. It will not persuade South Africa to accept otherwise unacceptable formulae and would undoubtedly intensify the psychic siege mentality which is already spreading.

The stifling of US interests merely removes a positive and potentially constructive influence, and would cause hardships and suffering amongst those who need help most.

No problem was ever solved by walking away or quitting on it.
NEW YORK — Americans should slowly withdraw investments from South Africa to protest against the Republic's white supremacist policies, the New York Times said yesterday.

Examining widespread campus opposition to South Africa's policies and the "profits extracted from such a system," the newspaper said, "we support it.

While South Africa was not the only racist nor the only oppressive nation on earth, it said: "No other contemporary government -- and certainly none that stands for the culture of the West -- has dared to define itself as the embodiment of white supremacy.

"To Americans, now, such doctrine is simply unacceptable. Gradually, so that there is time for the message to sink in, Americans should be heading for the exit."

A problem arose for trustees of non-profit institutions and corporate executives, however, in trying to meet the demands of protesters that the corporations should cease their operations in South Africa or risk losing the investments of the institutions.

"Posse" of a university were required to invest their endowments in the most productive and prudent ways it said.

"They find it extremely difficult to manage that money nowadays without acquiring some stock in some of the 350 firms with operations in South Africa, or in the other 6,000 who traded there," said the New York Times. — Sapa Reuter
Sanctions effect warning

JOHANNESBURG — Trade sanctions against South Africa could set back the modernisation and development of the Southern African subcontinent by as much as 15 years, the executive director of ASSOCCOM, Mr. Raymond Parsons, said here.

Speaking on a radio programme, Mr. Parsons asked whether those in favour of sanctions had the welfare at heart of the whole of the Southern African region.

While sanctions would hurt South Africa, the rest of the sub-continent would be hurt far more.

On the same programme, the executive director of the South African Foreign Trade Organisation, Mr. J. Holtz, said sanctions, in terms of the whole Southern African region, would not be possible.

The world community would not be able to impose such measures against South Africa while simultaneously ensuring that countries such as Zambia, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho escaped the consequences.

— SAPA.
Nat claims are untrue: Suzman

THE ASSEMBLY — The veteran Progressive Federal Party MP, Mrs Helen Suzman, has dismissed as "completely untrue" numerous Nationalist allegations in this week's Budget debate that she favoured economic sanctions against South Africa.

Mrs Suzman said yesterday she had always been against economic boycotts and had repeatedly stated so overseas.

"Oh every occasion that I have had the opportunity, I have done my best to persuade people overseas that investment in South Africa is an important instrument of reform," she said.

"What I am trying to do, which the Nationalists continue to misrepresent, is to warn the Government that because the advocates of moderate action to persuade South Africa to change its racial policy have not succeeded in obtaining meaningful changes — particularly, as far as political rights for blacks are concerned — militant forces advocating much more drastic measures are gaining ground overseas."

Mrs Suzman said the old arguments for continued investment no longer carried conviction because the changes that had come about as a result of economic integration, to which South Africa attached so much importance, were considered as "cosmetic" overseas.

Speaking in the Assembly on Tuesday, the deputy Minister of Plural Development, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, accused Mrs Suzman of being an active promoter of the propaganda campaign against the Republic, and of welcoming sanctions as an instrument of pressure for change. — PC.
If congressman Stephen Solarz of New York has his way, American corporations will be prohibited from investing any further capital in SA. Furthermore, existing operations in SA will be required to comply with a new “fair employment practices code,” now in the final draft stage on Capitol Hill.

However, representative Solarz’s bill, to be introduced later this month with support from at least two dozen other congressmen, will continue to permit the reinvestment by American corporations of existing capital in SA.

Ambassador Andrew Young tells an FM that Solarz’s initiative should be “taken very seriously,” since “he is one of the congressmen very active in the Jewish lobby as well as the black lobby.” Young adds that the Sullivan principles — which the FM described as a “damp squib” (FM March 4 1977) — are “not as good as the EEC principles.

They were developed at a time when there was just a beginning awareness of SA. But since the death of Steve Biko and the public outcry against SA in the US on our college campuses, there’s been increasing pressure on American business from private sources. The Carter Administration had nothing to do with the Citibank decision (to block loans to the SA government and government agencies). It was basically in response to pressures from stockholders. Universities and church endowments and union pension funds make up a large part of banking wealth, and all of those forces are now being politicised against SA, quite independently.”

Young adds that “we are not rattling sanctions against SA. The talk about sanctions has not come from the US government. It comes in demands from the Africa group and from demands of private citizens. By and large we have not reached any decisions on that, but we do have to respond to the political and economic pressures in our own situation.”

Young goes on: “In the event that SA continues its present course, the pressures on the US government are going to be to isolate itself more and more from the SA government, and the pressures on the private sector will become more and more apparent in the policies of our government.”
Heunis: trade partners can’t afford sanctions

KEMPTON PARK — South Africa’s economic development would be retarded but not forced to a standstill by a cut-off of foreign capital, the Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr Heunis, said here yesterday.

Opening a new mining drill bit factory partially funded by an American company, he welcomed this evidence of foreign confidence in the country and said he believed no leading nation could afford to apply trade sanctions against South Africa.

Long-term foreign capital represented $1.4 million, or 11.4 percent, of the total fixed investment in the South African economy in the eight years to 1977.

Mr Heunis said the continued availability of foreign capital would enable South Africa to maintain a faster rate of economic expansion than would otherwise be the case.

He criticised Western powers who pleaded for the expansion and liberalisation of international trade, but propagated trade embargoes against South Africa to achieve political objectives.

"It is nothing but a fallacy, and indeed an injustice to the basic objectives of multilateral and non-discriminatory world trading to which all the Western powers have committed themselves," he said.

South Africa was a valuable and dependable trading partner and a leading producer and exporter of a variety of strategic raw materials essential to the continued industrial operations of other countries, Mr Heunis said.

In Cape Town, the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, said no Western master with a conscience soaked in Nigerian oil could limit the whites to a temporary existence in South Africa.

Speaking at a wreath laying ceremony at the Van Riebeeck Statue, he said South Africa was a stable developing country, leading peoples peacefully to freedom in a strategically important area.

"Van Riebeeck’s settlement had developed in a way vastly different from that envied by the Dutch East India Company in 1602."

A State came into being here which is in many areas a jewel of development, stability and purposefulness in Africa, with a national will to survive.

"No masters from Europe or America can limit us to a temporary existence here," he said.

Some leaders of the West with their present-day wobbling strategy have all the answers to our problems.

"They demand from us a heaven of human rights, not because they are practising these principles elsewhere, but because their consciences are soaked in the oil barrells from Nigeria."

Mr Botha said the advantages of the civilisation planted here had been carried over to the other peoples with whom the whites came into contact.

"We did not, like some of our accusers, eradicate the other peoples with liquor and guns," Mr Botha added.

"We have not," he said. "The Thaba‘nchu, the President of Bophuthatswana, Chief Mangope, said the withdrawal of foreign investments from South Africa would lead to economic chaos in the whole of Southern Africa.

Opening a milling complex and a factory, he said the shock waves of such a catastrophe could well be felt in countries to the north of us."

"We are all painfully aware of the campaign for an economic boycott of South Africa which is being conducted by people who will have to live with the consequences should they be successful."

"Despite the fact that Bophuthatswana is an independent republic with a policy of non-racialism, the so-called friends of Southern Africa’s black people are just as eager to bring us to our knees economically."

"Due to the economic interdependence of all countries in Southern Africa you cannot harm one country without hurting the other," Chief Mangope said.

Because South Africa was the strongest economic power in Southern Africa any serious damage to its economy would prove disastrous to all its neighbouring states. — SAPA.

SOURCE:
Herzov en ZB praat
selfde taal!

Dit lekker om "fighting talk" te hoor uit die mond van mnr. Basil Herzov, president van die SA-Stigting wat dié week in Londen behoorlik skouers oogemaak het.

Hy het hom sterk verset teëm verdere isolering van Suid-Afrika — 'n kontraproduktiewe aktie, en dit, "terwyl die land in toenemende tempo in die regte rigting beweeg".

Die wêreld moet lierew samingdring op sosiale en ekonomiese vooruitgang vir swartmense, pleks van onrealistiese politieke eise te stel. Politieke vordering sal in elk geval plaasvind, en vinniger in 'n uitbreidend ekonomie waarin swartmense 'n toenemende aan-deel sal hê.

In dieselfde asem stel hy skerp vrae na buite: "Kan verwag word dat 'n geïsoleerde Suid-Afrika die dalk betalingsgeheisgroep troetel in 'n Afrika-omgewing wat deur geweld en arbitêre onderdrukking gekenmerk word?"

"Op die uitsig en ontwikkeling van beskaafde instellings in Suid-Afrika berus die hoop op vryheid en voorspoed van miljoene in Suider-Afrika..." In Afrika lê die moontlike terugkeer tot die barbare dramaties na aan die oppervlak. In Addis Ababa, net enkele ure met die vliegtuig van Johannesburg aan, was daar skokkende gebeure hiervan...

"Waar is die twisste van die twintigste-eeuse leer dat dit nodig is om een deel van dié bevolking los te maak ten einde 'n ander te bevry? Dis die taal van dié wat wapens en steun verskaf aan hulle wat Suid-Afrika geweldadig wil bevry."

• Asof gefop, sé pres. Carter se hoofradgawe, prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski verlede week dié beleennisvolle sin oor Suid-Afrika, al is dit baie skoonvoetend:

"Ons het die gevoel dat politieke verandering dalk besig is om binne Suid-Afrika self plas te vind in die opsig dat daar 'n groter bereidwilligheid tot aanpassing is, en dat dit ontydig is die VSA-gou wees om 'n sekere "maatregel" te vroeg toe te pas."

• Brzezinski se woord is ooronderdeur-pres. Carter se gebrul in Nigeria, maar onskynlik het die president tog na sy hoofraadgewer gelaat. Onlangs sterk aandag van sy Nigeriase, gashiere, op ekonomiese "sanksies teen Suid-Afrika", het hy hulle duidelijk laat verstaan dat hy daaroor nie met hulle saamstem nie.

En, dit is "belkinisvol om die pres. Carter op sy Afrika-safari uit sy pad gegaan het om die olieryke Nederland na die mon te praat."

• Kortom, daar is ander maniere om Suid-Afrika en al sy-meren te help; se om hou aan dié strot te grype en te wurf!"
NEW YORK. — Mr. Percy Qoboza has appealed to the international community to avoid action which Afrikaners could regard as a threat.

"The level of resistance among the Afrikaners will rise sharply if external pressure should be mounted against them," Mr. Qoboza was quoted as saying in Time magazine.

"The temptation to dictate specific solutions to South Africa should be avoided. Whatever pressure is exerted must be directed simply toward bringing all parties together around a conference table."

He described Afrikaners as people who suffered from "an acute persecution complex, who must be left with ample space with which to manoeuvre with dignity."

Otherwise, he said, Afrikaners would take up arms and leave the country in chaos and ruin.

CAN SUCCEED

"Bloody racial confrontation is what we are all battling to avoid and I believe deep in my heart that we can succeed," said Mr. Qoboza, former editor of the banned newspaper World, who was recently released from detention.

On the often-debated question of economic sanctions against South Africa, Mr. Qoboza said:

"The creation of economic chaos here would expedite the very thing we are all trying desperately to avoid — a bloody racial confrontation."

A better way of tackling the problem, he said, was for American corporations to be 'compelled to play a far more active role in helping to remove the walls of discrimination in our country." — Sapa-Reuters.
German-SA trade goes on

Sanctions hurt those who imposed them as much as those on whom they were imposed, Dr R D Rauschenbach, president of the South African-German Chamber of Trade and Industry, said last night.

At the official opening of the German pavilion at the Rand Show, Dr Rauschenbach said the United Nations arms embargo had not affected his organisation as there had previously been restrictions on the sale of arms by Germany to South Africa.

But recent German legislation passed to give effect to the UN arms embargo had a "nuisance" value as it introduced approval procedures for the sale of some goods which might have military applications.

Dr Rauschenbach said 1976 marked Germany's 33rd year of participation in the Rand Show.

"To me, this demonstrates that German industry and trade do not believe in withdrawal or disinvestment," he said.

Rand Show highlights

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"To me, this demonstrates that German industry and trade do not believe in withdrawal or disinvestment," he said.

Biggest

At the official opening of the French pavilion, Mr J Gautier, commercial counsellor of the French Embassy, said the pavilion showed the complete spectrum of the French economy.

The Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Sybrand van Niekerk, welcomed the efforts of the French who have the biggest foreign pavilion.

Private

For the first time since 1974 Portugal is represented at the Rand Show - not officially but through the 483 000-strong South African-Portuguese community.

There are 22 exhibitors displaying items from kitchen equipment to gold mining tools.

There is a restaurant which will serve typical dishes from different re...
Chase Manhattan Bank, the third largest in the US, will tighten its ban against loans to the SA government at its shareholders’ meeting in New York next week. Chase chairman David Rockefeller responded to the Soweto riots with an announcement last year that Chase "would discourage" such loans as well as to state-owned enterprises like Escom or Iscor.

Sources close to Rockefeller tell the FM that he was "surprised and pleased" at the approval that greeted the statement. A church-led shareholder protest planned for the bank's annual meeting was called off and various anti-SA groups praised Chase for being the first US bank to "ban" loans in protest against apartheid.

Rockefeller has apparently decided to tighten the screws on SA just another notch when the April 18 shareholders' meeting takes place. Instead of simply "discouraging" loans to the SA government, he will announce that an outright ban on balance of payments or any other kind of official loans will be put into effect.

Chase sources also add that there is no plan to refuse to "roll over" existing loans to the SA government when they come due.
LONDON - U.S. Secretary of State Mr. Cyrus Vance yesterday gave a strong warning to the Soviet Union over its role in the Horn of Africa only hours before flying to Moscow for talks.

Mr. Vance told a ministerial session of the Central Treaty Organization (Cento) here the U.S. was deeply concerned that Moscow and its Cuban ally “are unwilling to recognize the fundamental principle often stated by African nations that they can solve their own problems without the use of external force.”

**Bloodshed**

He said the presence of large numbers of Cuban troops and Soviet personnel in the Horn did not promote stability, and followed this attack with his toughest statement yet on Eritrea.

“It is clear to us that if the Eritrean issue is determined through the use of force by foreign troops, bloodshed and suffering will increase, no enduring solution will be found and tensions in the region will only be heightened,” Mr. Vance told.

**Amelioration**

A peaceful solution to the conflict over Ethiopia’s Red Sea province and the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the country, he added.

**Provoked**

He told the assembled ministers from Britain, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan that one thing above all was clear in the Middle East: “If the process of peace remains derailed, the inevitable regression towards conflict will be difficult to halt - with the most profound consequences for all.”

British Foreign Secretary Dr. David Owen, who provoked an Ethiopian walk-out here two weeks ago and Cuban and Soviet protests over a hard-hitting speech on the conflict in the Horn, yesterday concentrated on the problems of southern Africa.

Dr. Owen, just returned from an inconclusive shuttle mission with Mr. Vance in the search for an all-party Rhodesian settlement, told Cento foreign ministers that United Nations peacekeeping forces might be required in the area.

The United Nations would not be able to respond to the challenge unless Cento countries made their commitment to the UN positive, clear and definite, he said.

**Access**

UN forces in Rhodesia and South West Africa would provide a neutral framework “in which people can operate, certain in the belief that the end result will have international acceptance and will win the legal and the other support of all the world,” Dr. Owen added.

Iran's Foreign Minister Mr. Abbas Alavi said that Teheran was particularly concerned about the resumption of the war in Vietnam to Soviet “not only by the damage which he would, in their view, inflict on the United States of America and its security.”

The war in the Horn is, he said, likely to follow a pattern of “peace and war, and this can be disrupted by interference from outside.”

After opening speeches, the Cento council moved into closed session. A joint communique is due today.

Cento, which has its origins in the 1955 Baghdad Pact between Turkey and Iraq, is the defence alliance for the Middle East's "northern tier" countries. Recently it has been concentrating on economic and social development in the three Cento region States - Turkey, Iran and Pakistan.

- (SAPA-Reuters)
WASHINGTON — Legislation to be introduced in the House of Representatives next week would bar all new investments in South Africa by American firms, it was reported.

The bill is being introduced by New York Democratic Rep. Stephen Seigenthaler, a member of the international relations committee, and is supported by 28 other members of the House.

Mr. Selaun said yesterday the legislation was intended to give a strong signal to the South African Government to make changes in its racial policies.

In another action yesterday on South African investment, the House banking committee passed a bill to bar loans by the United States Export-Import Bank, which helps finance U.S. exports, to South Africa until significant progress is made toward black majority rule.

An amendment to strike a South African provision in the bill was pending when the committee adjourned until April 26. It will be taken up at that time.

The legislation, if passed, would bar American banks from opening new branches in South Africa and from opening new bank branches in any South African company.

The bill, if passed, would also ban American firms from making any new investments in South Africa until the African National Congress is enshrined in the South African constitution.

The proposals, if enacted, would also ban all American citizens, firms, and financial institutions from any new investment in South Africa until such time as the African National Congress is enshrined in the South African constitution.

The proposals would also ban all American citizens, firms, and financial institutions from any new investment in South Africa until such time as the African National Congress is enshrined in the South African constitution.
New call to cut SA ties

WASHINGTON — A new lobbying group of American blacks will press for total economic sanctions against South Africa, its director said yesterday.

TransAfrica, which will open an office in Washington next week under the directorship of Mr. Randall Robinson, formerly assistant to Congressman Charles Diggs, chairman of the board of directors is the Mayor of Gary, Indiana, Mr. Richard Hatcher.

The organisation, which has been structured with care since it was originally conceived in September 1978 under the leadership of the Black Caucus, will be lobbying congressional committees, individual members and senators, the State Department and the White House.

Asked what TransAfrica's position was towards South Africa, Mr. Robinson replied: "We support sanctions against South Africa; a total economic, and diplomatic rupture of relations. We are going to ask the Administration in persuasive terms to prescribe the steps it is prepared to take signing an order for total disengagement."

— DDC.
Immediate sanctions demanded by Zambia

In Pretoria the Director-General Operations of the S.A. Defence Force, Maj.-Gen. Wally Black, said increased military activity could be expected in the operational area in the near future.

Gen. Black said the increase was expected in view of South Africa's acceptance of the proposals and also in view of the United Nations debate on South West Africa.

"We foresee an increase because they (the terrorists) are obviously trying to influence the debate by trying to show their effectiveness as a military organisation," he said.

"Statistics in fact prove this, especially in the border area where 90 percent of the incidents take place."

The pattern of incidents over the past four months showed a definite upward trend. There were 18 border violations in January, 14 in February, four in March and 18 so far this month.

The latest two incidents took place on Monday, April 24, when a headman's wife and another woman were assaulted and abducted across the border.

The headman's kraal was also looted. "Later on the same day the terrorists sprang an ambush which resulted in a fire-fight with the security forces."

The recent incidents took the form of abductions, intimidation, occasional firefight and ambushes, Gen. Black said.

When the security forces succeeded in neutralising the terrorists usually fled across the border.

NEW YORK - Zambia has shrugged off South Africa's acceptance of the Western plan for a South West Africa settlement.

Zambian Foreign Minister Mr. Sikeka Mwale yesterday demanded immediate economic sanctions against the Republic.

"Pressure must be brought to bear on Vorster to compel South Africa to withdraw unconditionally from Namibia," he told the 149-nation UN General Assembly on the third day of its special session on South West Africa.

But a Swapo spokesman in Lusaka said the organisation would accept the proposals after ensuring that there were no loopholes.

Mr. Peter Kaitivili, Swapo's information and publicity secretary said that Swapo wanted to be certain that the proposals ruled out the possibility of a "puppet government."

Swapo president Mr. Sam Nujoma is to present the view of the organisation on the proposals in New York this week.

In Windhoek Mr. Bryan O'Brien, secretary-general of the Namibian National Front, said an international agreement was now a strong "probability" since South Africa's acceptance of the Western plan.

Informed sources within the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance believe the Western powers will now be morally obliged to back their plan and, stave off international action, against S.A. and a new independent state in the event of a Swapo rejection.

Though S.A.'s acceptance of the Western package hit Windhoek like a bombshell, most people reacted with indifference and cynicism.

Most White South Westers, who are tired of the endless international political debate on their future, welcomed the news as a step to end uncertainty and confusion.
Top US bank rejects loans boycott of SA

LOS ANGELES — Shareholders of Bankamerica Corporation, the largest bank in the United States, have rejected proposals to prohibit loans to South Africa and Chile.

The overwhelming defeat of the resolution at Bankamerica's annual meeting on Monday, although expected, was a setback to church groups who proposed the boycott. Their efforts gained momentum last month when the US’s second largest bank, Citibank of New York, said it was ending loans to the South African Government.

About 75 demonstrators marched outside the meeting, but there were no arrests or incidents.

"Corporations have no business peddling politics, even high-minded politics, in foreign countries," said the Bankamerica president, Mr A W Clausen. "There are many countries guilty of suppressing human rights. Once we start ostracising one or two countries — selective indignation, as it has been called — where does the road end?"

Mr Clausen repeatedly stated his opposition to apartheid, but said ending loans to South Africa would only worsen conditions for blacks.

This was disputed by Mr Timothy Smith, director of the Interfaith Centre on Corporate Responsibility, the group which submitted the resolutions.

"We believe continued lending to South Africa is an economic vote of confidence in apartheid and in the racist South African Government," Mr Smith said.

"Money to the Government of South Africa helps the military, helps the police as they are involved in trying to keep the black population in control." — Sapa-AP.
Support for SA Loans

US Govt Bank Loans

BY WILMRODS
Sanctions:
No sudden death, b

DAVID BERESFORD reports from London

South Africa accounts for only about two or three per cent of the world-wide activities of British insurers, although a few companies have a substantial share in the Eagle Life (10 per cent of its non-life business is in South Africa) diluted to five to six per cent by minority holdings and Legal and General earning about eight per cent of its profits from the Republic.

A favourite measure of the impact of sanctions is unemployment. Newspapers here have recently claimed that 50,000 and 60,000 men stand to lose their jobs under sanctions.

Roughly

There is no authoritative source for that figure, which is believed to be merely a rough-and-ready calculation from the volume of negative trade. It is probably as reliable (or unreliable) as any other.

It would be wrong, at least superficial, to assume from this analysis that a trade cut-off would be anything but a drastic action for Britain.

South Africa may only account for about 1.3 per cent of British exports, but nearly R200-million is involved, and in these competitive times the UK would have trouble finding alternative markets. And the loss of invisible earnings might run to as much again.

Another 50,000 unemployment is very important when current unemployment is 1.5 million, but it has been shown that one fifth on the domestic British R15 000 a year in welfare payments, loss in taxation and so forth. So 50,000 between does not represent a bill of R750-million.

Problems

And the loss of those vital mineral imports would cause Britain problems out of all proportion to the value of the trade.

At the same time, while these points militate against any "sudden-death" embargo, South Africa's decreasing importance as a British trading partner does not mean sanctions are prohibitive in the long term.

As a South African Governor once put it to the writer: "The problems of trying to introduce a viable boycott against one of the top 20 trading countries in the world are huge. But South Africa must not be complacent. The

Imports

British imports from South Africa, representing about two per cent of the UK's overall imports, totalled R1330-million in 1977 but almost half (48 per cent) represented non-metallic minerals, mainly gem diamonds which were immediately re-exported.

While it is worth several million a year to Britain to be a centre of the diamond trade, this has comparatively little relevance to sanctions. Similarly, imports of wool, coffee, vegetables and steel, though important to South Africa, are easily replaced.

Not so the metallic ores and metals worth R265-million, which Britain bought as raw materials for its industry from South Africa last year.

Denmark disruption of supplies of these minerals would produce severe disruptions in the steel, petrochemical and chemical industries.

On the export side, Britain sold South Africa goods worth R800-million in 1977 from R1040-million in 1975. According to the Department of Trade and Industry, for a number of important UK industries exports to South Africa represent a significant proportion of their total exports and total sales.

The market is dominated by exports of manufacturing machinery (21 per cent of the total), with electrical machinery, apparatus and appliances accounting for another 13 per cent.

Exports in the engineering sector are worth R800-million, spread across a wide spectrum of companies, which offers the potential impact of sanctions.

Mr Terry Hitchcock, a specialist on engineering companies at the London stockbroking firm of Simon and Coates, told me: "Few, if any, engineering companies have more than 20 per cent of their exports going to South Africa."

If there was a complete cut-off some companies may find three to four per cent of their turnover out, but unless very specialised equipment is concerned they should be able to find alternative markets."

He pointed out that engineering shares have recently proved unresponsive to political developments in South Africa, indicating that the UK market was not regarded as a dominant factor in the performance of those firms.

Giants

Chemicals, including plastics, account for another 15 per cent of British exports to South Africa, but by its nature the industry is dominated by giant corporations better able to absorb the impact of sanctions.

For instance, while the British chemical giant ICI's exports to South Africa were worth R100-million last year, this has to be measured against its worldwide exports of R400-million and pre-tax profits of R463-million.

Transport equipment is another important export. South Africa ranked ninth among Britain's markets for motor industry exports in 1976, but a spokesman for the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders told me: "With increasing industrialisation in South Africa we've got to expect these exports will diminish significantly."

Few up-to-date or reliable figures are available on invisible trade (dividends, services, tourism, etc.), between the UK and South Africa.

Direct British investment is estimated to be R105-million and profits and dividends are said to be run at R500 and R450-million a year, but that figure may be rather low.

British earnings from shipping, insurance, knowledge and tourism probably run to similar figures. Sanctions would prove a "considerable nuisance" (as one analyst put it) in the financial and insurance sectors, but would hardly be crippling.

Barclays and Standard Chartered are the most deeply involved of the financial companies with about 20 per cent of their activity in South Africa. But that significance is diluted by South African minority holdings which reduce their earnings from the Republic to about 10 per cent of their total income.
New US group wants total SA sanctions

Own Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — A new lobbying group of American blacks will press for total economic sanctions against South Africa, its director said.
TransAfrica will open its offices in Washington under the directorship of Randall Robinson, formerly assistant to congressman Charles Diggs.
Chairman of the board of directors is the Mayor of Gary, Indiana, Richard Hatcher.
President Carter has been pressing Mr Hatcher to accept a full-time job as the top black assistant at the White House. The mayor did not immediately accept, offering instead to become a one-dollar-a-year White House consultant while remaining in Gary at his job. Mr Carter reportedly rejected the offer.
TransAfrica would undoubtedly benefit from Mr Hatcher’s presence in Washington, Mr Robinson said, although it would be a loss to Gary.

Lobby

The organization, which was conceived in September 1976 will lobby congressional committees, individual members and senators, the State Department and the White House.
As well as the pressure applied directly in Washington, Mr Robinson said, members around the United States will be organized to apply pressure to their various congressmen.
"We make a difference politically to the Carter administration", he said.
"Black Americans elect Democrats."
He agreed that they are presently also being sought by the Republican Party, "but not effectively".

“...The Republican programmes have not changed sufficiently to be attractive to large numbers of blacks," he explained...

Rupture

Asking what TransAfrica’s attitude was towards the Republic, Mr Robinson replied: "We support sanctions against South Africa, a total economical and diplomatic rupture of relations. We are going to ask the administration in persuasive terms to prescribe the steps it is prepared to take signing an order for total investment disengagement."
"We will ask the White House to support such things as an oil embargo in the United Nations against South Africa.
"We will ask for a timetable of when the steps will be taken."

Budget

Compared to such monetarily powerful lobbies as the American Jewish lobby, or the Greek-American lobby, TransAfrica will have limited funds, running on a budget of 200 000 dollars (R170 600) a year, raised mainly by public receptions and membership subscriptions.
A dinner in Washington this month will be sponsored by some 90 prominent black Americans and African diplomats. Among the 22 African and Caribbean diplomats are the ambassadors from Ivory Coast, Botswana, Lesotho, Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria, Zaire, Zambia, Ghana, Swaziland, Somalia, Mauritius, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Haiti, Jamaica, Guyana, Malawi, Cape Verde, Mali, Niger, Burundi and Liberia, Mr Robinson said.
The US ambassador to the UN, Mr Andrew Young and the entire congressional black caucus will be present, along with such well-known American blacks as tennis player Arthur Ashe, civil leaders Benjamin Hooks and Vernon Jordan, and former ambassadors Carl Rowan and Franklin Williams.
UN urges sanctions against SA

By RICHARD WALKER
NEW YORK. — By 119 nations to all, with 17 abstaining, the United Na-
tion's General Assembly yesterday urged the Sec-
turity Council to order
punitive sanctions — in-
cluding an oil embargo —
to force South Africa un-
conditionally out of South
West Africa and Walvis
Bay.

Even usually low-profile
Swaziland and Malawi joined
in the call, which in-
cluded endorsement of
Swapo as the territory's
only "authentic" voice.

But all Western powers
united in abstaining and
non-aligned India led sharp
criticism of the move,
which completely ignored
the rapidly climaxing
Western effort for UN-
supervised independence.

The West has warned
that there can be no ques-
tion of support for sanc-
tions against the Republic
on this issue, now that it
has embraced their plan
— and the most live point
in the Assembly decision
— a warning that it will
consider action on its own
if the Security Council
fails to end SA rule.

Though the Council is
the UN's supreme author-
ty and the only body au-
thorized to act against a
state, a loophole exists
whereby the Assembly can
in special circumstances
"unite for peace" and act
independently.

Addressing the world
body after the vote, Swapo
president, Mr Sam Nujom,
took both tacks.

First he expressed hopes
that the coming crunch
meeting between his execu-
tive and the Western
powers will prove "fruit-
ful" in resolving "outstand-
ing issues", but he also
concluded "intensified
armed struggle" until the
entire area — specifically
including Walvis Bay —
had been liberated.

The vote — on a 45-
point programme of
action — concluded a
unique eight-day special
session of the Assembly,
quite set apart from the
feverish activity all around
it to clinch a deal for a
peaceful settlement.

At times the bowl-like
Assembly chamber was
almost empty and some of
the Foreign Ministers
who attended did so only
after private appeals and
diplomatic prodding, plus
the quiet offer of extra
free air tickets.

Staged as a bid to give
a big morale boost to
Swapo and to warn South
Africa of world opposition
to any internal settlement,
the session was spiked at
the outset by Mr Vorster's
stunningly-timed acceptance of the Western pro-
posals.
ATLANTA — United States economic pressure on South Africa would only increase the polarisation of races, the South African Ambassador to the US said.

The ambassador, Mr. Donald Sole, said economic sanctions would not persuade the South African Government to change its policies and might even serve to broaden Soviet influence in the region.

Boycotting trade with South Africa "however well intentioned... is producing a far greater degree of polarisation among the races," he told a meeting of the Southern Centre for International Studies.

About 50 pickets marched outside the meeting, protesting against apartheid and distributing leaflets calling on American businesses to leave South Africa.

Economic sanctions would not work over a long period because Western Europe was too dependent on South African resources such as gold, platinum, asbestos and manganese, Mr. Sole said.

"The US might not be so vulnerable... but certainly the Western European countries are vulnerable, and this country is gravely dependent on the economic stability of Western Europe," he said.

— SAPA-AP.
SA more vulnerable than ever, warns commerce president

Industrial Reporter

GROWING CONCERN by businessmen on the future of South Africa yesterday prompted a hard-hitting appeal for change in government policy from the president of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, Mr Storm Reilly.

He warned that South Africa was now more isolated and vulnerable than ever before.

"This is one of the strongest reactions to come from organized commerce on the repercussions of the country’s deteriorating relations with the outside world."

Addressing the annual meeting in Cape Town of the 1,400-member chamber he said it was now necessary to avoid, at all costs, a previous habit of belated action on positive steps only when these were forced by circumstances and enemies.

"Clearly what is called for is a courageous programme and timetable for jettisoning discriminatory legislation and customs and for details of such a programme to be announced without further delay."

This was necessary because it appeared that the government's blueprint for the removal of racial discrimination would be kept under wraps and changes would continue on an ad hoc basis.

The country's future was inextricably bound up with the West and the West needed an ally which followed policies which were defensible in terms of its values.

"This means a South African commitment towards change away from statutory racial discrimination in the direction of some system of shared political power which commands the support of reasonable coloured and black opinion."

"It is not the outside world which must be satisfied: it is the majority of coloured and black South African citizens."

Mounting world pressure against the Republic was no longer a case of ineffectual threats.
Instead, the world was confronting us with well-articulated criticism of policies and in place of threats firm action was being taken to force a change of direction here.

"Because of our economic strength and over-confidence in our ability to solve our internal and external problems, we have failed to move with the resolve and speed which changing events, both inside and outside the country, have clearly demanded of us."

The country had been living under an illusion that its geographic position and natural resources were indispensable to the West.

Also shattered was the belief that a distinction could be made between internal and external policies of the government.

Mr Reilly said the free enterprise system in South Africa had comparatively little to offer to African and coloured people.

"Far too great a proportion of coloured and black incomes have gone to white businesses and institutions in white areas."

The time had come, for the government to open white commercial and industrial areas to coloured and African businessmen.

It was also imperative for the government to work out a co-ordinated and thoroughly researched policy on labour.

Blacks were extremely frustrated by limitations imposed on their levels of training. Trade unions should be free to officially represent the interests of all ethnic groups.

**Applauded**

The granting of property rights to urban blacks had been widely applauded but it was difficult to understand the decision to withhold these rights from blacks residing in the Western Cape.

Langa was one of the oldest residential areas in Cape Town and business was dependent on black labour. The decision also ignored the fact that many blacks had lived in the area for generations.

Job reservation should be removed in its entirety.

Referring to inflation, he said the public sector's responsibility was greater than that of the private sector.

Figures of the Bureau of Census and Statistics showed that the bureaucratic establishment increased last year by 15 056 to 310 539 in spite of the recession.

"While the government has taken a number of steps to curb inflation by reducing its own expenditure, and for which it deserves full credit, eventual success will never be achieved unless the State machine is reduced to a size which the country can afford."
Leyland puts up guard against SA disinvestment

Johannesburg — British Leyland has provided itself with a R30 million safeguard against estimated losses should it discontinue car manufacture in South Africa.

The British Leyland announcement issued yesterday states the R30 million has been provided as an extraordinary item should the company discontinue direct involvement in car manufacture in South Africa.

Mr. Peter Murrough, the marketing director of Leyland SA, confirmed the provision had been made in view of post-profit performance of the company’s car operations, but it did not imply that British Leyland cars and parts would no longer be available in South Africa.

In creating this provision, Leyland had taken the worst view possible in view of the state of the motor industry. He said the new Rover had recently been launched and had received an unparalleled acceptance from the public.

"No way is this car not going to continue to be sold in South Africa," he said.

He said considerable rationalisation was likely to take place in the motor industry this year and the company was in an advanced stage of negotiating with a number of manufacturers with regard to this in South Africa.

Any changes arising from this rationalisation would take time to implement, but would hopefully be completed by January 1, 1990.

Mr. Murrough also said the provisions made by the parent company only affected cars, and the manufacture of trucks, special products, Landrovers and tractors would continue as before.

— DDC
Trade sanctions off.

The EEC has postponed plans for new trade sanctions against South Africa. The decision, taken by the EEC foreign ministers meeting in Copenhagen, appears to be connected with hopes of retaining SA's support for EEC attempts to reach an agreement over South West.
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Returns will not be to re-
Firm "NO" to
boycotts

TUCSA, the biggest and most important non-racial organisation in South Africa is utterly opposed to attempts to bring about change in this country through boycotts and sanctions from abroad, and is preparing to counter any such moves.

TUCSA is not prepared to condone outside interference in South Africa's domestic affairs, whether by foreign labour organisations or anyone else.

Already a cable has been dispatched to the president of the American labour movement expressing concern at support for economic sanctions voiced by some Black exiles who attended the American trade union congress held in Los Angeles at the beginning of December.

The Black exiles included Mr. Drake Kok, former leader of the Black Allied Worker Union, who is said to have told reporters at the conference that "The best hopes for change as economic sanctions by Western nations...If the Western world is going to fail us, and no support non-violent revolution, we will have no recourse but to take up arms."

TUCSA's general secretary, Arthur Grobbelaar, on learning of this development immediately cabled Mr. George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations stressing that those views were not representative of the South African trade union movement, and that TUCSA was in fact strongly opposed to both economic boycotts and violence as a means to solve the problems of South Africa.

TUCSA's strong stand on this issue was reflected at this year's annual conference in Durban which passed the following resolution:

"This 23rd Annual Conference of the Council reiterates TUCSA's irrevocable opposition to boycotts and sanctions since in the opinion of the Council these actions have a negative effect, seldom are successful, and in the South African context invariably harm those lesser privileged sections of the population whom the instigators of boycotts and sanctions profess to be assisting.

"This Conference also deplores efforts to isolate South Africa in the labour, economic cultural, scientific, sporting, diplomatic, and political fields, in view of the fact that such attempts have invariably proved to be negative and self-defeating."

"Conference firmly believe that exposure and involvement by and with South Africa are more effective means of exerting influences and effecting changes within South Africa."
The Labour Party fully backs the decision of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, head of the Zulu Inkatha movement, to campaign for economic sanctions and pressurize against South Africa, a party leader says.

National chairman of the Labour Party, the Reverend Allan Hendrikse, said from Uitenhage, Cape, that his resolution was taken at the party's annual congress in Oudtshoorn, three weeks ago.

Last March Chief Buthelezi said investments in southern Africa should continue for the sake of stability.

He believed that change which destroyed the base of future economic development in South Africa would be self-defeating.

However, Chief Buthelezi later said at the Economical Development Week in Sweden, that he would 'follow the wishes' of his people on whether sanctions should be used to bring change in South Africa.

His later direct announcement that he had turned in favour of economic sanctions, was criticized by some black leaders, who felt that black people would suffer most from this move.

Mr Hendrikse said he was not prepared to comment on whether black
Dutch embargo law against SA opposed

THE HAGUE — A law on sanctions against South Africa, providing for specific economic and other embargoes against that country, has met with serious opposition in the Dutch Senate, where Conservatives and Christian Democrats are now the main parties since the formation of the new Centre-Right Government last month.

Earlier this year, the measure was passed by the House of Commons. At the time the Christian Democrats supported the hostile attitude of the former Social Democratic Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Max van der Stoel, towards South Africa.

Mr van der Stoel took the view that an economic boycott of South Africa was inevitable in the long run, and export credit guarantees accordingly were suspended by the previous Government during its last months in office.

Now the Christian Democrats have been having second thoughts — the Conservatives have always opposed sanctions.

A crucial point in the law on sanctions is that "compulsory measures" by the UN Security Council, such as the arms embargo, as well as non-mandatory decisions by the UN Assembly and other international bodies, must be honoured by Dutch business concerns.

The Conservatives in the House argue that economic sanctions have had little effect in the past, and that the new law will create legal insecurity and Dutch business will suffer serious risks, because no provision has been made for indemnities where damage is suffered on account of mandatory as well as non-mandatory sanctions.

Both the Conservatives and the Christian Democrats strongly oppose the application of Dutch criminal law to Dutch citizens who contravene the sanctions law outside their country.

The Christian Democrats and the Conservatives have expressed their joint attitude, towards South Africa in vague terms: "The Government strives towards measures which are designed to make an end to apartheid and suppression." — DDC.
Anti-SA move in Belgium

BRUSSELS. — Certain Roman Catholic and Protestant organizations in Belgium yesterday announced the start of a campaign to stop Belgian investments in South Africa.

Mr August Vanistendael, a leading member of the Roman Catholic Justitia Et Pax Committee, said they would approach leading Belgian banks, asking them to give up financial support to a morally unacceptable political regime.

The first bank they approached, Societe Generale De Banque, said that "in deciding its financial policy, a bank must not take into account moral pressure from external groups, religious or others."

The answer was relayed to the bank's board chairman, Mr Albert Coppe, a former Christian Democrat minister and former member of the European Common Market Executive Commission.

Societe Generale is a member of an international consortium, granting big loans to South African authorities, the religious organizations said.

They said they had the backing of Belgian Catholic bishops and Protestant church leaders.

The organizations wrote to Societe Generale: "As men supporting the Universal Human Rights Declaration and as Christians inspired by the Gospel, we are fundamentally opposed to the distinction you made between ethical considerations, you said you respect, and your own banking rules."

They said they would also approach Kredietbank, Banque Bruxelles-Lambert and Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas.

"Christians, they said, should be particularly attentive to any power concentration, be it financial or other, and still more if this power was against human dignity. They said the action had started in Holland, where Amro Bank had stopped investments in South Africa. The Midland Bank did the same in Britain, they added."
The giant British computer firm, ICL, is most often mentioned as the biggest gainer from the US embargo against the SA police and defence force.

John Starkey, MD of ICL South Africa, denies, however, that the embargo had anything to do with the valuable contract his company has just won from the SAP. He points out that the SAP has used ICL equipment for the past six or seven years, and in the words of one of ICL’s American competitors, “it’s not easy to get an organisation to switch from one vendor to another.”

Starkey also denies the new computer equipment — most of which will be installed by October — will be used to enforce apartheid laws. Its main function, he says, will be to store police personnel records and payroll details.

Together with IBM, ICL is now probably the government’s leading computer supplier. Among its customers: the Departments of Statistics and Plural Relations, Post Office, Escom and, of course, the SAP.

“No pressure at all has been brought on us to curtail this business,” says Starkey. “The Foreign Office is happy, and we’ve had no problems with the EEC.” The FM learns that no UK export permit is necessary for computers sent to SA.

Some of ICL’s competitors are not so happy. They point out that a sizeable chunk of its equipment is in fact US-made and, strictly speaking, should be included in the embargo. Starkey denies this.
US companies operating in SA have been told that Washington is considering softening the comprehensive embargo which it slapped on deliveries to the SA defence force and police six months ago. The FM learns these firms may in future be allowed to supply certain non-strategic goods, such as pharmaceuticals, to the SADF and SAP without breaking the law in the US.

The slight relaxation is evidence that Washington is reluctant to disrupt normal commercial traffic between the US and SA, but determined to prevent sensitive equipment from reaching certain SA customers.

Thus, while the formal embargo applies only to deliveries to the defence force and police, US firms are finding that Washington is also tight-fisted with export licences for any equipment destined for Bantu administration and atomic energy authorities. Burroughs, for instance, has had to withdraw from deals worth R1,5m with Bantu administration boards following its inability to obtain export licences.

Last week’s news that the British firm ICL has won a R1-million rand order to supply computer hardware to the SAP was a further tangible sign that, in cases where it matters, Washington is not bending any rules.

The FM learns that at least two US firms, Burroughs and Sperry Univac, also tendered for the police contract, which involved a mainframe computer and terminal equipment worth between R5m and R6m with follow-up business bringing the amount up to about R10m. After the February ban, however, the two American tenderers had to withdraw their bids.

Moreover, Washington has decided to classify traffic authorities as “police” which means US firms will not be allowed to supply them.

The Americans are trying to ensure, however, that the embargoes do not stifle normal business with other customers. It is pointed out, for instance, that local authority departments, other than the traffic police, might have no trouble buying US-made traffic control equipment.

Aircraft distributors complained recently that they were having problems getting export licences for non-military sales. To mollify them (and at the same time placate anti-SA groups in the US), all permit applications are now channelled through the Pretoria embassy. The embassy quickly approves requests which carry a guarantee that planes (and spares) will not be passed on to embargoed bodies. “Permits are coming through regularly now,” says a leading agent.

(Nonetheless, Pretoria-based SA Technical Industries reports delays of up to six months in getting permits for US-made video display units.)

It is difficult to quantify how much business US companies have lost as a result of the uncertainty (and in some cases, suspicion) surrounding the future of SA-US relations. Interestingly, imports from the US in January-April 1978 were R77m lower than the 1977 figure.

Some non-American companies have eagerly seized on the uncertainty to promote their own products. “Every time Carter opens his mouth, we laugh our way to the bank,” a senior ICL man was heard to exclaim recently. Adds an IBM spokesman: “It’s a clever marketing tack. In some sectors, it pull[s] on the political heartstrings, and works effectively.”

Most others, however, think this ploy has made very little impression on their customers. “We can’t perceive any loss of business because we’re American,” says a Kodak spokesman. Ford points out it leads motor sales this year — hardly the sign of a company losing business.

Adds Burroughs GM Tom Brown: “I don’t know of any deals which have not gone through because of anti-American feelings. Some customers ask questions, but we point out that the embargo applies to certain government departments, and not to products.” According to Brown, Burroughs is heading for a record year. Another computer man says his firm’s sales are also above target, though he concedes that “in the Afrikaans community, there is definitely an anti-American feeling.”

Talk is that Sperry Univac is actually on the point of signing a big contract with a former ICL customer. “We can look after our customers even if sanctions are extended, if only to give them time to make other arrangements,” says a senior Sperry executive. He points out that US firms have built up local inventories of essential spares.

(Nonetheless, the US companies are having to fight hard to retain their customers and break into new markets. “Where possible, we do look at alternatives to US equipment,” says one customer. For the moment, he (and many others) are mostly just looking, but further moves to restrict US exports to SA could send them scurrying to other suppliers.)
Magnate: Embargo won't change SA

ZURICH. — Stopping investment in South Africa was not the right way to bring about peaceful change, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of Anglo American Corporation, said in an interview published in Zurich yesterday.

"Many people, particularly in the USA and Britain, are demanding two totally contradictory things," said Mr Oppenheimer.

"On the one hand, they want to help the blacks by not investing in South Africa. And on the other, they demand that wages and other conditions are improved.

"But you cannot achieve improvements in the field of wages and other working conditions if industry is not registering a steady growth."

Mr Oppenheimer was interviewed by a Zurich financial newspaper.

A trade embargo on South Africa, he said, would "mean immense harm for the country, but it would in no way cause the government to change its position." The current rulers could easily continue on the path they had so far taken.

Mr Oppenheimer said a trade embargo would signal "the beginning of a full-scale confrontation between South Africa and the rest of the world.

"An embargo would only destroy and not reform," he said, adding that he hoped Switzerland — not a United Nations member — would decide against taking such sanctions.

A growth in the economy of South Africa, he said, would

result in pressure for political change. "There is simply not enough white labour."

South Africa, Mr Oppenheimer said, had to import more capital from abroad to develop the country "as quickly as possible."

"Because our balance of payments is under such pressure, we are forced to follow a rigid monetary policy. This, in turn, creates unemployment — and unemployment is an important factor for the unrest in black townships." — Sapa-AP
Sanctions won’t bring change — Oppenheimer

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A growth in the South African economy would result in pressure for political change. "There is simply not enough white labour.

South Africa had to import more capital, from abroad to develop the country as quickly as possible so that its economic potential was realised.

"Because our balance of payments is under such pressure, we are forced to follow a rigid monetary policy. This, in turn, creates unemployment — and unemployment is an important factor for the unrest in Black townships," he said.

Meanwhile, in Brussels, a number of Catholic and Protestant organisations have announced the start of a campaign to stop Belgian investments in South Africa.

Mr August van Ixendael, a leading member of the Catholic Justitia et Pax Committee, said they would approach leading Belgian banks, asking them to give up financial support to a morally unacceptable political regime.

The first bank they approached, Societe Generale de Banque, said that "in deciding its financial policy, a bank must not take into account moral pressure from external groups, religious or others."

Societe Generale is a member of an international consortium granting big loans to South African authorities, the religious organisations said.

The organisations said they had the backing of Belgian Catholic bishops and Protestant church leaders. They planned to approach three other banks — SAPAAP.
Emargo not way to change
- OPPENHEIMER

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"On the one hand, they want to help the blacks by not investing in South Africa. And on the other, they demand that wages and other conditions are improved."

"But, he said: "You cannot derive improvements in the field of wages and other working conditions if industry is not registering a steady growth."

Mr Oppenheimer was speaking in an interview with the Zurich financial paper, Schweizerische Handelszeitung.

GREAT HARM

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South Africa, Mr Oppenheimer said, had to raise more capital from abroad to develop the country as quickly as possible."
World union ‘no’ to trade sanctions

Sieg Haunig, Labour Reporter

Leaders of the 12-million strong International Metalworkers’ Federation have ended a South African fact-finding tour determined to press for change.

But they will abide by the advice of their South African affiliates — including three black trade unions — to stop short of economic sanctions.

“We do not think that boycotts at this time would be advisable,” said Mr. Herman Rebhan, general secretary of the IMF, before his departure on Saturday.

“We are against the sale of arms to South Africa — especially arms that could be used against the population.”

“We are for putting pressure on multinational companies that operate here, so that they have no excuse for hiding behind actual or alleged legislation.”

Mr. Rebhan, Mr. Eugen Loderer, president of the international federation and of the West German Metal Workers’ Union, and several of Mr. Loderer’s German colleagues toured South Africa for almost two weeks.

They visited the German firms of Siemens and Demag and the Volkswagen and Mercedes assembly plants, as well as Ford and General Motors. They also met Professor Nic Wiehahn, head of the Commission of Inquiry into labour legislation.

Both Volkswagen and Ford have recognised the black United Auto Workers Union.

But General Motors, which has received a request for recognition, demands the signing of additional papers before recognising the union.

“We will follow up this matter,” Mr. Rebhan said.
Hugh Robertson
NEW YORK — The Western powers are expected to deliver a measured warning to the South African Government later this month that the West is close to supporting further sanctions against the country.

The warning is being predicted at the United Nations as a likely feature of a Security Council meeting on the Government's race policy which is due to begin on January 26.

But the three permanent Western members of the council — the United States, Britain and France — are widely expected to veto, for the time being, the extreme sanctions which African countries today said they would press for during the debate.

Among the proposed sanctions is an oil embargo and a ban on new foreign investments. There is also pressure for a tightening of the mandatory arms embargo which the Security Council enforced last year.

In the circumstances, the Western powers are widely expected to underline the message they intend to convey by warning that they are close to supporting further measures.

But what will probably restrain the West from going much further than a blunt warning later this month is the fact that the Security Council debate will take place before the South African parliamentary session gets fully under way.
Dutch pressure slackens

From a Staff Reporter
THE HAGUE. — Holland's new Government has shown a restrained approach to South Africa even while condemning the country's race policies.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Andries van Agt, made his first comprehensive policy statement in Parliament yesterday since the centre-right Cabinet was sworn in last month.

Mr. van Agt said early and far-reaching reforms in South Africa were essential for human rights and world peace.

He promised that anti-apartheid measures taken by the ousted Joop den Uyl administration would not be watered down.

But conspicuously absent from Mr. van Agt's statement was any reference to new steps against South Africa.

There was strong support in the previous Cabinet for drastic investment curbs as part of a review of economic and social relations.

Mr. van Agt has not excluded Dutch action but his silence about it has led observers to think that the pressure is off.

He also hinted at restraint of unilateral Dutch initiatives by stressing support for measures in the framework of the United Nations or the European Common Market.
West likely to warn of more curbs on SA

The Argus Bureau

NEW YORK. — The Western powers are expected to deliver a measured warning to the South African Government later this month that the West is close to supporting further sanctions against the country.

But the three permanent Western members of the council — the United States, Britain and France — are widely expected to veto, for the time being, the extreme sanctions which African countries have said they would press for during the debate.

Among the proposed sanctions is an oil embargo and a ban on new foreign investments.

There is also pressure for a tightening of the mandatory arms embargo which the Security Council enforced last year.

A tricky problem facing the West is how to get an effective message across to what is generally regarded as an intransigent government and at the same time protect itself from the excessive measures which African governments are demanding.

The mandatory arms embargo was intended as such a message, but whether it was interpreted as such in Pretoria is not known.

Certainly there has been no public indication that the South African Government has grasped the full import of it.

INVESTMENT BAN

In the circumstances, the Western powers are widely expected to underline the message they intended to convey by warning that they are close to supporting further measures.

As it is, the nine Foreign Ministers of the European Economic Community announced during the last session of the UN General Assembly that their governments were studying among other things, a ban on new foreign investments in South Africa.

SA PARLIAMENT

But what will probably restrain the West from going much further than a blunt warning later this month is the fact that the Security Council debate will take place before the South African Parliamentary session gets fully under way.

It is during this session that the West expects to see more clearly whether or not the changed relationship with South Africa which was introduced by the mandatory arms embargo has brought any significant change in the Government's outlook.
Oil giants in Court battle on sanctions

LONDON — Two oil giants yesterday tried to block a public court hearing of allegations that they have been guilty of sanctions-breaching by supplying oil to Rhodesia.

Shell Petroleum and BP asked a High Court judge to put a "stay" on proceedings brought against them by Lonrho and its Mozambiquian subsidiary — Companhia do Pipeline Mozambique, Rhodesia.

Shell and BP are among 29 oil companies facing a massive damages claim — said to be in the region of about $166 million — by Lonrho.

The judge was told that Shell and BP contended that the dispute should be dealt with by arbitration — which would be in private — rather than by public litigation.

Agreement

Mr. Brian Dillon QC, for BP, told Mr. Justice Brightman the case concerned the supply of oil to Rhodesia since UDI in November 1965.

Lonrho and its pipeline subsidiary based their claim on an agreement known as the "shippers' agreement," made in October 1962, between Lonrho and seven oil companies, including Shell, BP, Caltex and Mobil.

This agreement regulated the use of a pipeline built by Lonrho from Beira to a refinery at Feruka, near Umtali in Rhodesia.

Shortly after UDI the pipeline had ceased to be used. This was "for political rather than physical reasons," said counsel.

Lonrho complained that oil had since then been supplied to Rhodesia by some, or all, of the 29 defendant companies by other means.

Mr. Dillon said a breach of the British Government order imposing sanctions on Rhodesia had been alleged. This would be "seriously disputed."

The British sanctions order could apply only to British companies and what was done in Britain. It could not bind foreign companies operating outside this country. The defendants included a number of South African companies, he added.

Mr. Dillon said there was a current of opinion that disputes ought to be thrashed secret courts or secret tribunals sitting behind closed doors were a bad thing and should be discouraged.

Quickier

There was a Government inquiry, looking into the same matters, which the Government had directed should be in private.

Arbitration would be a much quicker way of dealing with the dispute than a court hearing.

Mr. Dillon said the Feruka refinery had been constructed by five oil companies: BP, Shell, Caltex, Mobil, and Total Oil Products Rhodesia (Pvt.) Ltd.

The last named, a Rhodesian company, was not a party to the action, but was a wholly-owned subsidiary of a defendant company, Compagnie Francaise des Petroles, in which the French Government had a very substantial interest.

Other defendants included Standard Oil, Texaco and subsidiaries or joint operating companies associated with the first five defendants. — (Sapu.)
Danish move for SA boycott

COPENHAGEN, — A proposal for a boycott of South Africa in protest against its racial policy won a small majority yesterday in the Danish Parliament.

A first reading was given to a motion to stop buying coal from South Africa, half-flights by the Scandinavian Airlines System — SAS — to Johannesburg, deny government guarantees for exports to South Africa and forbid Danes to emigrate there.

Sympathy for the proposal was expressed by the ruling Social Democrats, the communists and four small leftist parties. The motion was proposed by the small People's Socialist Party.

The Christian People's Party favoured a committee to work out ways of removing bloodily the white rulers of South Africa but would not go along with the proposed sanctions.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Knud Andersen, stressed that binding sanctions imposed by the United Nations Security Council would have more effect than an isolated action by Denmark.

Mr. Andersen said that increased pressure against the South African Government could best be achieved in cooperation with the other Nordic countries and Denmark's partners in the European Economic Community (EEC).

The left-wing parties promised to back the motion, but the Socialist People's Party wanted stronger sanctions.

Mr. Svend Andersen, of the Opposition Progress Party, called the proposal hypocritical. He said such sanctions would cause more unemployment at home and considerably reduce the living standards of black South Africans. He said the South African Government was "one of the mildest violators of human rights".

The motion will now go to various parliamentary committees for detailed discussion. — Sapa-AP
against EEC firms

Call for sanctions
AFRICA walkout threat at UN

UNITED NATIONS — The Africans warned here yesterday they might boycott the Security Council if the Western powers kept vetoeing their attempts for economic action against South Africa.

The Mauritius Ambassador, Mr. Rampul, issued the warning and served notice they would table two resolutions in the council.

The stronger of these, called for a ban on loans and new investment in South Africa, an end to trade incentives with South Africa and a worldwide review of economic and other relations with Pretoria.

Mr. Rampul said the draft would probably be tabled when the council resumed deliberations on the South African question next Monday.

By that time the Africans might have decided to add a call for an oil embargo on South Africa. They met yesterday to decide on this.

The second draft repeated things said before about South Africa and condemned South Africa for the violence and repression which are becoming increasingly the norm in that tragic country.

He said the African group regarded passage of the economic draft resolution as an important and necessary step at this time.

"I would add that the African group may not feel obliged to accept the rules of the game in the Security Council too much longer. The veto has been used too frequently and its use has hurt Africa.

"It may well be that, in the event of further vetoes the African group might decide to ask all African delegations to cease participating in the deliberations of the Security Council until such time as it meets its unique obligations to the people of South Africa," Mr. Rampul said.

"We realise there might be some disadvantages in such a course. However, it is widely recognised that the rules of the game at this time are antiquated and inadequate.

"We do not promise to say now how much they should be changed. Nonetheless, we feel it is necessary to put members on notice that if the rules are used again to prolong the suffering of the South African people, we shall have to seek remedies not foreseen in the rules.

The proposals initiated by India — closely follow calls made to the council on Thursday by banned former Daily Dispatch Editor, Mr. Donald Woods.

Western officials have warned they are not acceptable, and that they are only ready to accept a weaker, alternative draft that adds up to a blanket condemnation of apartheid and of South African policies.

African sources said it was possible the group might delay voting on their drafts until March to give the Western powers more time.

They said some elements in the group wanted the oil embargo call to be stopped until the council turned to the Rhodesian question.

These members wanted now to warn South Africa to block sanction busting oil supply routes through South Africa to Rhodesia immediately or face an oil embargo herself. — DDC/SAPA.
Sakewêreld sal Carter keer oor SAanse bandes

Sê sy mnr. Meldrim Thomson (jr), goewerneur van die staat New Hampshire, wat Suid-Afrika nou besoek as gas van die Suid-Afrikaanse Vryheidsstigting.
Volgens hom beskou die Amerikaners Suid-Afrika vir wat dit is, „n uiteraard belangrike skakel in terme van sy minerale rykdom en sy strategiese positie."
Hy sê dit is belangrik dat Suid-Afrikaners mnr. Carter se anti-Suid-Afrika verklarings in die regte lig sien. „Dit is vir mnr. Carter onmoontlik om sommer voort te gaan met wetgewing wat Suid-Afrika sal benadeel. Die wetgewingsproses in Amerika is baie ingewikkeld. Ek sien geen gevaar dat Suid-Afrika deur enige Amerikaanse handelsakses getref gaan word nie.
„Carter se voortbestaan as president van die VSA is grotendeels van die swart stone afhanklik. Tog is verantwoordelike swart kommentators — soos die rubriekskrywer Earl Douglas, 'n opregte en intelligente man — nie langer ondersteuners van hom nie."
ONDANKS Frankryk se wapenverbod teen Suid-Afrika woel die Franse kliphard om hul handelsbande met die Republiek te versterk. Frankryk gaan vanjaar waarskynlik die grootste buitelandse uitstaller wees op die Randse Skou wat tussen 10 en 22 April gehou word.

Van 'n Franse handelsvolgtuig tot elskie parfuum — selfs 'n uitstalling deur die vier Franse maatstappe wat Suid-Afrika se Koëberg-kernkragsentrale oprig — sal te sien wees. Dit alles met die seë van die Franse regering, wat onlangs besluit het om alle wapenhandel met Suid-Afrika op te skort.

In September vanjaar gaan Frankryk ook op groot skaal deelname aan die vertoning van mynbouoesturing op Milnerpark in Johannesburg. Die verwagting is dat sowat 30 maatstappe vanjaar in die Franse paviljoen op die Randse Skou gaan uitstal.

Ná agt jaar

Mnr. Olivier Louis, ekonomiese adviseur, by die Franse ambassade, vertel die verhaal van die nuwe dryftraw om Franse ware in Suid-Afrika te-verkoop — solank dit net nie oorlogs-toerusting is nie.
Sanctions will cripple blacks says Gatsha

JOHANNESBURG — Sanctions against South Africa would cripple blacks more than the people it was aimed at, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said here yesterday.

Addressing more than 15 000 people in Soweto, the president of the Inkatha Movement said calling for sanctions would be self destruction on the part of blacks.

Answering the former Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, who told the UN that the best way to fight the South African Government was to cut investment, Chief Buthelezi said he was speaking "as a black man who knows the suffering and limitations of my people."

It would be useless to call for the withdrawal of foreign investment in South Africa because of the hypocrisy of Western countries.

He knew that even if the sanctions could be effected, the Western countries would continue doing business with white South Africa "behind our backs."

Chief Buthelezi quoted Rhodesia's "white illegal Government which has survived 12 years of illegal rule" as an example.

Referring to the Soweto community council election next month, he warned members of Inkatha not to take part. It would be a betrayal for people to take part while the leader of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Ntatho Motlana, and his committee were "incarcerated" he said.

He said Inkatha's efforts were no different from those of the detained committee members and urged the crowd to disregard people who preached differences in the various race groups of South Africa.

In a speech in which he hardly referred to the KwaZulu homeland's February 20 general election, the main purpose of his visit to Soweto, he said blacks would do everything at their disposal to gain freedom "in our lifetime."

Referring to Inkatha's alliance with Indians and Coloureds, he said this was the best solution to come about in the circles opposing the white South African Government.

Chief Buthelezi emphasised that the alliance should not be construed as a gang ing up against whites. "We should not be foolishly and should not allow ourselves, the majority of the population, to be browbeaten by the ruthless minority just because they have arsenals and armaments."

He warned against reverse racism by blacks and said they should accept that their struggle for liberation was a black struggle which had to be waged by the oppressed people themselves.

"As we move from one political crisis to another, let us remember that our only key to liberation is our black solidarity," he said.

"Let us make it clear through our black solidarity that there are things for which no price is too high for us to pay. Let us make it clear we accept that in the history of any people there are things any people cannot flinch from, not even death." — SAPA.
PFP opposed to sanctions

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party has expressed its categorical opposition to the imposition of boycotts and economic sanctions against South Africa.

In a statement yesterday, the party's finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, said the PFP wanted apartheid abolished but did not believe sanctions and boycotts assisted the cause of peaceful change.

In a clear repudiation of Mr Donald Woods's recent call at the United Nations for an economic boycott of South Africa, Mr Schwarz said: "We are against boycotts and sanctions in general and certainly oppose them when they are sought to be imposed against our country."

Mr Schwarz said sanctions would not assist the black, Coloured and Indian people as greater economic growth was a means of defeating apartheid.

"Growth must lead to social change. More blacks will be educated, more will be technically trained, more jobs will be created, living standards will be raised, all of this will build up pressures which, in the end, will not allow apartheid to survive," he said. — DDC.
Nigerië grom vir SA

1. Farm number
2. Name (first)
3. Age
4. Sex
5. Race
6(a) School
    (b) School
7. Work type
8. Permanent
9(a) Permanent
    (b) Annual
    (c) Annual
    (d) Activity
    (e) Number of times worked on this farm before
10. To all workers
    (a) Working hours
        Mon-Fri: Start: Stop: Break(s)
        Sat:        
        Sun:       
    (b) Annual holidays paid by farmer
        paid: unpaid
11. Cash wage (weekly)
12. Payment in kind (weekly)
    (a) Meat: quantity
        price (if not supplied free)
        value to farmer
        value to worker
    (b) Milk: quantity
        price (if not supplied free)
        value to farmer
        value to worker
    (c) Other food:
Sanctions won't work, West told

LONDON — The British Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Ivor Richard, called yesterday for greater realism on South Africa. In a speech here to the Royal Commonwealth Society, Mr. Richard said he believed it was unrealistic at this stage to call for one man, one vote in South Africa.

Answering questions afterwards, he said he did not think sanctions against South Africa were likely to be very effective in persuading the Vorster Government radically to change its policies.

In his speech, entitled "Western Options on Southern Africa," Mr. Richard said he rejected any special relationship between the West and the Republic.

South Africa was a foreign country, and should be treated as such, he said. He urged an end by the West to what he called "gesture politics," according to Sapa.

The Star's London Bureau reports that Mr. Richard said "gesture politics" could be counterproductive. The lesser had a natural attraction for the Afrikaner and its temptations should not be increased.

Unreal

Moreover, such policies as the arms embargo and the sort of economic policies recently advocated in the United Nations contained a real danger for the West. They could lead to assumptions both in the West and in the rest of the world of a special relationship with, and a special responsibility for, what happened in South Africa.

The West did not have such a responsibility for such a relationship and had to avoid being manoeuvred into a position in which it was blamed for what happened in South Africa.

Mr. Richard stressed that policies towards Rhodesia, SWA/Namibia and South Africa had to be quite separately considered.

One man one vote made moral and political sense in Rhodesia. Withdrawal of South Africa from South Africa made sense.

But to urge one man one vote in South Africa in the short or medium term was unreal. The ultimate aim might well be democracy based on universal suffrage, but to "say we expect this now is unreal and invites rebuff."

Various ideas for greater participation, suggestions like that of a cantonal system were being punted round in South Africa.

The fatal flaw was that there was no-one on the other side, the black side, with whom these ideas could be discussed.

Angry

What the West should do, was not to urge universal suffrage, but to urge on South Africans that they should undertake a serious dialogue with the blacks to see how the interests of the white minority and the black majority could be reconciled.

There were many indications between the present system, which, for blacks, meant "no man one vote" and universal suffrage. The more the Afrikaner was isolated, the more intransigent he became.

Mr. Richard illustrated his point by recalling that when he met Mr. Vorster, the South African Prime Minister was angry over actions by the West at the United Nations.
Opposition supports govt’s arms bill

Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The official Opposition defence spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, has reaffirmed his party’s total opposition to economic and arms sanctions against South Africa.

He said the Progressive Federal Party opposed all sanctions, including the arms embargo, and that Parliament should show its strong disapproval of the United Nations action. Parliament, he said, would be “found unanimous” on this issue.

Mr Schwarz (PPF Yeoville), who was speaking during the second reading debate on the Arms Development and Production Amendment Bill, said the country faced a tremendous challenge in the field of armaments and military research following the UN embargo.

The bill provides for the transfer of certain personnel connected with missile research in the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) to the State armaments corporation, Armscor.

It was important that South Africa satisfy itself that she had all the necessary information to be able to defend her borders, Mr Schwarz said.

“The question of research becomes most important when our resources are limited. The challenge is a greater one than has faced many other nations.”

The CSIR ranked, with any other research organization in the world, and there was no doubt that the necessary research would be done. The PFP would support any measure that would improve research.

The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, said that the CSIR had commenced with the establishment of expertise in missile research in the early 1960s.

Since then, this task undertaken by the National Institute for Defence Research had expanded to such an extent that the development and short-term production of missiles, made up as much as 75 percent of its total activity.

"Industrial production and its corresponding development, do not belong within the framework of the statutory provisions applicable to the CSIR and it is therefore time that this responsibility be transferred to another body,” Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha said that the NIDR would continue with missile and missile-oriented research, development and production within a subsidiary of Armscor, while the CSIR would continue with other defence-oriented research. “The bill,” he said, “passed through all stages with the support of the opposition.” — Sapa
Economic boycott of SA rejected

The Argus Correspondent

BONN. - West Germany's conservative opposition has rejected any economic boycott of South Africa.

Returning from a fact-finding visit to the Republic, the CDU-CSU Party's spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr. Werner Marz, argued that a boycott would remain ineffective and hit only the weakest in the country.

It would also negatively affect other African countries co-operating economically with South Africa.

Mr. Marz said in his talks in the country he had pointed to the damaging effects of apartheid.

He hoped there would soon be another session of South West Africa talks, bringing a solution.

Another delegation member, Mr. Franz Mehl, said that during a visit to South West Africa, Germans, living there, told him they did not know why Bonn closed its consulate in Windhoek at Swapp's demand.

MISTAKE

Mr. Marz said the West had made a mistake in recognizing Swapp as the sole representative of South West Africa.

Both politicians emphasized that security for elections was of fundamental importance.

The parliamentarian, Mr. Heinz Reden, of the Social Democratic Party, which also had a delegation in 'Southern' Africa recently, said Mr. Marz had made himself the 'unassuming' spokesman of the South Africa minority government.

EQUAL RIGHTS

The conservatives were identifying with the South African Government's attempt at self-criticism, did not, the away, express 'shame' at 'ignoring' the efforts of the Bonn Government and the Western allies to achieve equal political, social and trade-union rights for the majority in South Africa and were 'guiltable' by the climate of a number of German firms.

Mr. Marz's declaration had not, again, made clear that the opposition was blindly following the Dienerite line taken by Mr. Frank Josef Strauss, a prominent bundkler here of the South African Government.

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SANCTIONS

1979
2. Of the next raw materials to have experienced relatively high projected figures for copper and to a lesser extent asbestos, the average rate of change in the period 1970-76 was 4.7 per cent, and 6.7 per cent respectively. The relevant rates of change for the average period were 12.7 per cent and 6.7 per cent respectively.

3. Coal and platin metals, where output growth has been relatively flat, need to be considered separately. The report gives a projected rate of growth of 3.4 per cent per annum over the 6-year period.

4. The largest employer of all, dominating all the rest statistically, is gold. Whereas Plewman assumed a 1980 output level equal to that in 1970, in fact the physical output of gold has fallen during the period 1970-76 at the fast rate of 4.4 per cent per annum - though, of course, with the changes in the price of gold the value of gold produced has risen dramatically.

3.1.2 In so far as 1977 (first-half) data is available it suggests that 1977 rates of growth of output will pull up the average 1970-76 compound rates of growth for iron ore (dramatically), chrome, coal and asbestos. Copper may not be much affected, but since 1977 output of manganese and platinum will be below the 1976 levels their rates of growth will be slowed. In the case of gold, production may have fallen further but the rate of decline may be slowing.
GENEVA — Khalifa's blacklist — the black list of those who contribute "political, military, economic and other forms of assistance" to South Africa — appears to be turning into a major weapon against South Africa.

Criticism of Western countries' continued trade and other relations with South Africa has proved to be a focal point of this year's southern Africa debate in Geneva by the United Nations' Human Rights Commission.

The continuation and extension of the black list of South African "supporters" is the basis of one of three draft resolutions which will be put forward for a decision later this week.

The black list, drawn up by UN special rapporteur Ahmed Khalifa, so far names nearly 1500 banks, airlines, shipping lines, commercial firms and sporting bodies which still have links with South Africa or Rhodesia.

Following continued criticism of Western countries for providing means for the South African Government's continued existence, Burundi, Egypt, India, Morocco and Nigeria have proposed instructing Mr Khalifa to continue enlarging the list and to report back to next year's session in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. This is sure to be agreed.

A second major debating point to emerge from this year's session is the question of the South African Government's legitimacy in view of its apartheid policies and its refusal to adopt the United Nations charter.

The draft resolution calls for:

- A study of the legitimacy of the South African Government;
- A special meeting at each and every meeting of United Nations' bodies to be devoted to "the struggle against apartheid;" and
- The immediate release of all political prisoners in South Africa, Rhodesia and SWA/Namibia.

Condemnation of countries which either directly or through their nationals are helping to "perpetuate the present situation in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa." The third resolution calls for an appeal for all countries to join the "convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid" without delay.
SANCTIONS
They'll hurt

Anyone doubting the severe blow international sanctions would deal SA should read Sanlam's latest Economic Review, the second in a series for the insurance giant's pension fund clients.

Among the effects on SA of a trade and investment ban, says Sanlam's Johan

low, are:

- Rising unemployment, which could lead to political instability, a surge in urban terrorism and political developments which might aggravate the economic problems.
- Skilled labour shortages, as managers and professionals emigrate. And this at a time when their skills would be in demand to speed up the local manufacture of sophisticated imports.
- Higher inflation, as costs of import substitutes shoot up.
- Greater government control over the economy.

Sanlam concedes it is difficult to predict how the economy as a whole will adapt itself to more comprehensive sanctions (and what the effects of sanctions will be). Nonetheless, it has sketched out its own model of some of the implications.

It points out that about 60% of SA's exports are bought by only six countries, which also provide three-quarters of our non-oil imports. "The actions of only a few countries could therefore have important consequences," says Sanlam.

Boycotters would not find it easy to stop the export of SA's high unit value exports, such as gold, platinum, diamonds. But copper, iron ore, coal and asbestos sales might be hard hit. SA's shipping industry would also suffer badly if harbours abroad were closed to its vessels. Sanlam does not point out, however, that the shipping men, like many other traders, would probably be able to disguise their operations.

Besides the shipping industry, others which are especially vulnerable to sanctions include motors, hotels, private transport, fish and fruit. Sanlam reckons manufacturers of the following goods would gain from embargoes as they gear up to replace imports: paper, chemicals, textiles, machinery, metal products, and electronics. It estimates that SA "should be able to resist a total oil boycott for six years and longer," but not without hurting the economy.

One consolation, Sanlam guesses that "the likelihood of comprehensive sanctions in the near future is not very great."
Oil embargo moves hits at Shell

AMSTERDAM. — The Shell Oil Company is considering going to court for an urgent injunction restraining the Southern Africa Committee (SAC), and the Katros Work Group from using Shell colours and design features in a campaign for an oil embargo against South Africa.

The two anti-apartheid organisations yesterday began nationwide distribution of about a million brochures calling for public support for their campaign.

The cover, entitled "Shell Helps", is modelled on Shell's series of motoring advice brochures given out at garages.

Inside, Shell colours and a layout resembling Shell promotional material are also used. While the company's own brochures introduce the subject of each with the cover text "What you should know about..." the anti-South African version reads: "What you should know: Shell helps apartheid terror in South Africa."

The company has written to the two groups asking them not to distribute the brochures but the SAC replied that Shell was attempting to "muzzle" the protesters and refused the company's demand.
Sanctions: how they may affect us

By Tony Hudson, Finance Editor

MORE than one million out of work, political instability and increased urban terrorism are the likely effects of sanctions on South Africa says a leading local insurance company.

And, says Sanlam's Economic Research department manager, Johan Louw, any planned programme of import replacement could be badly affected by large scale emigration of skilled workers and managers when the need for them can only increase as a result of the need to manufacture sophisticated products locally.

In a scenario on the possible effects of sanctions on South Africa, Mr Louw says: "There can be little doubt that comprehensive sanctions would decrease the growth potential of the South African economy in the long term, with the accompanying danger of increasing black unemployment in particular. This could lead to political instability, unrest and an increase in urban terrorism and result in political development which might aggravate the economic problems."

Mr Louw feels that initially the danger to South Africa would not be as severe and that a number of areas would in fact benefit from boycotts. These would include manufacturers of products such as electronic equipment, chemicals, paper and textiles.

However, he says that in the long term, life would become difficult with a shortage of essential materials, soaring inflation and a sagging growth rate.

The two major weak areas in the economy, he says, are exports and oil. In his scenario, he quotes Professor Arni Spandau's claim that a 50 percent effective boycott on South African exports would:

- Reduce exports by R4000 million;
- Reduce the gross domestic product by R700 million;
- Decrease personal income by 13 percent; and
- Increase unemployment by over 1 million.

However, Mr Louw does feel that Spandau paints the blackest picture possible and says that the import substitution programme, with increased income and job opportunities could go a long way to alleviating problems caused by dropping exports.

Another problem area is that over 60 percent of imports and exports come from six countries only, and therefore action by a small group overseas could cause severe problems here.

On the oil front, Louw feels that with current stockpiles and the oncoming capacity of Sesel 2 and 3, South Africa could hold out against solid oil boycott for six years or so, but what happens after that, he does not say. (See Page 1, Finance and Profits)
Vote may delay sanctions

BY KEVIN JACOBS
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The United Nations Security Council may vote tonight on a resolution which would shelve sanctions action against South Africa, pending an assessment of casualties and damage inflicted in recent military strikes across the southern Angolan border.

The resolution calls on the council to condemn South Africa's 'persistent and sustained armed invasions of Angola.'

Ironically, an arch-foe of the South African Government, Nigerian diplomat Mr Leslie Harrison, as president of the council, has been instrumental in achieving the moderate draft resolution, in spite of angry demands by Angola and a chorus of supporters for punitive sanctions.

The drafting — a toned-down and polished version of an earlier long and rambling working paper submitted by the UN's African bloc — apparently avoids direct reference to the UN Charter's punitive Chapter Seven.

REF SUPPORT

Angola with heavy African and communist bloc support, has wanted a clear-cut demand for punitive sanctions, in spite of the Angolan Government's part in persuading Swapo to negotiate with the Western team that drew up plans for the UN to oversee a transition to independence.

The debate has dragged on since last Monday, the day South African foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha began the proximity talks with Western foreign ministers and diplomats.
Anti-SA groups in bid to halt loans

OWN CORRESPONDENT
LONDON. — An international campaign to discourage bank loans to South Africa was launched yesterday at the United Nations, in Britain and in a number of European countries including West Germany, Switzerland, France and Holland.

Organisations behind the campaign are the UN Centre Against Apartheid, the British pressure group End Loans to Southern Africa (ELTSA) and the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

To coincide with the launching of the campaign, the UN Centre Against Apartheid published a report on international bank loans to South Africa by financial institutions.

The report, of previously unpublished material, shows that from 1972 to 1978 West Germany was the chief source of loans to South Africa. The UK, the US, France and Switzerland followed.

The report also shows that figures of loans from the UK dropped sharply after the 1978 arrest, but have recovered to a large extent and are fast attaining their previous level.

The campaigners plan to exert pressure on British banks and also on the British Government to apply a ban on further bank lending.

The UN General Assembly, in a resolution adopted in January 1979, called for an end to all new investment in South Africa and to all financial loans to South Africa.

The campaigning organisations said they had already made banks "extremely uncomfortable" about lending to South Africa.

An international day of action is planned for tomorrow against bank loans to South Africa, particularly directed against Swiss and German banks. Protests will take place in Britain, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, Canada and the US.
US students act against firms with SA links

NEW YORK — Students at more than 30 universities and colleges have been planning this week to urge banks to stop making loans to South Africa.

In what is described as a "coordinated" action, students and community activists opposed to South Africa's policies will call on United States banks to stop making loans to South Africa.

Harvard, Tufts, Boston College and Boston University have all planned events for the week, with Harvard planning an anti-apartheid "rush-in" on April 11 and a major rally on April 16.

In a preliminary move, 700 students at Princeton University have urged the university trustees to sell an estimated $125 million in stocks the university holds in such firms as Mobil Oil, National Cash Register and International Business Machines.

In a similar action, Brandeis University students urged the university's board of directors to sell $5 million shares of stock in firms operating in South Africa. Most of the universities argue that divestment is not an effective means of combating South Africa's policies.

Many US corporations have been made available.


100 Data reports, 1977.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Po. 1976</th>
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Units and procedures are as published in the text for 1977 (based on figures for the first 6 months). The growth rate for Asbestos has slowed down to 4.0% p.a. rather than rising to 30.8% in 1976. There has been no change in the price of copper cathode ore.


47: See footnote 38.
Sanctions will not benefit Blacks

Political change

"Although the pace of political change in South Africa has been slow, it has been significant. The dismantling of apartheid has led to a genuine effort towards democratic governance." Right, let me make the point that there can be no doubt that sanctions are necessary to achieve political change. But they must be accompanied by actions that encourage people to participate in the process. And that's what is happening in South Africa."

Economic strategies

"Economic strategies must also be based on the belief that sanctions can improve the living standard of the majority of the population. But this is not happening in South Africa. The government is pursuing policies that benefit a small minority, while the majority suffer."

Role of sanctions

"Sanctions are a powerful tool, but they must be used effectively. They are not the only solution, but they are necessary. And they must be accompanied by economic reform and political change."
SA loans spark New York bank demo

NEW YORK. — More than a year after Citibank announced it would no longer make loans to the South African Government, demonstrators gathered yesterday demanding the bank issue a "clearer" statement.

"Their wording is very ambiguous. The statement says they won't issue any loans today, but it doesn't say anything about tomorrow," contended Miss Biate Klein, a co-ordinator for the New York Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa.

As she stood at the corner of Citibank's 54th Street and Park Avenue branch, Miss Biate said: "We would be satisfied with a statement saying Citibank will no longer issue loans to the South African Government, government-controlled corporations, and the private sector, and stop trade financing to South African banks."

Quoting a UN report issued last week, Miss Biate said Citibank currently participated in loans to South Africa totalling about R1.2 billion — for the period 1976 to 1978 — making it the largest single lender in the world to South Africa.

— Sapa-AP
Bank denies lending money to SA Govt.

LONDON. — The Midland Bank has maintained its policy of making no further loans to the South African Government or its agencies, Sir David Barran, deputy chairman, said at the bank's annual general meeting in London yesterday.

Sir David assured anti-apartheid shareholders the policy statement by the chairman, Lord Armstrong, last year still held. Lord Armstrong had said the bank had ceased such loans in 1976.

This policy was adhered to not only by the bank but also by its wholly-owned subsidiaries. Some loans were still in operation but these had been entered into prior to 1976. The total of the bank's loans to South Africa had steadily dropped since 1976. He added that Lord Armstrong, who was absent owing to injury, had indicated his willingness to hold discussions with members of the anti-apartheid organisation, Christian Concern for Southern Africa (CCSA), who published a booklet calling on all banks to withdraw from South Africa.

Sir David said the bank was directly represented in South Africa through the travel agents Thomas Cook, a wholly-owned subsidiary.

— Sapa-Reuters.
FOREIGN INVESTMENT

A spluttering crusade

This week marked the start of a series of "co-ordinated anti-apartheid actions" at colleges across the US to force university trustees to divest themselves of shareholdings in firms doing business in SA.

Anti-SA leaders admit, however, that the crowds turning out for the campus rallies "are not nearly as great as last year." In Boston, an activist hub if there is one, only a few hundred demonstrators turned out to pressure the trustees of Harvard, Boston University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Last year the crowds numbered "several thousand," according to Terry Myers, deputy director of Investor Responsibility Research Center, which monitors protest groups' activities.

Rallies at US universities elsewhere did scarcely better and no new decisions to get rid of SA-related shares have been made since Columbia University's decision in early March to sell $2.7m worth of its portfolio.

What the anti-SA tacticians had hoped for was a good head of steam to roll them into the traditional season of corporate shareholder meetings that is just getting underway and lasts until mid-May. To that end the various church-ied shareholder "responsibility" groups have managed to place "South African questions" on an unusually high number of corporate agendas — 25 in all.

This in itself may not mean much for the church groups. When pressed on the matter privately, some of the long time anti-SA crusaders concede that the focus of the American Left has shifted away from SA.

The 25 "pull out of SA" resolutions are not much compared with the 100 others focusing on corporate agendas to make policy changes on the environmental impact of products, minority hiring, safety and other domestic social issues of greater concern.

Still, no one is giving defeat and the battle is far from over. In the week to come, the city of Berkeley, California, a haven of the Left will ask voters if the city government should pull $1.25m in municipal funds out of South African banks in the area which have SA investment. And the anti-SA resolutions may pull a relatively respectable number of votes at the annual shareholders meetings with typical anti-mob, non-conventional property of major domo, and profit-taking importance.
Anti-SA adverts

Own Correspondent

AMSTERDAM. — A new attack on the Shell oil company's involvement in Southern Africa is being mounted by Dutch anti-apartheid movements.

In quarter-page advertisements in all major Dutch newspapers yesterday, the Kairos Foundation, supported by other anti-South African groups, called on shareholders of the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company to vote against the company's profit and loss account at the annual general meeting on May 17.

The company has refused to put a motion calling for withdrawal from South Africa on the agenda, so there is no chance of a binding vote for withdrawal.
Sanctions cost SA ‘only’ R1 m

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The losses suffered due to the mandatory sanctions imposed on South Africa were in the region of only R1 million, the prime minister said yesterday.

Correcting an earlier statement that South Africa had not lost financially as a result of the cancelled French naval orders, Mr. Botha said the loss was negligible.

The cancelled French contract had cost the country R7.5 m, but, at the same time the country had made a R8.5 m profit on exchange rates affecting returned deposits on cancelled orders, — Sapa.
Defiance costs US bank a cool R1m

BY RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK: A defiant stand over a new loan to the South African Government has cost the giant Morgan Guaranty Trust more than R17-million of Yale University money.

The Ivy League college decided to pull the money out as a symbolic gesture.

It has R12-million invested in 69 companies active in the Republic — more than R17-million of it in other banks that have loans out to the Government.

But Morgan-Guaranty is known to have been involved in some recent loans, including one for the electrification of Soweto, and had told the university it would not "categorically exclude the possibility" of more direct Government lending.

Credit-worthiness was its only criteria, it indicated.

It is America's sixth-biggest bank, with deposits of close to R20-billion.

Under student pressure last year, the Yale trustees decided against divestment of their South African-linked stock, but set up a guideline against banks increasing or making new loans to the SA Government.

The Yale advisory committee admitted its action was more symbolic than practical.

"Still, symbols and gestures are important in the realm of moral and humane concern, and are to be taken seriously," its statement maintained.

Over the weekend, divestment proponents staged a seminar at Yale, where South African Foundation director Mr John Chettle urged against any action.
Sanctions pressure on Carter

WASHINGTON — The Republican leader in the House of Representatives called on President Carter yesterday to lift trade sanctions and normalise diplomatic relations with Rhodesia.

Congressman John Rhodes said that by holding „free and open” elections Rhodesia had met the conditions for the lifting of the embargo.

„It is time now for the Carter administration to recognise that the solution it has pursued for Rhodesia has been rejected by those most directly affected — the Rhodesian people themselves, blacks and whites."

The US has sought a negotiated settlement that included the Patriotic Front.

— Sape-Reuters.
Bank hits Yale over S.A.

NEW YORK. — The chairman of J. P. Morgan Investment Bankers has branded as "cynical" Yale University's decision to sell its $700,000 worth of stock in the company because it makes loans to South Africa.

Mr. Walter Page said Yale's action, announced last week — reflected what he termed was a cynical view and "civilized", a matter of "high concern".

Yale's board of directors decided to sell its Morgan shares, now valued at about $160 each, because the banking company was willing to make loans directly to the South African Government.

The university's policy is that Yale should not own stocks in any bank willing to make loans to South Africa.

But Yale said it was not opposed to making loans to benefit South African blacks.

Mr. Page said Yale had sent a discouraging message to all companies that were trying to conduct their businesses "in the way they judge to be most constructive socially and economically". — Sapa-Reuters.
Harvard holds out for 'tainted money'

By ANTHONY RIDER

WASHINGTON. — Mr Derek Bok, president of America’s wealthiest university, Harvard, has defended the acceptance of "tainted money" if it benefits the university.

His comments — made in the third of a series of academic white papers on the moral responsibilities of universities — are being seen partly as a reaction to calls for divestment of shares in firms doing business in South Africa.

Some of the top US universities including Yale, Brandeis and Boston have yielded to the demands of campus protesters. But Harvard and its president have stood firm.

Mr Bok argued that Harvard would do more good by using funds constructively than by forcing the donor to keep his money.

"In practice, recipients of gifts and awards have regarded the use of a donor’s name more as a way of acknowledging the source of the donation than as an affirmation of his moral character."

Activist students at Harvard have continued to press the administration and have picketed Mr Bok’s office.

A group which calls itself the Southern African Solidarity Committee has also objected to Harvard naming the library of the new John F Kennedy School of Government after Charles Engelhard, whose South African mining income added to his fortune.

The Mayor of Atlanta, Mr Maynard Jackson, on a visit to Harvard, said the $1-m Engelhard Foundation donation was "tainted money. Blood money built on the bodies of blacks." He asked how a university could accept it while "preaching and teaching ethical government policy."

In his white paper Mr Bok contended there was nothing morally improper in taking money from controversial donors.

He asked: "Is it possible to articulate reasons for refusing tainted money that outweigh the opportunity to use such funds to help discover a cure for some debilitating disease or to assist a worthy student from a poor family to obtain a Harvard education?"
Sanction-busting: action on SA call

The United Nations Security Council's sanctions committee has for the first time recommended unanimously that the council consider action against South Africa to stop it violating the UN-imposed embargo against Rhodesia.

But a report published on Thursday showed that the committee's action would not be sufficient to stop South Africa from trading with the country.

The committee met to implement a series of council resolutions, one of which was the extension of the sanctions against Rhodesia.

One of the committee's conclusions was that the existing system of sanctions, which had been met to 0.

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Selective UN sanctions seem likely

From HELEN ZILLE
CAPE TOWN — Security Council approval for selective sanctions against South Africa is considered "highly likely" unless the South West African deadlock is broken soon.

This is the view of diplomatic and government sources on the Security Council debate on the issue scheduled to take place before the end of next month.

Sanctions would be a forgone conclusion if it were not for uncertainty over whether the Conservative British Government will save South Africa through its Security Council veto.

However, diplomatic sources say this step could isolate Britain from other Western powers and invoke the wrath of the African Commonwealth members shortly before the Commonwealth conference in August.

The South African Government has accepted the probability of sanctions, but is standing firm on its objections to what are regarded as deviations from the original Western plan for the territory accepted in April last year.

And Western sources see little chance of resolving the deadlock over the Swapo demand for bases inside the territory and the non-monitoring of bases in Angola.

All sources discount full mandatory sanctions, but there is strong talk of the Security Council taking the next step on the "progressive sanctions" ladder.

The first step was taken two years ago when the Security Council approved step one — the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

The next step could involve an embargo on financial and economic relations with South Africa, as draft resolutions to this effect have already been circulated at the United Nations in anticipation of a SWA deadlock. — PS.
WASHINGTON. — The United States Senate's 70-26 vote favouring the lifting of sanctions against Rhodesia does not necessarily mean that America's Africa policy is in disarray. But it does mean that President Carter has lost the first round of the fight to keep his Africa policy on course.

He and his advisers have been gravely concerned that the American mediatory role in Southern Africa will be compromised by an endorsement of the internal settlement in Rhodesia. But the dilemma has been that necessarily the administration's critics have been gaining support for their stand that failure to back the obviously pro-Western, anti-communist government of Bishop Muzorewa means favouring what is presented as the marxist, terrorist Patriotic Front.

No real fight

This is when the battle for the soul of the administration began after the Rhodesian elections last month, President Carter, not too surprisingly in my view, did not make a real fight of it.

His point man on Africa, Mr Andrew Young, without waiting for the president to make the determination required of him by the Case-Javits amendment in the Senate last year, condemned the elections.

The apparently far-out views of Mr Young may have helped concentrate the minds of Democratic senators, 33 of them having voted against the sanctions vote on Tuesday.

All that the administration did publicly to stem the tide was an instil of Congress members called by the secretary of state, Mr Cyrus Vance, and an appeal by Carter to the Democratic majority leader in the Senate, Robert Byrd.

Vance disclosed that he was soon to consult with the new British foreign secretary, Lord Carrington, on Southern Africa. And it would be only fair meanwhile to hold back on any moves in the Senate.

Carter wrote a letter to his fellow-Democrat Robert Byrd, urging him not to support any move that would pre-empt his presidential duty in giving a ruling on the Rhodesian elections and the twin issues of sanctions and recognition.

And that was all. It was almost as if, according to one Capitol Hill source, the president had decided this was one fight he was going to lose. In the floor vote not even his majority leader — tayed with him.

President Carter's dilemma is serious. The Senate vote, it is true, was a 'sense of the Congress' decision which is not binding on him. But if the House of Representatives follows suit he is in difficulties.

There are Democratic majorities in both chambers, which makes Carter's problem even more acute.

Tuesday's Senate debate was a curious affair, starting at lunchtime with the liberal wing moving an amendment requiring Carter to give his Rhodesia ruling within two weeks of the Muzorewa government's installation.

Senator Frank Church, who was managing the State Authorization Bill to which the move was attached, said a premature move on sanctions would have a devastating impact on opinion in Africa. Nothing could be gained by such unseemly haste.

With all sounding fine at that point, when the time arrived, head off the strongly pro-Rhodesia Senator Jesse Helms, who sought an immediate lifting of sanctions.

Confused

Helms appeared to have considerable support, one senator talking dramatically of the great USA strangling the last breath out of a young nation that wanted to live. But when it seemed he might just lack the votes he needed, Helms suddenly swooped with a second amendment that confused his Democrat opponents.

He moved that sanctions be lifted for a trial period of one year to enable the Muzorewa government 'to show what it was made of.' He cunningly suggested that this would preserve the president's prerogative to recommend penalties if

That being so, the Senate felt that the president ought within 10 days of the Muzorewa government's installation to rule that the Case-Javits terms had been complied with and should not enforce sanctions.

Senator Javits himself, who had earlier indicated he would back a Democrat-sponsored move not to pre-empt the president's decision, now indicated he would support the Schwebner amendment.

It was assured of passage when Senator Church gave in as well, saying it was obvious the Senate wished to take some action on Rhodesia. He seemed to want to assuage his own conscience by declaring that the Schwebner move was "much too be preferred" to that of Senator Helms. After that the vote seemed a formality.

Now it is over to President Carter, with the odds on his standing fast on his Africa policy diminishing.

With the Democrats confused, Senator Richard Schwebner swooped with his amendment backed by 10 other senators, including several Democrats led by Senator Dennis de Concini. The Schwebner move was aimed at getting a majority of the Senate to say they felt the Rhodesian government had shown a willingness to negotiate in good faith at an all-party conference, and that the Rhodesian people through free elections had approved the transfer of power to a black majority government.
Britain rejects idea of sanctions

LONDON — Britain's new Conservative Government, in its first policy statement on trade with South Africa, yesterday firmly rejected economic sanctions against the Republic because of apartheid.

Mr. Cecil Parkinson, Minister of State for Trade, said Britain shared the concern of many other countries about South Africa's racial policies, but it believed civil trade should be determined by purely commercial considerations and not by the character of other governments.

Mr Parkinson, speaking in a short debate in the House of Commons, made the suggestion that the Republic's internal problems could best be solved by active support of its economy. We believe the question of sanctions is, and should remain, hypothetical.

"South Africa needs more foreign investment in order to promote its economic growth," Mr Parkinson said.

"Economic growth brings the best hope of peaceful change in South Africa. We must maintain trade and investment links.

"If there is a flourishing economy in the Republic, black South Africans will be given better jobs and wages, if only because there is a desperate shortage of skilled labour."

Mr Parkinson said South Africa was a very valuable market for Britain. "We cannot allow our trade with a country like South Africa to be reduced without endangering our own economic health."

Our bilateral trade with South Africa is not something that is peripheral to our economy — in fact it is of central importance."

The Minister said that if Britain did not encourage trade with South Africa, then other competing nations would be ready to take its place.

West Germany, Japan and France had all expanded their share of the South African market last year compared with 1977, he said. On South Africa's exports of manganese, platinum, chrome and titanium, Mr Parkinson said: "If it cannot be overstressed that these vital minerals are important to the West, not just from a trading point, but to the defence of the West."

The debate had been initiated by Mr Cyril Townend (Conservative) who said South Africa was the world's biggest holder of sterling and had received almost R1 250-million worth of British goods in 1979. — Sapa-Reuter.
Dutch may split over SA sanctions

 own Correspondent

THE HAGUE. — Contradictory Cabinet policy statements, many of them related to foreign policy on South Africa, highlight a growing split in Holland's ruling coalition of Christian Democrats (CDA) and Liberals.

The latest indication came this week when Mr. J. Scholten, chairman of the CDA commission on foreign policy, said in a memo to Foreign Minister Dr. Chris van der Klaauw, that Holland should introduce oil sanctions against South Africa if the South African Government did not immediately review its plans for SWA/Namibia.

Mr. Scholten said South Africa was trying to create a satellite in SWA/Namibia, "an aim which, cannot be seen outside the framework of South Africa's apartheid policy".

At virtually the same time however, Dr. Van der Klaauw, a Liberal representative in the Cabinet, told the Dutch Senate he could not support independent oil sanctions against South Africa, as they would have no effect.

The split is also apparent in Cabinet policy on internal social-economic issues, with the Liberals taking a Right wing line strongly opposed to the CDA's more socialist goals.

Recent CDA statements have made it clear that the party is still courting the Labour Party of former Prime Minister, Mr. Joop den Uyl, in the hope of a future coalition.

Labour takes a significantly harder line on South Africa than either of the two ruling parties, but the CDA would be prepared to make major concessions to Labour's Left wing ideals in the interests of a stronger coalition than the four-seat majority the current Cabinet has over the combined opposition.

The CDA plans to use next month's elections to the EEC Parliament as a test of public opinion. A weak Liberal showing could spur the CDA to renew negotiations with Labour.
THE reaction of one top South African official to the possibility of economic sanctions against South Africa was surprise but also the assurance that South Africans will "ride bikes and eat mealie pap — but we won't give in to sanctions".

Tony Myers, noted US researcher of corporate social responsibility issues, told the Advertiser: "It reminded me immediately of an equally succinct and defiant remark by a top aide of President Kaunda early in 1973, when Ian Smith rashly closed his country's border with Zambia.

"From State House in Lusaka the official snapped down the phone and barked: "We'll go to bed by candlelight, we'll eat sadza (mealie pap) but we'll never give in to Smith."

"But how close are South Africans to a pop diet?"

Myers' conclusion after an extensive visit to South Africa is that the possibility of sanctions is "increasingly remote".

"He believes, though, that the role of US business in South Africa is likely to be a matter of concern at company annual meetings for some time to come.

"Certainly from within the US this seems a safer prediction. More pro-sanctions groups are being formed, particularly on university campuses throughout the country.

"What has the disinvestment campaign achieved in South Africa? Myers says it has linked with events in Southern Africa and pressures in South Africa and abroad it has encouraged, in what he called a small and fragile momentum for change. The changes of the last few years have had little impact on the public image as well as on the political structure or on South Africa's apartheid policies.

"But he says they have begun to affect the role and practices of foreign companies in South Africa.

"And they may have implications for greater change in the future.

"His initial conclusions are that the changes taking place have had real impact on a limited number of black workers and their families.

"But these changes are in housing, training and desegregation of facilities — have not affected the power structure.

"He finds there has been increased pressure on US firms to question Government policies and to make suggestions in political areas to the Government. But these have had only marginal impact. In his printed report Myers discusses the limits and the potential of business lobbying on behalf of blacks.

"He notes that the fear of jeopardising the limited influence it might have by Press publicity runs throughout business.

"Myers says it is commonly referred to as "the Rand Daily Mail kiss-of-death syndrome" and he adds it is a prime rationale offered for the lack of public business criticism of Government policies.

"He quotes an African businesswoman as saying: "If a person criticises the Government publicly he is apt to be a hero in the English-speaking Press.

"Once his name appears in the Press he is likely to become a victim of "dodwago" — kill by silence.

"Nevertheless Myers records there is little doubt that the press, public as well as private, are having an impact on the inner party circle.

"Myers' third main conclusion is that there are few signs that US and other foreign companies are about to withdraw from South Africa. And it is just as unlikely that governments are going to apply sufficient pressure to force them to do so.

"He believes the greatest new boost to his job advancement for South African blacks in the past three years has come from abroad through the Sullivan Principles, and the European Economic Community and Canadian Codes of Fair Labour Practices.

"These codes spurred the development of domestic codes under the aegis of the Urban Foundation and the SA Consultative Committee on Labour.

"Collectively, according to Myers, the codes have had a measurable impact on the way many companies evaluate their employee programmes.

"But asked why there hasn't been more progress, Myers says: "Look at a company like General Motors, which has fewer than 10 blacks in white collar jobs. That actually is substantial improvement for the three they had a few years ago.

"There are a number of factors here. They include concern about white attitudes, problems of recruiting suitable blacks, lack of interest by management, legal barriers.

"Black wages have been rising faster than white but the gap has grown larger because whites start from a much larger base.

"There are limited instances where blacks and whites work in the same positions. A major constraint here is the educational system, training and opportunities.

"Legal restraints are no real problem. Although a number of companies have blacks supervising whites, that is not against the law as some have thought. The government attitude has been to leave it to managements to work out their own black and white staffs.

"Legal restraints have been less severe than customary restraints, with the exception of skills training.

"Myers singles out IBM, Union Carbide and Goodyear as "affirmative action" employers, active particularly in housing and training.

"But there are other US firms where the managing directors say: "We didn't sign the Sullivan Principles, our home office did."

"Some MDs say they can't hire blacks "because our white secretaries will quit".

"About a third of the US firms have subscribed to the Sullivan Code, some haven't signed because they don't want outsiders dictating to them how their employees feel there is no need to sign because they follow the guidelines anyway.

"Finally, Myers sees "severe" constraints on using American economic interests as a lever for change.

"These include the cost to the US of imposing sanctions, and public attitudes in the US.

"Myers points out that trade bans have distinct and measurable costs. General Tyre and Rubber, for instance, is losing about R1-million a year through suspension of its agreement with a South African firm.

"Burroughs had export licences for more than R2-million worth of orders refused, and Hewlett-Packard reported a loss of about R1-million a year because of US Commerce Department regulations.

"The cost of broader sanctions would be much greater. US imports from South Africa last year were valued at R2 000m (equal to about 1.3% of total US imports). US direct investment in South Africa last year amounted to R1 650m and indirect investment through securities and bank loans was about R3 600m. The willingness of US policymakers to accept the costs of applying sanctions is greatly affected, Myers argues, by what they feel the American public thinks of the SA situation.

"He quotes the 1978 Soviet Times poll which found that by a nearly two to one margin Americans thought the US and other countries should not put pressure on South Africa to give blacks more freedom and let them take part in government.

"But the public rejected a hait to operations of US firms in SA, and opposed military action against SA. (Similar findings were made this year by a Carnegie Endowment poll).

"And as the Carnegie inquiry showed, South Africa is an issue of marginal importance for Americans.

"Myers also notes the apparently conservative wind blowing through the US Congress, and the unlikelihood of the Rhodesian internal situation being increasingly favoured. The SA Government could benefit from the bailout from such acceptance.

"There is also the attitude of South Africa's other trading partners that must be considered. The EEC countries, the US and Japan may share similar concerns about the SA situation but they have different economic perspectives and pressures, says Myers.

"European countries which rely on South Africa for strategic minerals, and lack the stockpiles that exist in the US, are not anxious to take steps against South Africa that might interrupt supply.

"Most of these countries, Myers believes, hesitate to jeopardise what has been a small but nevertheless important export market.

"For Britain the consequences of a boycott would be severe and although it would make it an unattractive option.

"On the black Africa factor, Myers says Nigeria's posture could influence British policy in the future or even that of the US, a major importer of Nigerian oil.

"Myers reports that a confidential official survey last year showed that British companies considered their business ties with South Africa more important than those with the rest of Africa, and they thought South Africa offered greater potential.

"He concludes that sanctions are a remote possibility and even if imposed, their potential political impact is unclear.
Sanctions against S.A. remote, says U.S. expert

THE reaction of one top South African official to the possibility of economic sanctions against South Africa was succinct and defiant: "We'll ride bikes and eat mealie pap — but we won't give in to sanctions!"

Terry Myers, noted U.S. researcher of corporate social responsibility issues, tells the story.

It reminded me immediately of an equally succinct and defiant quote given to me by a top aide of President Kaunda early in 1973 when Ian Smith rashly closed his country's border with Zambia.

From State House in Lusaka the official snapped down the then direct dial link with Salisbury: "We'll go to bed by candlelight, we'll eat sadza (mealie pap) but we'll never give in to Smith."

But how close are South Africans to a pop diet? Myers' conclusion of sanctions is "increasingly remote."

He believes though that the role of U.S. business in South Africa is likely to be a matter of some concern at company annual meetings for some time to come.

What has the divestment campaign achieved in South Africa itself? Myers says, that linked with events in southern Africa and pressures in South Africa and abroad it has encouraged what he calls a small and fragile momentum for change.

Last few years...

The changes of the last few years have had little impact on the overall political structure or on South Africa's apartheid policies. But he says that...

THE role of American business in South Africa continues to attract pressures on U.S. firms. These companies are finding that they spend more time on their South African investments than they do on investments of similar magnitude elsewhere. The debate is becoming increasingly sophisticated on both sides — the critics who advocate withdrawal from South Africa or disinvestment in the U.S. firms involved in the S.A. economy, and the firms themselves. The long-awaited report on the issue by the investor responsibility research centre in Washington has just been published.

The appearance of this comprehensive 147-page document coincides with a visit by its author, TERRY MYERS, deputy director of the IRRC, to South Africa. ANTHONY RIDER, the Natal Mercury correspondent in the U.S. capital, spoke to Mr. Myers before he left for Johannesburg.

They include concern about White attitudes, problems of recruiting suitable Blacks, lack of interest by management, legal barriers. "Black wages have been rising faster than Whites' but the gap has grown larger because Whites start from a much larger base."

There are limited instances where Blacks and Whites work in the same positions. Major constraint here is the educational system, training and opportunities.

- Legal restraints are no real problem. A small number of companies have Blacks supervising Whites. That is not against the law as some have thought. The Government's attitude has been to leave it to management to work out with their Black and White staffs.

- Legal restraints have...
have begun to affect the role and practices of foreign companies in South Africa. And they may have implications for greater change in the future.

His initial conclusions are that the changes taking place have had real impact on a limited number of Black workers and their families. But these changes — in housing, training and desegregation of facilities — have not affected the power structure.

He finds there has been increased willingness by U.S. firms to question Government policies and to make suggestions in political areas to the Government. But these changes have had only marginal impact. In his printed report, Myers discusses the limits and the potential of business lobbying on behalf of Blacks.

He believes the greatest new boost to job advancement for S.A. Blacks in the past three years has come from abroad through the Sullivan principles, and the European Economic Community and Canadian codes of fair labour practices.

These codes spurred the development of domestic codes under the aegis of the Urban Foundation and the S.A. Consultative Committee on Labour.

Collectively, according to Myers, the codes have had a measurable impact on the way companies evaluate their employee programmes.

But asked why there has not been more progress, Myers says, “Look at a company like General Motors which has fewer than 10 Blacks in white collar jobs. That actually is substantial improvement over the three they had a few years ago.”

There are a number of customary restraints with the exception of skilled training.

Housing and training . . .

Myers singles out IBM, Union Carbide and Goodyear as “affirmative action” employers, active particularly in housing and training.

But there are other U.S. firms where the managing directors say: “We did not sign the Sullivan principles — our home office did.”

Some MDs say they cannot hire Blacks because their White secretaries would resign.

About a third of the U.S. firms have subscribed to the Sullivan code. Some have not signed because they don’t want outsiders to dictate how to run their businesses. Others feel there is no need to sign because they follow the guidelines anyway.

Finally, Myers sees severe constraints on using American economic interests as a lever for change.

These include the cost to the U.S. of imposing sanctions, and public attitudes in the U.S.

Myers points out that trade bans have distinct and measurable costs. General Tire and Rubber, for instance, is losing about R1 000 000 a year through suspension of its agreement with a South African firm.

Burroughs had export licences for more than R2 000 000 worth of orders refused, and Hewlett-Packard reported a loss of about R1 900 000 a year because of U.S. commerce department regulations.

The cost of broader sanctions would be much greater. U.S. imports from South Africa last year were valued at R2 000 000 (equal to about 1.3 percent of total U.S. imports). United States’ direct investment in South Africa last year amounted to R1 850 000 and indirect in-

Could benefit from the fallout from such acceptance.

There is also the attitude of South Africa’s other trading partners to be considered.

EEC countries, the U.S. and Japan may share similar concerns about the S.A. situation but they have different interests, perspectives and pressures, says Myers.

European countries that rely on South Africa for strategic minerals, and lack the stockpiles that exist in the U.S., are not anxious to take steps against South Africa that might interrupt supplies.

Most of these countries, Myers believes, are hesitant to jeopardise what has been a small but nevertheless important export market.

. . . For Britain

For Britain the consequences of a boycott would be severe enough to make it an unattractive option.

On the Black African nation factor, Myers says, Nigeria’s posture could influence British policy in the future or even that of the U.S., a major importer of Nigerian oil.

Myers reports that a confidential official survey last year showed that British companies considered their business ties with South Africa more important than those with the rest of Africa, and they thought South Africa offered greater potential.

He concludes that sanctions are a remote possibility and even if imposed their potential political impact is unclear.
Overseas Boycotts

Overseas boycotts continue to be an important tool in the struggle for justice and equality around the world. The concept of the "solidarity boycott" has gained significant momentum in recent years, as people and organizations around the globe seek to apply pressure on companies and governments to end practices that violate human rights.

One prominent example of a solidarity boycott is the campaign against Israel boycott. This movement began in the 1960s and has since gained significant momentum, with major companies such as Adidas, Nike, and Levi Strauss facing public pressure to divest from Israel.

Another example is the boycott of South Africa. The anti-apartheid movement in the 1980s was fueled by a global boycott of South African goods, which helped to shine a light on the country's brutal system of racial segregation and pressure on the government to end it.

In recent years, the boycott movement has expanded to include countries such as Sudan, Iran, and Myanmar, with activists calling for economic sanctions and divestment from companies doing business in these countries.

The boycott movement is a powerful tool in the struggle for justice, and its success depends on the collective action of people around the world. By supporting boycotts, we can help to bring about change and ensure that human rights are respected around the globe.
Britain lifts oil ban against SA


The Star Bureau

London

Britain's Tory Government has brought oil relief to South Africa. It has quietly ended the British ban on the export — "direct or indirect" — to this country of its prized North Sea oil.

The decision — a total reversal of the former Labour Government policy — means that Britain will help South Africa's efforts to beat the Iranian oil embargo imposed after the Shah's overthrow.

Dr Schalk van der Merwe, Minister of Industrial Affairs, today welcomed Britain's new approach but said it was still early to gauge the effect. He said the decision was not a complete surprise.

The South African Government had been investigating various possible lines of crude oil supply and North Sea oil was one of the possibilities. His department would have to study the situation before he could comment on the effects, Dr van der Merwe said.

John Torode of The Guardian reports that the Foreign Secretary's lord Carington, told British Petroleum to the effect that it is "entitled to enter into swap arrangements under which North Sea oil can be sold to EEC companies."

"Those companies will, in turn, be free to divert Third World oil - otherwise destined for Europe - for sale in South Africa," the former Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, said last night the decision made Britain "part of the link in supplying South Africa."

He said: "This puts Britain in the firing line, at a time when South Africa is still floating UN sanctions resolutions."

"The decision is to be condemned both on the grounds of domestic energy supplies and overall foreign policy."

The fuel crisis in South Africa may ease and petrol prices stabilise says local oil experts, Harvey Thomas, The Star's Motor Editor, reports.

They add:

- While it's unlikely that the price of petrol and diesel will go down, it's also unlikely that there will be further big increases.

- The cost of North Sea oil (23.59 dollars a barrel) will balance any upward movement in the Rotterdam spot market.

The new communique is expected confirming an agreement to hold oil imports to present levels coupled with higher Opec prices, will mean a reduction in world demand.

This will depress the already falling spot market prices. The Star's Geneva correspondent reports that increases in North Sea oil prices made earlier this year by British Petroleum and the British National Oil Corporation directly contributed to the decision by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting countries to increase their own prices at their meeting there.

The news, which put North Sea oil level with the highest prices being charged by Opec members under their new two-tier system "Definitely contributed to the pressure," Shukh Zake Yemane, the Saudi Arabian Oil Minister, said after yesterday's meeting.

"You are not always neutral and objective about prices," Shukh Yeman said.

"You talk of Opec forcing up the price — then it becomes the Arabs — you never mention our efforts to hold back prices."

**Pegged**

The price motorists pay at the pumps is pegged to South Africa paying a spot price of 35 dollars a barrel.

British Oil will reduce our dependence on the spot markets, perhaps almost completely if supplies are adequate.

"It will also give this country a far stronger power base for securing crude from other sources as well as improving our ability to negotiate favourable prices."

The oil men point out that since South Africa's present consumption of imported crude is "meagre" in comparison with the majority of industrial nations, North Sea oil could provide the majority of local supplies — "without it really hurting other markets."

South African oil men believe the country should also benefit from the fact that the world may be heading towards a temporary surplus of crude sometime next year.

They say the Economic Summit of the world's top seven industrialised nations in Tokyo, where a
Sanctions 'prelude to war' speech

Johannesburg — Widespread sanctions against South Africa would "lift the curtain on war in southern Africa," Irish politician and journalist Conor Cruise O'Brien said here yesterday.

Dr. O'Brien, who was speaking at an Institute of Race Relations conference, said he believed sanctions in themselves would not work, but would lead to subsequent military action.

He was in favour of there being a threat of general mandatory sanctions, but he hoped they would never come.

"He believed they were likely to come if South Africa did not proceed seriously on the road to dismantling its present system," Dr. O'Brien said. He did not regard the scrapping of the apartheid as being altogether negligible.

"It has symbolic importance," Dr. O'Brien — editor-in-chief of the Observer in Britain, who was involved in United Nations action in the Congo crisis — said.

Administrative bodies could ensure that elections in South West Africa were fair, he added. He referred to some proceedings of the UN General Assembly as taking place roughly in the spirit of a football match." — (Sapa)
Navorsings-Fellows het saamlik tot die Sentrum se program bygedra: dr Sheila T. van der Horst, afgetrede mede-professor van Ekonomie, U.K., en professor J.L. Boschoff, gewese Rektor van die Universiteit van die Noorde.

LIDMAATSkap

Sous voorheen gemeld, is die Sentrum vir Interdisciplinêre Studie van kultuur en Koms (IPS) nie langer deel van die Universiteit van die Noorde nie.

Maar John Mills, die eie verlage van die Sentrum se Funksionêle Beplanning, het begin dink dit nie. Hy het begin met 'n maatlik klankende baat bespreek om iets soos Interdisciplinêre Studie van kultuur en Koms te stifte met die doel om die Sentrum se doel teen te skakel.

Ek is altyd dankbaar vir die geleentheid wat die jaarverslag bied om my waardering te betuig aan lede van die Akademiese Advieskomitee en die Heemraad vir hulle leiding, aanmoediging en belang in die aangegaan strede van die Sentrum.

Die Universiteit van Kasasjstad het benoemings in hydraas tot die bedryfsskote van die Sentrum, ook vir die Sentrum se instagting in kantoorruimte voorstien. Met die uitbreiding van personeel het ons die boustie op die laer...
Call Deconisation

Disinvestment
"But advocating disinvestment in South Africa was "detrimental" because the effects would be felt by blacks more than whites. "Disinvestment would mean fewer jobs for our people," Mr. Jackson had been telling the wrong people - people who did not have the understanding or sympathy for a place like Soweto.

Meanwhile yesterday, a leading black consciousness figure, Mr. Tom Manthata, delivered a scathing attack on Mr. Jackson over his role in engineering a get-together of South Africa's three most influential black leaders.

Chances of further talks between Dr. Ntheleto Molotla, Chief Buthelezi and Bishop Desmond Tutu began to cloud as black consciousness proponents rejected any accommodation of people working in government - created institutions.

Mr. Manthata, who is a member of Dr. Molotla's Soweto Committee of Ten, accused Mr. Jackson of being "a diabolical Western agent" who had his eye on election to the United States Congress.

Mr. Manthata, a former Terrorism Act detainee who works in the South African Council of Churches' justice and conciliation group, said Dr. Molotla would also realise Mr. Jackson's motives were "to be viewed as the man who got black South African leaders together so that he can get international credibility."

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The civil rights campaigner said he would ask President Carter to share his human rights concern with the Republic of South Africa.

Referring to his success in getting three influential rival black leaders around the conference table, he said "The leadership must not be divided on missions. It must be united on method."

Mr. Jackson also referred to the strong criticism levelled at him by a member of the Committee of Ten, Mr. Tom Manthata. "The fact that we met, that we overcome petty hostility and that there will be another meeting is a victory," he said. — JDC

Press on President Carter that if the President used the same kind of energy he used with Israel's Mr. Menachem Begin and Egypt's President Anwar Sadat, there might be a breakthrough in South Africa.

Mr. Jackson also referred to the strong criticism levelled at him by a member of the Committee of Ten, Mr. Tom Manthata. "The fact that we met, that we overcome petty hostility and that there will be another meeting is a victory," he said. — JDC
GERMAN church groups are planning an anti-South Africa campaign starting on October 19 — the anniversary of the 1977 clampdown on 18 black organisations and two newspapers.

And yesterday a counter campaign was launched in Johannesburg, with pledges of support from Mr. David Thebebali, chairman of the Soweto Community Council, and Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, general secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers.

The campaign started with students of the Rand Afrikaanse University collecting signatures to a petition to be sent to the secretary-general of the World Council of Churches.

The signatures will be collected between now and November 16.

The campaign for peace and work in South Africa is the brainchild of the Association of German Churches in Southern Africa.

Campaign

The campaign is led by Mr. Henry Thilo, who is the secretary of the African National Congress in South Africa.

The campaign has been supported by various organizations and individuals, including the United Nations and the United States government.

In South Africa and Volkswagen withdrew from the South African market.

- the United Nations and its special representatives have called for sanctions against South Africa.

- the United States and other Western countries have called for a boycott of South African goods.

- The Co-op London, one of the largest retail groups in the world, has decided to stop importing South African products.

- In 1977, many South African products were banned from being imported into the country.
Pledging his support, Mr Thebehali said he was speaking for Mr Average, not people who can afford three meals and call for boycotts.

Mrs Mvubelo said: "We detest apartheid, but we still need our piece of bread."

"Those who call for disinvestment are advocating revolution."

She pledged the support of the 20,000 members of her union.

Among the people who pledged support for the campaign yesterday were: Mr J Wassermann, chairman of the Students' Representative Council, Dr Luis Leal, a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr D F P van der Merwe, assistant secretary of the SA Typographical Union.

Pater Wolf, of the German Catholic Church, Mr L Renzen, the Benoni National Party MP, Mr David Thebehali, chairman of the Soweto Council, Mrs H P Pfannenbusch, of Christian Fur Partnership.

Mrs Lucy Mvubelo, National Union of Clothing Workers, Mr A Widman, PPP MP for Hillbrow, Dr J Kruger, lecturer at the University of South Africa and Mr R S Schmidt.
Wide reaction to coal boycott call

ABOUT 40 000 black workers on 27 mines would suffer if overseas countries stopped importing coal from South Africa, the managing director of the Transvaal Coal Owners' Association, Mr R C E Bird, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He was commenting on a statement by the secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, at a press conference in Copenhagen this week in which he urged all countries to halve imports of South African coal "even if it meant black workers would lose their jobs".

"Bishop Tutu has probably never been to a coal mine. He should visit one of the new coal mines and see what has been done to benefit the workers," Mr Bird said.

The chairman of the Christian Council of Southern Africa, the Rev Fred Shaw, accused the bishop of "sentencing" blacks to starvation and unemployment.

Mr Shaw challenged Bishop Tutu to be sincere in his call by accepting a 90% cut in his salary and that "the South African Council of Churches, which Bishop Tutu represents, reject all foreign subsidies".

"Bishop Tutu has shed all pretensions regarding his true desires for South Africa which is not the ending of apartheid, but turning South Africa into a socialist state."

The chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Nthato Motlana, said he found Bishop Tutu's reported remarks "surprising and puzzling", but said the bishop might have been misquoted and declined to comment before speaking to him.

The acting secretary-general of the SACC, Dr Wolfram Kistner, said he thought the bishop's remarks probably had the backing of many politically aware blacks.

The general director of the South Africa Foundation, Mr Peter Sowur, said economic pressure of the kind advocated by Bishop Tutu would not bring about political change in the short term.

The Minister of Justice and the Interior, Mr A L Schlebusch, yesterday expressed disgust at the bishop's boycott demand. — Sapa.
Tutu will be condemned—Sebe

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN—The call by Bishop Desmond Tutu, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches for a boycott of South African coal exports would be condemned by generations to come, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, said yesterday.

Interviewed here, he said Bishop Tutu's remarks had not surprised him, but were very annoying to people burdened with daily problems regarding employment.

Saying that there was human problems in South Africa which had nothing to do with politics, the problems of people who do not have food or shelter, Bishop Tutu was speaking of his own people by calling for a boycott of South African coal.

Chief Sebe said the bishop made irresponsible comments and stirred up trouble among the Xhosa people without ever supplying any answers to these problems.

The president of the Methodist conference, the Rev. Dr. Donald Veysee said in Durban yesterday that no mandate existed for Bishop Tutu to make his call on foreign countries not to import South African coal.

The Methodist Church is a member of the SACC.

Dr. Veysee said he was nevertheles aware that individual members of the Methodist Church would sympathise with Bishop Tutu's stand.

The chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr. Nhato Motiana, said he found Bishop Tutu's reported remarks "surprising and puzzling."

Dr. Motiana said the bishop might have been misquoted and he declined to comment further before speaking to him.

The managing director of the Transvaal Coal Owners' Association, Mr. R. C. E. Bird, said 40,000 black workers on 27 mines would suffer if overseas countries stopped importing coal from South Africa.

The chairman of the Christian League of Southern Africa, the Rev. Fred Shaw, accused the bishop of "sentencing" blacks to starvation and unemployment.

Mr. Shaw challenged Bishop Tutu to be sincere in his call by accepting a 90 per cent cut on his salary and that 'the SACC reject all foreign subsidies.'

The acting secretary-general of the SACC, Dr. Wolfran Roubal, said he thought the bishop's remarks probably had the backing of many politically aware blacks.

The Minister of Justice and the Interior, Mr. A. L. Schlebusch, expressed disgust at the bishop's demand.

The chairman of the Soweto Council, Mr. David Thebebali, challenged the mandate of Bishop Tutu to speak for the black workers on South Africa's coal mines.

"We are tired of these South African Jesse Jacksons who use our blacks as a political football. The vast majority of us, whatever our political leanings, have no comfortable position as benefactors to support us when the chips are down." —SAPA.
HOT BUTTERSCOTCH SAUCE

1 T syrup
2 T brown sugar
squeeze lemon juice

Put butter, sugar, syrup into a pan and cook to a rich brown toffee, draw aside, add water, sauce and pour onto custard. Serve hot with ice-cream.

BRANDY SAUCE

(Make a white sauce with 1/2 oz butter, 1 oz flour, 1/2 pt milk, add 1/2 oz sugar and 2 t brandy)

K.W.V. Paarl

TOMATO SAUCE

4 tomatoes
4 sliced onions
4 t sugar
8 level t maize

1. Wash and cut tomatoes.
2. Put tomatoes, onions seasoning, boil until
3. Sieve, add maize,...

BARBECUE SAUCE

2 onions, chopped fine
2 t Worcester sauce
1 t salt

Mix all ingredients tog.

Melt butter in saucepan. Add flour; cook till brown. Beat in cream and wine. Whip very well. Boil for 5 minutes. Add salt and pepper to taste and chopped parsley.

BOYCOTT AND THE BISHOP.
UK and Spain in SA arms embargo row

SUNDAY POST Correspondent

The Anti-Apartheid Movement in London suspects that the civilians being trained in Britain on Plessey radar equipment are employees of Armscor, South Africa’s arms manufacturing corporation.

Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington this week wrote to the AAM and said three South African Defence Force members were being trained in Britain. But, he said, they had been working under the leadership of a “civilian expert.”

He said the SADF men had left the United Kingdom and only civilians had been allowed to stay to continue their training.

Lord Carrington denied that the Plessey deal was a breach of the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa.

The controversy is likely to have developments in the United States because the Plessey system sold to South Africa is believed to incorporate hardware produced by the Digital Equipment Corporation, an American company with a plant in Ireland.

Meanwhile the Spanish engineering firm Barreiros Hermanos has vigorously denied allegations that it is supplying South Africa with arms through the back door.

“We are not in the arms business and never will be,” a company spokesman said this week.

“We are being harassed in the world press for a few purely commercial deals we have had with South Africa involving commercial vehicles,” he said.

But a spokesman for the Spanish Foreign Ministry confirmed that investigations into the dealing of Barreiros with several countries, including South Africa, were continuing.

It is believed the company is to be prosecuted for allegedly using false documents in several violations of the UN arms embargo against South Africa.

The South African Government has refused to comment on the allegations.
Sanctions: A Monster

Three to SA — Mwabela

POST, Thursday, September 13, 1979

Page 15
Sanctions loom, Owen warns SA

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The former British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Dr David Owen, warned last night that economic sanctions might soon be applied against South Africa.

Delivering the annual Feetham Memorial address at the University of the Witwatersrand, he said this could happen if South Africa blocked 'progress on Zimbabwe, Rhodesia and Namibia,' or if there was no major change of policy over the next 10 years.

Dr Owen made it clear, too, that he supported economic sanctions.

Dr Owen disclosed that in 1977 and 1978, Britain, France, Germany and the US had come close to accepting a mandatory ban on all government support for promotion and new investment in South Africa.

'We hoped instead by persuasion and pressure for progress over negotiated settlements for Namibia and Rhodesia,' Dr Owen said.

DR DAVID OWEN . . .

arms embargo influenced by death of Biko.

We felt that progress in these neighbouring countries would help to achieve the dismantling of apartheid.

Economic sanctions by the UN had been avoided because of the veto power of the three permanent Western members of the Security Council.

MOBILISATION

He said none of the Western countries who traded to any sizeable extent with South Africa would wish to take action which would reduce their own exports or reduce the return on foreign investment.

'Yet political and economic international pressures are now being mobilised by African and other Third World countries against Western interests. The balance of economic argument is tilting.'

'What happens inside South Africa as well as Namibia or Rhodesia could be the flashpoint.'

'The passing of the mandatory arms embargo in November 1977 was strongly influenced by the circumstances surrounding the death of Steve Biko,' he said.

THEIR LINKS

Both France and West Germany had extended economic links with black Africa.

He said that if the Government were to restrict further Press freedoms the three Western powers would find it impossible to block UN resolutions in order to promote a course calculated to encourage reform.'
Sanctions are still possible
— Owen

The former British Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, warned last night that economic sanctions could soon be applied against South Africa.

He said this could happen should South Africa block "progress on Zimbabwe Rhodesia and SWA/Namibia" or if there were no major change of policy in South Africa in the next 10 years.

Dr Owen made it clear he supported economic sanctions as a method of peaceful pressure.

PRESSURE

Delivering the 14th annual Richard Feetham Memorial Lecture at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr Owen said in spite of all the obvious weaknesses, he believed economic sanctions had been, and still were, a pressure in bringing about majority rule in Rhodesia and had not themselves stimulated the growth of violence.

He said when he was Foreign Secretary during 1977 and 1978, Britain, France, Germany and the US had come close to accepting a mandatory ban on all government support for promotion and new investment in South Africa.

But they resisted attempts for mandatory economic measures, mainly in relation to SWA/Namibia and Rhodesia.

"We hoped instead, by persuasion and pressure, for progress over what we saw as the two priority issues, negotiated settlements for Namibia and Rhodesia."

"The passing of the mandatory arms embargo in November 1977 was strongly influenced by the circumstances surrounding the death of Steve Biko," he said.

"Such is the strength of feeling about apartheid that if a South African Government were to restrict further press freedoms then the three Western Security Council powers would find it impossible to modify or block UN resolutions in order to promote a course calculated to encourage reform," he said.
Owen warns over sanctions

JOHANNESBURG — The world would exert growing pressure on South Africa in the form of economic sanctions unless it saw evidence of a real change of heart on apartheid, the former British Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, warned last night.

Tinkering around with apartheid, delaying radical action to dismantle its institutions and resisting the minimum need which was the ending of minority rule was a recipe for violence, he said.

Delivering the Richard Feetham Memorial lecture to a capacity audience at the University of the Witwatersrand last night, Dr Owen urged that the groundwork be laid for negotiations with black leaders, including those in exile and in prison like Nelson Mandela.

He said that, so far, economic sanctions by mandatory UN decision had been avoided by the veto power of the three Western Security Council permanent members.

"Yet, political, and what is far more important, economic international pressures are now being mobilised by African and other Third World countries against Western interests," he said.

The balance of economic argument was all the time tilting against South Africa.

"From now on no wise American or French President or British Prime Minister will ever rule out in principle, in some circumstances, agreeing to mandatory economic sanctions."

France's important political and economic dialogue with many African countries was re-emphasised by the recent French refusal to allow visas for the Springbok rugby team.

"Federal Germany under the liberal Foreign Minister, Herr Genscher, has also deepened its economic links with black Africa and does not wish to be outflanked politically by the DDR (East Germany), now as active in Africa as Cuba."

France and Germany were less dependent than Britain on South African trade and were less at risk in supporting a UN sanction call.

Nigeria was now a very important oil supplier to the United States. The US Senate, traditionally sympathetic to South Africa, would be under pressure from the US president for economic realism in the country's trade with South Africa.

"It would be economic suicide for Britain to veto alone and it would lead to a savage political and moral isolation," he said.

The government's reported readiness to review the security laws, some of Dr Piet Koornhof's recent statements and the Prime Minister's visit to Soweto were signs of potential movement. However, it was in actions and not words that blacks would judge whether apartheid was being dismantled or merely adapted, Dr Owen said. — DDC.
SAA faces new ban worry

By Kevin Murray
Air Correspondent

South African Airways faces another ban on airspace on its international flights.

China is poised to seal one of Asia's busiest air corridors, which could force SAA to reroute its flights to Hong Kong.

The international route known as Amber One - a jet high-way used by at least 24 aircraft every day - is threatened by Chinese moves to impose overflight bans from October 28.

A spokesman for SAA said today: "We use this route, but so far we have heard nothing about this ban."

The air corridor links tourist meccas like Saigon, Vientiane and the South China Sea with Hong Kong via Thailand.

SAA flies over the South China Seas to Hong Kong twice a week from Johannesburg, and pool partner British Airways flies the same route once a week.

The SAA spokesman said: "We will have to look at alternative arrangements once we receive official notification of the ban."

All the airlines which use this air corridor will probably have to re-route flights to avoid the banned overflight areas, adding extra time and increased fuel consumption to each flight.

It could force the airlines to carry out some complicated flight rescheduling.
UN teams warn against SA oil sanctions

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Two United Nations economic study teams have emphasised the potentially disastrous effect that UN mandated oil sanctions against South Africa would have on Lesotho and Botswana.

Without referring to their dependence on South African supplies, the UN missions have reported on the ripple effect of the cutoff of Iraqi oil to the two black states to establish strategic oil reserves.

The UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, sent the study teams to the two countries after a request by the General Assembly last year.

Their reports to Dr Waldheim say that Botswana has begun work on a storage facility paid for by the West German Government, who have also pledged to provide a third of the oil needed. Negotiations are under way with other suppliers for the rest.

But, says the report, "the Government is encountering some difficulty in procuring these supplies from the South African market, since the authorities there are reluctant to allow in Botswana what they consider to be stockpiles."

The Botswana Government is concerned about future restrictions of crude oil supplies to South Africa, and the ever-present danger of disruption to the Rhodesian Zimbabwe-owned rail service through the country.

The R7200000 project, of which more than a third is being paid by the West German Government, will provide storage depots at Gaborone and Francistown to ensure a three to four-month supply of oil.

Lesotho has been less fortunate, according to the UN report. The ripple effect of higher prices charged by South Africa for all petroleum products has had "a particularly grave impact" on rural communities.

Lesotho has also been asked to contribute to a fund to help finance the Sasol 3 project. The government wants to establish an oil reserve similar to the Botswana project — but no donors have been found, says the UN report.
Trouble for SA in coal protest

Argus Correspondent

PARIS. — Militant coal miners who took over a huge ore carrier loaded with 120,000 tons of South African coal have provided a foretaste of problems ahead for South Africa.

The 200 men from the communist-led CGT trade union took over the 120,000-ton vessel Penchateau after it had docked at Le Havre, France's second biggest port, with its huge cargo from Richards Bay.

Businessmen, here warned yesterday that it is South Africa's very success in exporting to France that is likely to bring increasing strife and militant disruptive action which could undermine future sales.

This incident was the first of its type. But it comes against a drop in French coal output — down by 5.8 percent last year — and increased imports, particularly from Africa and West Germany. Imports of coal last year, for the first time, totalled more than the whole of France's domestic output.

Union members demanded to know why the country should import coal from South Africa when it has ample reserves and when 1.3-million were unemployed in France.

It is not an argument likely to go down well with the Prime Minister Mr. Raymond Barre. Official figures show that France can import coal 60 percent cheaper than mining it at home.

France produced 32,4-million tons of coal last year, and the drop in production followed statements by the Government that it intended to boost coal imports even further.
US could wipe SA off the travel map

By Kevin Murray, Air Correspondent

South Africa would be wiped off the world travel map if America succeeds in its present efforts to decontrol international air transport, the Margo Commission of Inquiry into civil aviation has been told.

Dr Umberto Nordio, executive chairman of the board of Alitalia, Italy’s world airline, told this to the five-man commission last week.

Dr Nordio is also a member of a task force set up to reshape the International Air Transport Association, following American efforts to scrap international air regulations.

CHALLENGE

The American Civil Aviation Board (CAB) has challenged regulations laid down by IATA, which controls international air fares, traffic rights and general airline policies.

South African Airways is a member of the association.

The CAB claims that any airline should be allowed to operate on any route, fixing its own prices.

Dr Nordio, who visited South Africa to make contact with officials of SAA, was asked by the commission to explain air transport matters in his capacity as one of the “wise men” of IATA.

FALL OUT

He said one of the effects of deregulation would be that South Africa would fall out of the mainstream of world air travel, as had happened to small communities in America.

Dr Nordio said after deregulation in America, airlines had dropped their services to these smaller communities to concentrate on price battles on the major routes.

Smaller communities had suffered, as feeder airlines moved in, offering travel at higher prices and with longer journey times.

PERIPHERAL

“This would also happen here, with South Africa being a peripheral country in the industrialised world,” he told a Press conference in Johannesburg.

Dr Nordio has come to South Africa to negotiate amendments to the pool agreement. Alitalia has with South African Airways.

He said his airline was planning to replace the DC-10 aircraft on its South Africa route with Boeing 747s from about 1981.

The Italian Government refused to approve an Alitalia purchase of DC-10s after the uncertainty surrounding the Chicago Airport disaster, in which a DC-10 crashed, killing 273 people.
Danger paths in minefield of sanctions

**QUESTION:**

**DEFERRED**

Pretoria Bureau

A FOREIGN affairs expert said yesterday that the sanctions threat to South Africa appeared to have cooled off — but he warned on six areas of action which he said could lead to wide-ranging economic sanctions.

Dr D J Geldenhuyse of the SA Institute of International Affairs told the Political Science Association Congress in Pretoria that in the meantime the country could expect an extended range of limited, selective sanctions.

He said the Government was patently anxious to try and convince black South Africans, and the world, that sanctions would hurt both blacks and whites, but blacks more so.

"The problem, however, is that there is good reason to believe that a large number of blacks see sanctions as aimed at the system and thus at a group, and that even if it hurts the "innocent" it is a cost to be borne for the sake of the objective sought," he said.

According to Dr Geldenhuyse, past trends showed six possible courses which could lead to wide-ranging sanctions. They were:

- Another "October 1977"-style security clampdown or another "Soweto"
- "Foreign military adventures," although not necessarily on the scale of the Angolan action
- Actual or perhaps even suspected procurement of nuclear arms
- The alleged denial of human rights to South African blacks — arguments advanced by other countries suggested that even the perpetration of the status quo could provide grounds
- A unilateral withdrawal by South Africa from the United Nations plan for South West Africa independence, and recourse to an internal settlement
- The fact that although South Africa did not appear as vulnerable over its stand on Zimbabwe-Rhodesia now as it had before black rule, it was still seen as the one country able to persuade or coerce the Rhodesian government to reach settlement with the Patriotic Front and Britain.

Dr Geldenhuyse said that while it could be argued that South Africa should narrow the field, elimination of factors such as the SWA and Rhodesia questions could lead to intensified action on the "major and toughest of Southern Africa's problems — apartheid in South Africa."

But solutions to these problems could mean a respite from the Western powers, depending on the nature of settlements reached.

Without participation by the major trading partners — three of which had veto rights in the United Nations Security Council — there was little chance of economic sanctions being applied with any considerable measure of success, he said.

Although it appeared that the situation had cooled off significantly, this did not mean that the country was now free of sanctions threats, Dr Geldenhuyse said.

(assume there are no other items causing timing differences)

3. How will the answer to 2. be affected by the existence of an extraordinary gain on disposal of a division of the company, amounting to R70 000, all of which was taxable, in the 19.7 financial year?

4. How does the answer to 3. change if the R70 000 is now a deductible loss, which can be set off against the taxable income from other sources of R50 000? Draw up the income statement assuming the deferral method is used.

5. Further to Note 4, assume now that the company has a set profit before depreciation of R60 000 in 19.8.

Draw up the income statement for the 19.8 financial year under a) liability method

b) deferral method

Assume the tax rate remains 42%
Dutch Leftwing to demand sanctions

Own Correspondent

AMSTERDAM. — Sanctions against South Africa are high on the agenda for next week's budget debate in the Dutch parliament - but the political conflict which has erupted around this issue makes firm action unlikely.

Sanctions legislation is one of three issues which spotlight the gulf between the centre and Rightwing partners in the Netherlands' shaky coalition government. Some observers are even predicting the collapse of Prime Minister Dries van Agt's government over the issue.

The Christian Democrat Appeal (CDA) and the Rightwing Liberal Party (VVD) govern with a four-seat majority over the combined opposition.

Though it is the stronger partner with 49 of the 77 government seats, the CDA is, nevertheless, weaker than the opposition Labour Party, which has 53 seats. Just to survive, the CDA has had to make considerable concessions to the VVD's conservative influence.

And the budget debate will draw attention to the VVD's demands concerning the policy of reduced government spending, nuclear power and sanctions against South Africa.

The sanctions Bill was introduced in 1976 under Mr. Joop den Uyl's Labour Party government to force Dutch companies and their subsidiaries abroad to honour national sanctions against any country. The Bill does not name any country, but it is chiefly intended as a weapon to be used against South Africa.

The Bill passed the Lower House in 1977 after fierce VVD opposition. One of its most ardent critics then was a VVD backbencher, Mr. Gijs van Aarde denne - now Minister for Economic Affairs.

He argued the Bill could prove a dangerous handicap to Dutch business because it allowed for unilateral Dutch sanctions as well as for support of United Nations measures.

This view is backed now by Foreign Minister Dr. Hans van der Klaauw (a VVD member), who maintains that the Netherlands cannot afford independent economic measures against South Africa.

Mr. Van Aardenne's second argument was that Dutch money should be poured into South Africa to give the Dutch Government a lever to force the changes in South Africa.

His pleas were rejected in the Lower House, but found support in the more conservative Senate, where the sanctions Bill has been stalled for almost two years.

Legislative procedure does not permit the Senate to reject the sanctions Bill entirely, but the process does allow considerable scope for delaying tactics - which Mr. Van Aardenne has been employing.

Last month, a Labour Party Senator, Mr. Jan van den Heu vel, resigned in protest against the delay of the Bill.

All that is required is Mr. Van Aardenne's signature to restart the legislative process.

This week, Labour Party and CDA MPs combined to demand action on the sanctions Bill, and CDA parliamentary leader, Mr. Ruud Lubbers, has been given the job of whupping Mr. Van Aardenne into line.

The question next week will be whether Mr. Van Aardenne feels strongly enough on the issue to make it a crisis point.

Mr. Van Aardenne knows that his resignation on this issue would almost certainly topple the rickety coalition in an explosion of old animosities.

Since current trends do not suggest a second cabinet involving his Liberal Party, Mr. Van Aardenne is likely to opt for compromise rather than crisis.

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The tax rate remains 42%
GENERALLY ACCEPTED ACCOUNTING PRACTICE

APPLIED EXAMPLES

QUESTIONS

DEFERRED TAX

A. Alpha Limited acquired an item of new plant for R60 000 on 1 May 19.6. Depreciation is provided at 12% per annum. A 25% initial allowance is granted for tax purposes, wear and tear being 20% on the reducing balance. Tax rates were 40% in 19.6 and 42% in 19.7, and taxable income amounted to R45 000 and R50 000 respectively, for the financial years ended 31.12.19.6 and 19.7.

1. What is
   the
   income tax
   payable
   in the
   initial
   year?

2. Show how income tax will be
   computed in the
   succeeding
   years.

3. How will the income be
   accounted for in the
   financial
   statements?

4. How does the
   income fit into the
   income statement?

5. Further to the
   previous
   question:

   Draw up the income statement for the 19.8 financial year under:
   a) liability method
   b) deferral method

Assume the tax deferral rate remains 42%.
SA fruit juice 'packed in Mozambique'

By STEPHEN WRIGHTSVEEN

CAPE TOWN — South Africa is exporting apple juice to the Middle East — in tin cans marked in Arabic and labelled 'packed in Mozambique.'

This emerged when a number of the cans became available in a Cape Town cafe this week.

"They were not meant for sale in South Africa," Mr A M Ballendine, of AppleTree Pure Fruit Juices Pty Ltd, in Elgin, said.

A number of the cans were sold by a cabs cafe, the May Snack Bar, on Barrack Street.

The Cape Times was told at the cafe that the 330g cans of AppleTree juice had been obtained from Wynberg Produce Market Pty Ltd. "We haven't many cans left. They are hopefully underpriced.

The caps were on sale for R1.50 while a 330ml bottle of AppleTree costs R2.50.

Mr Ivan Atlas, of Wynberg Produce, a branch of Metro Cash and Carry, told the Cape Times that the cans had been bought from AppleTree. The caps had also been packed by AppleTree.

Mr Ballendine said everyone had "gone mad" over the low prices and that he had asked the Cape Times to AppleTree.

When first asked about the cans, Mr Ballendine said the cans "shouldn't be on sale in Cape Town.

"They were manufactured for our Middle East market and the cans are normally shipped by container.

"Sometimes, too many cans were manufactured for the container and the surplus was sold off to "the Defence Force up in South West Africa at a special price."

He said the reason for the local sales was probably because "some smart alec" had sold the cans on returning from the border.

He asked for no publicity as the matter was "classified.

Asked if this was to do with the label on the cans which read "packed in Mozambique," he said, "we will be exposing the fact that we're using special documentation.

Later he contacted the Cape Times and said he had made inquiries into the sales. They were part of a 3,000 case sale to Metro Cash and Carry.

"They were sold on the strict understanding that they would not be sold in South Africa," Mr Ballendine said.

"We are the only ones who sell them in Mozambique."
Conference a test of boycott opinions

Religion Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The annual conference of the Methodist Church is likely to be an important test of multiracial church opinion on calls for economic boycotts of South Africa.

This prospect was raised yesterday when a white lay representative from East London, Mr Robin Midlane, announced he would appeal to the conference to distance itself from Bishop Desmond Tutu's recent "coal boycott" statement in Denmark.

Last weekend the secretary of the Christian Citizenship Department of the church, the Rev Austin Massey, gave notice that he would ask the conference to "reaffirm its support for the prophetic role and leadership" of Bishop Tutu in the S.A. Council of Churches.

Mr Midlane contended that in an address to the conference on Monday night Bishop Tutu had repeated what he had said in Denmark. Mr Midlane tabulated a motion calling on the conference to "view with alarm the recent call (by Bishop Tutu) to overseas companies to disinvest in South Africa."

(Bishop Tutu implied in his Danish statement that Denmark should end coal imports from South Africa.)

The motion said the policy Bishop Tutu advocated "must inevitably lead to increased unemployment among all sectors of the population, resulting in hardship and malnutrition. This is clearly incompatible with our policy of being a caring church."

It added that the church should "disassociate itself from Bishop Tutu's remarks."

The church, like other multiracial churches in the country, includes ministers and leaders ranging from those who support the term "freedom fighters" for forces fighting the Government to those who call them "terrorists."

Leaders in the major multiracial churches, which have millions of South Africans as members, are divided on the question of boycotts.

Acknowledging this is a statement after their recent special meeting in Johannesburg, the leaders said a "significant constituency" supported the contents of Bishop Tutu's call. But others differed, they said.

Their statement amounted to support of Bishop Tutu's right to express his views and recognition that he was "wholeheartedly committed" to working for non-violent, radical change.

Mr Massey's motion of support for Bishop Tutu offers the same backing as that given by the church leaders.
BISHOP DESMOND TUTU sees economic pressures against South Africa as the last means of achieving peaceful change. Those who condemn him for advocating economic pressures are stating there are no peaceful means, he believes.

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches made this point in an interview this week, as clouds of Government wrath gather about him.

He has criticized Denmark for buying South African coal, and said this week that foreign investment helped support a system which led a tribesman, forcibly removed from his home, to hang himself.

Bishop Tutu was recently called to a meeting with Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, the Minister of the Interior and of Justice, and Piet Roosnoff, the Minister of Co-operation and Development. He has been criticized, by implication, by Mr Louis le Grange, the Minister of Police.

But while the controversy rages, Bishop Tutu stands steadfastly to his views.

"We need the help of the international community to persuade us to come to the negotiating table. We require this to be done by political, diplomatic, and above all by economic pressure," he said.

Bishop Tutu sees those as peaceful means, with economic pressure being the most severe of the peaceful means.

"If we cannot consider all peaceful means, then people are in effect saying there are no peaceful means," he said.

Bishop Tutu stressed that actual economic boycotts did not have to take place.

"If even the threat of economic sanctions could bring us to the negotiating table, that is all one requires," he said.

"Can people tell me what other peaceful means are available?" he asked.

Bishop Tutu said he acted as a Christian and not as a politician.

"My deepest concern is for my country. I am committed to peaceful and fundamental change," he added.

Bishop Tutu said that despite attacks on him by those committed to violent change, he remained committed to peaceful means.

He mentioned two occasions when he advocated peaceful means in the face of those who wanted violence. Both times he was badly received, but his views did not change.

Two years ago in Vancouver, he advocated peaceful change while members of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Zulu and ZAPU called for violence in Southern Africa. "My thesis had the floating properties of lead, and was accepted with stony silence," he said.

Last year, when still Bishop of Lesotho, he pleaded at a meeting at the University at Roma, for peaceful change. "I have never had such a rough passage," he said.

But despite such experience, he still believed in peaceful change.

"I will still be committed till the end," he said.

Turning to commentary on himself, he noted that the main criticism against him was that economic pressures would increase black unemployment and lead to more suffering.

"I am very disturbed to note that sudden altruism has emerged from the white community — possible suffering of people who may be underprivileged.

"Why has there been no outcry about the untold suffering of those who have been moved from places where they have jobs and adequate accommodation, to camps where most have no jobs?"

"Why has there been no outcry when the economy of the country is based on cheap black labour?"

"Is there no altruism about migrant labour?"

Bishop Tutu said it was better to suffer knowing there was a goal, than to suffer without any prospect of end.

Bishop Tutu said about 1 million blacks were unemployed. Some of this was "structural unemployment" and was artificially created to ensure blacks would not be "too fussy" about their jobs.

"Why is foreign investment made in capital intensive spheres and not labour intensive?" he asked.

Turning to the issue of South African exports of coal, he said South Africa needed its coal internally for projects such as Sasol II.

He commended moves by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, towards change, but said that the constellation of states policy appeared to entrench "Bantustans" even further.

"Bantustans" were at the heart of the apartheid policy, he said.

He said that if Mr Botha managed to abolish pass laws, "Bantu Education" and forced resettlement, he might have time, as black traders would be able to say: "Hold it, there is real change."

But he said Mr Botha was creating expectations of change. Perhaps the Prime Minister hoped to persuade voters to accept the dismantling of apartheid, Bishop Tutu said. But this would only work "if we have time."

Of the recent decisions by the Nde Geref Kerk to move away from discrimination, Bishop Tutu said: "We have been hoping for this kind of thing for a very long time. They are now moving in the right direction."

He predicted the Nde Geref Kerk would take the Afrikaans people with it, as the nation was wedded to the Church. Only a minority would drop by the wayside, he added.

...
The Star

Wednesday October 24 1979

The way to avoid civil disobedience

BISHOP TUTU has reiterated, in defiant terms, his stand on disinvestment. Speaking at the Methodist Church's conference in Cape Town on Monday, he spoke of the tragic consequences of a forced population removal, a system supported by foreign investment in South Africa, he said. Bishop Tutu emotionally overstated his case; foreign investment can be used as a lever to bring about change, whereas economic chaos, if it could be achieved, would cause insurmountable suffering to the black people for a long time to come, whoever ruled. Chief Buthelezi made that point in a speech at the weekend.

In the area of civil rights and civil disobedience, though, which the Methodist conference also debated, white South Africans have a real moral case to meet. Unless there is a miracle and discrimination is outlawed—and in practical terms that hardly seems feasible in South Africa—this country can expect developments along the lines of the successful US Civil Rights campaign of the 1960s. If that were to happen here, South Africans should judge their reactions very carefully.

The country must adjust. Providing separate but equal services is not adjusting; in practice the concept does not work. Neither equal facilities nor a moral case exists for petty apartheid. We cannot continue debating solutions in this framework because there are no options. There cannot be an option if a man considers the alternative (a separate entrance or a separate area) an insult. The United States had to adjust, often painfully. We shall have to learn to bear the pain as well. Already there has been change in sport, labour and schools because some people took a short cut ahead of the law. Only the conservatives felt pain. They will have to learn to adjust with the rest of us because unless we accept the challenge, we must be prepared to face civil disobedience. The alternative could be far worse than a few “sit-ins” and “demos.”
the cost of raising the necessary funds has to be taken. The funds themselves are already justified by comparison of raising them: interest on loans, or administrative costs of revenue? These are normally insignificant for project, but may affect the overall amounts available for budget. Where the methods of providing a given service use the same sources in different proportions, the decision-making can be simplified by means of Linear Programming, though health service choices cannot usually be presented in the simplified way required by this method.

2. CHOICE OF PROGRAMMES

So far, we have discussed methods of choosing means to obtain a given objective. But what tools are available to aid the choice of objectives themselves? Can anything be said on the question of the priority to be given to particular diseases or age groups, whether to allocate more to child welfare clinics or care of the aged?

2.1 Programme Budgeting

Programme budgeting, also known as budgeting by objectives, involves the presentation of expenditure data according to the objectives to which it is directed. Thus, projects to combat TB would be grouped together, parasitic problems, sanitation programmes, etc.

This is necessary:
(a) to know the cost of pursuing each objective;
(b) to group together activities with the same objectives which...
### Table: All Causes

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### Diagram: Economic Squeeze on SA

- The US hints at tighter economic sanctions against South Africa.
- Mr. Amdahl, President of the International Monetary Fund, presides over a meeting of UN members to discuss economic policies.
- The Sanctions Committee informs the Security Council of progress in economic pressures on South Africa.
- The Unionłam majority rules, and President Sarel van der Byl calls for unity among all South Africans.
- The Christian Council calls for economic solidarity among South Africans.
- The government's economic policies are reviewed by Mr. William Kum-wana, the minister of finance.
Nursing rates greater than 5/1,000 appear in Table 1. For all of these major causes of mortality, the Asian and Coloured rates exceed those of the whites.

However, in this context, what is required of a disease classification is a certain amount of similitude, and it is this that the overall rates clearly represent. The basic categories of disease are a priori immutable, and it is the manner in which they are divided that will determine the ultimate accuracy of the classification. In the case of Table 1, the overall rates for all causes of mortality are presented in a condensed form and are therefore not comparable to the detailed data for the individual age groups. In this case, the overall rates are presented in a more detailed form, and the detailed data for the individual age groups are presented in a condensed form.

Similarly, if in greater detail, the mortality in whites and non-whites at various ages. For example, in whites, mortality rates are generally lower than in non-whites, but this is not always the case. For example, in non-whites, mortality rates are generally lower than in whites, but this is not always the case. This is because the overall mortality rate is a function of both the incidence of the disease and the mortality rate of the disease. In the case of Table 1, the overall mortality rate for all causes of mortality is presented in a condensed form and is therefore not comparable to the detailed data for the individual age groups. In this case, the overall mortality rate is presented in a more detailed form, and the detailed data for the individual age groups are presented in a condensed form.

The expectation of life at birth and at a 'coloured age' is summarised in Fig. 5. It is an expectation of life for urban Africans of large size and of large size in the third and fourth decades. The rates of life for women in comparison to men, is true. Above what is of interest is the expectation of life for the third and fourth decades. The rates of life for all ages are in the range of 70 to 75 years for males and 60 to 65 years for females, a difference which is

BY SUSANNA OS AMSTAD

Dutch action in Europe would follow

Europe would follow

South Africa

half

Suzum

case says

Suzum

case says

The Dutch Parliament is poised to take

the Dutch Parliament is poised to take
REFERENCES


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with selected major categories of disease. Clearly, this is an entirely hypothetical situation. However, these competing risks life tables not only provide an indication of the relative importance of various disease categories to the overall mortality experience and also to expectation of life of the three communities, but also, since there is an approximately linear relationship between the reduction of mortality and the percentage increase in life expectancy, any improvement will give rise to a proportional improvement in the expectation of life. Thus, if the mortality associated with any of the diseases included in Fig. 6 are reduced by 50%, then the increase in the expectation of life will be 50% of the improvements indicated.

With the exception of Neoplastic Diseases and Diseases of the Circulatory System in men, the 'coloured' community stand to gain most from measures directed at the control of any of the selected diseases included in Fig. 6. Of particular importance are the infectious and Parasitic Diseases, diseases which are frequently amenable to the implementation of relatively simple methods of prevention.
Dutch promote EEC oil sanctions on SA

Own Correspondent

THE HAGUE. — The Dutch Foreign Minister, Dr Chris van der Klaauw, plans to propose formally that the European Community co-operate in oil sanctions against South Africa when the Foreign Ministers of the nine meet in Brussels tomorrow.

Sources in The Hague report that he will propose a Community study group to investigate the effectiveness of oil sanctions and the degree of EEC support for such a move.

The move follows a debate in Parliament here last week in which MPs came out in strong support of a Dutch oil embargo against South Africa. As a compromise between the radical parliamentary view and the Cabinet's own opposition to unilateral Dutch sanctions, Dr Van der Klaauw agreed to seek support for sanctions among Holland's EEC partners.

He agreed to report to Parliament on the success of his search before June next year and it is said he will call for a report from the proposed EEC study group within three to four months.

Observers in The Hague see little likelihood that Britain, West Germany and France will go along with the sanctions proposal, but there could be support from smaller countries such as Denmark.

While MPs said last week that failure to find support for sanctions would mean the Netherlands should go ahead alone next year, the Foreign Minister is strongly opposed to an independent Dutch move.

Dr Van der Klaauw has said he will support oil sanctions only if all the Community countries agree to go along with the plan.

If the study group finds even limited support for sanctions, however, the pressure on Dr Van der Klaauw in the Dutch Parliament is likely to be increased. A decision cannot be expected before next June, when the issue of unilateral sanctions will come up again.

Dutch to press for SA oil sanctions

THE HAGUE—The Dutch Foreign Minister, Dr Chris van der Klaauw, plans formally to propose that the European Community cooperate in oil sanctions against South Africa when the nine Foreign Ministers meet in Brussels tomorrow.

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The move follows a debate in Parliament here last week in which MPs came out in strong support of a Dutch oil embargo against South Africa. As a compromise between the radical parliamentary view and the Cabinet's own opposition to unilateral Dutch sanctions, Dr Van der Klaauw agreed to seek support for sanctions among Holland's EEC partners.

He agreed to report to Parliament on the success of his search before June 1 next year and it is said he will call for a report from the proposed EEC study group within three to four months.

Observers in The Hague see little likelihood that Britain, West Germany and France will go along with the sanctions proposal, but there could be support from smaller countries such as Denmark.

While MPs said last week that failure to find support for sanctions would mean The Netherlands should go ahead alone next year, the Foreign Minister is strongly opposed to an independent Dutch move.

Dr Van der Klaauw has said he will support oil sanctions only if all the community countries agree to go along with the plan.

If the study group finds even limited support for sanctions, however, the pressure on Dr Van der Klaauw in the Dutch Parliament is likely to be increased. —DDC.
### DISEASES OF THE CIRCULATORY SYSTEM

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### DISEASES OF BLOOD AND BLOOD-FORMING ORGANS

#### DUTCH CHURCH IN OIL BOYCOTT CALL

_Own Correspondent_

**AMSTERDAM.** The synod of the Hervormde Kerk in the Netherlands has written to the Prime Minister Mr Dries van Agt in support of an earlier Dutch Council of Churches call for an oil boycott against South Africa.

After a long debate last week in which a number of synod members questioned the effects of oil sanctions, members voted 26-18 to back the council's call.

Dr A H van den Heuvel, who visited South Africa earlier this year and who is secretary-general of the Hervormde Kerk, helped sway the vote when he said that all the recent moves to liberalise apartheid in South Africa were the result of foreign pressure which should therefore be maintained.

In answer to the argument that sanctions would hurt blacks more than the whites at which they would be aimed, Dr H Berkhof, chairman of the Dutch Council of Churches, said black churchmen had themselves rejected this view.

He had shared this objection to sanctions, he said, until a group of black South Africans told him they had suffered already for 300 years and they were prepared to make further sacrifices in the interest of change.

According to church leaders, Mrs A Muller, sanctions would cause only chaos. "If you want to do something to help South Africa, then you should organise prayer sessions or go there to offer direct assistance," she said.

Although there were some reservations earlier than that of the Dutch council, according to which it proposed an oil boycott — members complained that letter was too businesslike and not sufficiently evangelical — the synod agreed eventually to support the council's call to Mr Van Agt.

There was some criticism, too, of the report by Dr Van den Heuvel on his visit to South Africa. "If you choose one-sidedly to back the blacks, as Dr Van den Heuvel has done, then you eliminate the possibility of reconciliation," one member complained.

Dr Van den Heuvel said his report was "sweet in relation to the stories he had heard from the parents of some of the children killed in Soweto."
The American anti-apartheid blockade hardens

The use of American-made arms and equipment to prop up the system of apartheid is an issue that is about to be raised again in the United States... and this time perhaps more forcibly. ANTHONY RIDER reports from Washington.

- The probability that controls will achieve their purposes, considering the availability of goods from other countries.
- The compatibility of controls with overall foreign policy, including efforts to counter international terrorism, and overall policy toward the country which is the target of the proposed controls.
- The reaction of other countries to the controls.
- The effect of controls on US export performance, competitive position, reputation as a reliable supplier, and on individual companies and their employees.
- The ability of the US to enforce controls, and the foreign policy consequences of not imposing controls.

The State Department in the middle of an extensive review of export controls and is seeking views from its regional bureaus, its policy planning and human rights offices and the bureau which deals with terrorism.

When the Export Administration Act was being considered, State Department officials implied that at least some foreign policy export controls on South Africa might be kept.

One official, Douglas Hennet, said in a letter to Senator William Proxmire that "we may wish to distance ourselves from extreme acts of other governments, such as apartheid or the suspected development of a nuclear weapons capability, even if the only short-term trade effect of our controls might be to divert sales to our competitors".

South Africa's US critics do not expect all controls against South Africa to be dropped but envisage the possible exclusion of medicines and medical supplies.

This is provided for in the Export Administration Act which contains a section declaring a Congressional intention favouring exports of goods and technology which "helps meet basic human needs".

Such exclusions from the ban on export sales to the SAP and military are apparently already being considered.

There was also some debate in the State Department last year about altering the February, 1979, regulations barring exports to the SAP and military, to allow about 5% of the goods made in South Africa using US technical data to be sold to the military and police.

The definition was also considered of "insignificant quantities" of a product which a South African wholesaler would be able to resell to天真 and consequently avoiding preventing the entire export.

Another area looked at was certain "non-essential" items (like toilet paper which could be sold to the military or police.

None of these steps were taken on export controls was taken at that time but some of them may be reconsidered as part of the current review by the Carter administration.
PR firm drops SA account for 'health reasons'

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The public relations firm of Sydney S. Baron has told the South African Government that it will not be able to continue representing South African interests in America after March.

This statement was made here yesterday by Mr. Leq de Villiers, one-time Deputy Secretary of the former South African Department of Information and now deputy chairman of the Sydney S. Baron board and president of its wholly owned South African subsidiary.

He said the head of the firm, Mr. Baron, had recently had a most serious operation and that he had wanted to relinquish the South African contract because of health reasons.

As far as Mr. De Villiers was concerned, this made 'absolutely no difference' to his position with the firm which had interests which were much wider than the South African Government's account.

$350,000 DOLLARS

But by any standards, the Baron firm will miss the South African account.

According to statements required by American law and filed with the United States Department of Justice, Baron received $350,000 dollars from the South African Government in 1978.

This was the biggest item on the schedule of the firm's earnings from foreign governments in that year — which included amounts of around $200,000 from Japan and Taiwan.
Dutch Govt accused of sanctions-busting

Own Correspondent

AMSTERDAM.—Union officials at the Philips headquarters in The Netherlands have accused the Dutch Government of sanctions-breaking and helping to build the South African defence and police forces to their present levels.

The industrial branch of the major Trade Union Federation said Philips subsidiaries had continued to deliver data processing, communications and nuclear reactor equipment to South Africa in spite of the 1977 United Nations arms embargo.

The charge involves an interpretation of the arms embargo that many companies and politicians do not share. The items involved—detailed earlier this year by the Dutch anti-apartheid movement—are generally considered not to be among those on the so-called strategic items list of goods not available to South Africa.

The union claims that fingerprinting equipment offered to the South African Police could be used to facilitate pass law controls. Data processors could be of strategic military value as well as of value to the police, the union said.

The union also charged that equipment provided by the Philips subsidiary in France—Sodern—for the nuclear power plant at Koeberg, was delivered in contravention of sanctions. The Dutch Government has placed certain nuclear reactor parts on the strategic list specifically to avoid their export from The Netherlands to South Africa.

Philips, which does not usually comment on allegations of this sort, said of this attack that it did not take earlier charges any further.

The union said it would hold the parent company in Holland responsible for the activities of its subsidiaries and announced the formation of a special commission to make contact with black unions at Philips subsidiaries in South Africa.

Topic 2

T.S. Ashton : The Industrial Revolution
Phyllis Deane : The First Industrial Nation
P. Mantoux : The Industrial Revolution
P. Mathias : The First Industrial Nation
R.M. Hartwell : Causes of the Industrial Revolution in England
M.W. Flynn : Origins of the Industrial Revolution
E.J. Hobbsbaum : Industry and Empire
Clough & Cole : Economic History of Europe (esp. Ch.XI)
Heaton : Economic History of Europe (esp. Ch. XXI)
Dillard : Economic Development of the N. Atlantic Community (esp. Ch.XIV)
Fay : Great Britain from Adam Smith to the Present Day
Hunt : Property and Prophets (esp. Ch.IV)
R.M. Hartwell : The Industrial Revolution and Economic Growth
Heilbroner : The Making of Economic Society (Ch. V)
L.C.A. Knowles : Industrial and Commercial Revolutions

Topic 3

T.S. Ashton : The Industrial Revolution
Phyllis Deane : The First Industrial Revolution
Peter Mathias : The First Industrial Nation
M.W. Flynn : Origins of the Industrial Revolution
R.M. Hartwell : Causes of the Industrial Revolution in England
E.J. Hobbsbaum : Industry and Empire
R.M. Hartwell : The Industrial Revolution and Economic Growth
Dillard : Economic Development of the North Atlantic Community (Ch. 6, 7, 9, and 14 all have sections on capital)
Huberman : Man's Worldly Goods (Ch. XIV)
Heilbroner : The Making of Economic Society (Ch. V)
Dobb : Studies in the Development of Capitalism (Ch. V)
Ireland abhors SA's policies

Aug 31, 1979

DUBLIN — The Irish are showing anti-apartheid commitment, and many new opportunities to remind the world how much they abhor South Africa's policies.

Even at the summit of European Heads of Government here, where the EEC's economic problems are in focus, and apartheid is lurking from the minds of those around the conference table, the Irish Ministry of Information managed to bring in the subject.

PRESS KIT

Included in every Press Kit handed to the 400 or more foreign correspondents assembled at Dublin Castle for the summit is a copy of a speech by the Irish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Michael O'Kennedy, earlier this year as part of International Anti-Apartheid Year.

Mr. O'Kennedy made the little published speech in January, at the conference in Dublin on relations between the European Economic Community and South Africa.

In it he congratulated the Irish Anti-Apartheid
Sasol: bank under fire

LONDON — Barclays Bank, frequently under attack by anti-apartheid groups here, is again in the firing line over its investment in Sasol.

End Loans to South Africa (Elita) is demanding action against the bank and plans to picket the bank’s headquarters in Lombard Street today.

Elita will also deliver a mock oil barrel to the bank with the slogan, "Barclays fuels apartheid military."

Labour MP Mr Alex Lyon is writing to Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington to protest over Barclays’ involvement.

He is also taking up the involvement of Standard Chartered and Hill Samuel as well as that of the government’s own Export Credit Guarantee Department (ECGD).

The three British banks and the ECGD have between them invested about £76 million in Sasol.

Barclays alone subscribed for an estimated four-million shares in the recently heavily oversubscribed flotation of Sasol. — POST Bureau.

PARLEY OVER CAPTIVE ENVOY

SAN SALVADOR — The Salvadoran Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Hector Dalia Hiriart, has asked for a meeting with South Africa’s diplomatic representatives in San Salvador and with kidnapped Ambassador Archibald Gardner Dunn’s son, Robin.

Mr Dunn is ending his first week in captivity without any positive proof being provided either of his well-being or of the group which is holding him captive.

The only communication so far has been a communiqué at the weekend purporting to have come from the Popular Liberation Front — probably the most extreme and active of the El Salvadoran revolutionary movements — which claim that it has Mr Dunn lodged in a Salvadoran "revolutionary jail."

The PLF said precise conditions for Mr Dunn’s release would be disclosed at a later stage. — POST Bureau.
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Barclays alone subscribed for an estimated four million shares in the recently heavily oversubscribed flotation of Sasol. — POST Bureau.
transactions in order to
pure economic decision.

2.3.4 Balance

Plea to relax UK musicians' ban on SA

Argus argues that a strong
complementary
seven to the Association
plea to the Association

The apparent effect of LIFO on working capital
reveals a weakening structure whereas in real terms
there is actually a strengthening of the working
capital position.

Example 6

LIFO is applied for the first time during the current year
and the LIFO adjustment (being the difference between the
FIFO valuation and LIFO valuation of end of year inventory)
is R10. The tax rate is 40%. Assume a bank balance of
R20 and that tax is paid therefrom.
Dutch call for SA coal ban

HOLLAND's four anti-apartheid groups have called on the Dutch Government to ban the importation of South African coal, which, they say, is being used as a 'political weapon' to support apartheid.

Announcing the publication of a booklet called 'black diamonds from South Africa,' the Dutch anti-apartheid movement, Karios, the Southern Africa Committee and the Boycott Outspan Action Group said this week that South Africa was likely to become the world's largest exporter of coal in the 1980s.

The booklet reveals that South Africa already supplies 75 percent of the Dutch market for industrial anthracite and 20 percent of the steam coal requirement. Plans for the introduction of coal gasification could push up the steam coal requirement dramatically, the groups claim.

But the demand for the ban is not likely to be met by the current centre-right government.

A labour-led government, which many expect in power after the 1981 elections, might well consider such action.

2.3.4 Balanced inventory valuation,

Assuming a trend of rising prices, tends to become meaningless as it grossly misstates the current inventory valuation.

The apparent effect of LIFO on working capital reveals a weakening structure whereas in real terms there is actually a strengthening of the working capital position.

Example 6

LIFO is applied for the first time during the current year and the LIFO adjustment (being the difference between the FIFO valuation and LIFO valuation of end of year inventory) is R10. The tax rate is 40%. Assume a bank balance of R20 and that tax is paid therefrom.
GARLIC. A "clove" is a small section of the bulb, used crushed between foil and rubbed round a salad bowl, to give the salad a tang. Just as used in savoury stews and sauces and with seafood. Mixed with butter for savoury bread.

ALLSPICE. Not to be confused with mixed spice, which is a mixture of spices and mostly used in cakes, biscuits, etc. Allspice is so named because it resembles the aroma of mixed spice. It is used ground in preserves, meat dishes and seasonings.

That skillfully chosen wine turns a meal into a banquet. Taken regularly in moderation, as it should be, wine is everywhere considered a most pleasurable aid to health. It brings good digestion, good humour, and an air of gracious living.

Learn to choose wines well, so that they blend with each occasion, every course. Learn to add the zest of wine to your cooking. It tickles up the delicate flavour of almost any dish.

WASHINGTON — In spite of the country's general economic decline, wine sales in the United States are up, according to the most recent data.

Investment in South Africa is climbing with the US. The United States is the second largest investor in South Africa, after the United Kingdom.

With South Africa, the US is looking for economic and political rewards. The US is South Africa's largest source of foreign investment, and the two countries are in the process of negotiating a free trade agreement.

In the early 1970s, South Africa was a major US investor, but the US has been steadily reducing its investment since then. In the early 1980s, South Africa was the US's third-largest trading partner, behind Japan and Canada.

In the early 1990s, South Africa was the US's fifth-largest trading partner, behind Japan, Canada, Mexico, and the United Kingdom. The US invested $5.1 billion in South Africa in 1990, up from $4.6 billion in 1989.

But the US is still a major investor in South Africa. In the 1990s, the US invested $8.8 billion in South Africa, up from $5.1 billion in 1990. The US is South Africa's second-largest source of foreign investment, after the United Kingdom.

The US has also been investing in South Africa's energy sector. In the early 1990s, the US invested $1.5 billion in South Africa's energy sector, up from $1.1 billion in 1989. The US is South Africa's third-largest source of foreign investment in the energy sector, after the United Kingdom and Japan.

US trade with South Africa has been strong in recent years. In the early 1990s, the US had a trade surplus with South Africa, which had been steadily increasing since the early 1980s. The US had a trade surplus with South Africa of $2.3 billion in 1990, up from $1.8 billion in 1989.

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This will make the glass sparkling bright.

Wine is Harmony. What melody there is for the Connoisseur in a glass of brilliant wine.

André L. Simon.