OAU – 1989

NO CHANGE ON SA, SAYS OAU

PRESIDENT BOTHA

PARIS — The Brazzaville agreement on Angola will no in no way change the hostile policy of the Organisation of African Unity towards South Africa. Sowetan 3/1/89

OAU president Moussa Traore of Mali made this clear in an interview he gave to the Paris-based weekly magazine *Jeune Afrique* in his capital, Bamako.

He was asked "Will the Brazzaville agreement change the OAU's policy towards South Africa?"

He replied "Not at all. The Southern African conflict can be broken up into three elements South Africa's intervention in Angola's home affairs. the illegal occupation of Namibia and apartheid.

"While the Brazzaville agreement constitutes a major hope for the solution of the first and second elements, it does not affect the third, apartheid. 230

"Consequently, the OAU's views on South Africa are not affected. As long as apartheid is allowed to continue there is no question of its government joining us."

He regretted the meetings held by several African leaders with President P W Botha "because they show that the anti-apartheid front is not absolutely united and firm behind OAU resolutions"

Asked why in that case he had not attacked these meetings, the OAU president replied "Because there is always the possibility that such meetings can help advance the views we uphold But if we find that such moves, instead of leading to the dismantling of apartheid end up in strengthening it, then we must put an end to such meetings as soon as possible"

African students ask OAU for money

Own Correspondent

B/Day 27/1/87

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PEKING — A group of Africans studying in China made a direct approach to the OAU on Wednesday, asking for money to allow them to study elsewhere

A delegation of Mali students greeted OAU chairman and Mali president Moussa Traore when he arrived at Peking airport for a four-day official visit in the wake of violent clashes and mass anti-black protests in Nanking last month

They handed a protest letter to members of his entourage saying African students felt menaced by a climate of insecurity which was being implicitly encouraged by the Chinese authorities

Sowetan 27/2/89

OAU plea to UN on peace in Namibia

230

AFRICAN Foreign Ministers have ended their annual conference with a request to the United Nations to ensure there is a formal ceasefire between South Africa and the South West Africa Peoples' Organisation

The request to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar was in a form of resolution adopted in a Saturday night — long closing session of the Organisation of African Unity's Council of Ministers

Another resolution declared "part and parcel of the territory" Walvis Bay, an enclave South Africa insists would remain under its control after Namibia's independence

Walvis Bay is Namibia's only port

The OAU has long recognised Swapo, which has been fighting to oust South Africa from Namibia since 1966, as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people

Elections

Under an agreement reached in December, South Africa is to remove its troops from Namibia, which it has ruled since World War I A 4 650 UN peacekeeping force is to be sent to the country in April to monitor the withdrawal, Namibia's transition to independence and the ultimate elections.

The agreement was reached after US-sponsored talks between Angola, Cuba and South Africa — Sapa

Africa 'used as a dumping ground'

Star 21/3/89 (230)

BASLE — African nations warned yesterday they would not sign a United Nations-sponsored treaty to control the trade in hazardous wastes unless the industrialised countries stopped using them as a "dumping ground".

The chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, Mali's President Maoussa Traore, told a 107-nation gathering of Ministers and officials that OAU members would not sign unless their interests were protected.

"The industrialised countries have not hesitated to use Africa as a dumping ground," Mr Traore said in a speech delivered by his Environment Minister. "We cannot sign a convention unless we are assured that our interests are safeguarded"

United Nations Environment Programme executive director Mr Mostafa Tolba urged delegates to agree on the document, due to be signed tomorrow, in order to control "this commerce of poison"

Ratification by only 20 countries would make the document official

If not properly handled, dangerous wastes such as dioxin and DDT can cause cancer, birth defects, cardiac arrest and miscarriages.

Western companies, facing tough restrictions at home, sometimes send dangerous substances to countries with more lax regulations, paying them substantial amounts to accept the waste

Environmental groups say the treaty has been dangerously watered down, asserting that a clause allowing bilateral agreements distinct from the convention would allow the trade in hazardous wastes to continue

UN officials say such agreements must be compatible with the "environmentally sound management" of wastes, but environmental groups have called for tougher and clearer language — Sapa-Reuter.

ANC to continue armed war

OAU warns SA will recant on Namibian peace

Star 23/3/89

230

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa
News Service

HARARE — None of the euphoria reported to exist in South Africa over peace initiatives and breakthroughs was evident at the meeting in Harare yesterday of the special OAU committee on southern Africa.

Instead there were repeated warnings that South Africa could not be trusted to implement the Namibian independence process and that it had launched a diplomatic offensive to try to divide African countries.

'No dialogue'

President Mugabe of Zimbabwe said South Africa must be told there could be no dialogue with it until the leadership committed itself to peace in the region.

Pretoria must be seen to be working genuinely for the replacement of apartheid with a new democratic, just and peaceful order, he said.

South Africa had to stop supporting armed bandits in Mozambique and Angola and its cross-border raids of independent neighbouring states.

Until all these conditions were met, there should be no compromise, the international community should be urged to intensify its condemnation and isolation of the regime, demands for sanctions should continue and the oppressed must intensify the liberation struggle.

The Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, said if South Africa tried to falsify the election results, "we will go back to the bush and fight the boers".

He claimed South Africa was infiltrating troops disguised as game wardens into Caprivi to set up a supply route to Unita. He also claimed that whites in Namibia were being encouraged to stockpile weapons.

Mr Nujoma said the OAU must take steps to ensure the elections were free, fair and democratic. As long as they were, Swapo would abide by the decision of the Namibian people.

ANC sources said the organisation rejected speculation that it was about to abandon the armed struggle in favour of negotiation.

The ANC believed negotiations should not be conditional upon an end to the armed struggle. A ceasefire would come about as a result of negotiations, not as a condition for talks

Horrible ® By Dik Browne

OAU gets Pik invite

S/Times 26/3/89

Political Correspondent

FOREIGN MINISTER Pik Botha has invited the Organisation of African Unity to send observers to Namibia's independence process

Mr Botha said several heads of OAU states had played an important behind-the-scenes role in facilitating the end to SA's involvement in the Angolan war Cuba's withdrawal, and setting Namibia on the path to independence (230)

This justified an OAU presence in the process, he said.

Mr Botha's invitation was relayed through the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar

OAU in a dilemma over SA invitation

Star 13/4/87

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GERALD L'ANGE, editor of the The Star's Africa News Service, analyses the somewhat agonising decision which faces the OAU following South Africa's invitation to send OAU observers to Namibia.

In the headquarters of the Organisation of African Unity in Addis Ababa officials are mulling over a decision which has major implications for South Africa

The decision is whether or not to accept South Africa's offer to the OAU to send a mission to Namibia to observe the independence procedure If the invitation is accepted, it will indirectly boost South Africa's efforts to obtain official acceptance in black Africa

The final decision will be taken by the OAU president, General Moussa Traore of Mali, probably in consultation with the OAU secretary-general, Mr Ide Oumarou of Nigeria, and members of the organisation's Council of Ministers

It is an agonising one in some respects Many OAU members would obviously like to have an observer mission checking on the implementation of the independence for Namibia for which they have campaigned for so long But to accept an invitation from South Africa would imply greater recognition of Pretoria's dominant role than many OAU members would like

And it would involve much more direct dealings with South Africa than many would like The OAU mission would have to meet with the Namibian Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, if not with other South African representatives

South Africa's case must have been greatly improved by the wide international acceptance that South Africa has adhered scrupulously to its commitments, before and during the recent Swapo incursion, and by the Frontline States' private condemnation of Swapo's actions.

The South African offer was a clever move, for it projects an image of openness and good faith constrasting with the picture of mendacity and selfishness that has become a stereotype for the Republic in the OAU.

The offer, conveyed in a letter from Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to General Traore, was couched in terms of Pretoria's projection of South Africa as an African nation whose future lies in this continent

Mr Botha characterised the Namibia independence agreement as one of the African solutions to African problems that South Africa had long advocated He said the Brazzaville protocol which led to the Namibian independence agreement was "a new beginning for Africa where South Africa played its role to the full and with the approbation of the rest of our continent It is contact and dialogue we need, for otherwise Africa will tend to become marginal in world affairs".

Mr Botha said the Brazzaville protocol had ushered in "a new era in which we should stand together"

He believed that as Namibia was an African country an OAU presence there during the transition period would be appropriate

He invited the OAU to send four observers

It is possible that the OAU will simply ignore the invitation, or that it will try to send observers under the auspices of the United Nations rather than South Africa. But the fact that the invitation was issued has now been well publicised and if nothing else it will stand as evidence of South Africa's willingness to co-operate with the OAU.

UN rejects OAU Namibia mission

B/Day 24/7/89

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HARARE — A three-man OAU team — bound for Namibia to monitor the territory's independence process — would return to Addis Ababa today without reaching Windhoek because the UN would not allow it to set up an observer mission there, officials said yesterday.

Delegation chief Yilma Tadesse said in spite of a request to the UN last February and an invitation from SA to set up an observer mission in Windhoek, the UN had not given the OAU approval to do so.

He said: "In view of this attitude of the SA government, I am baffled about the silence of the UN secretary-general to our request."

Tadesse, OAU assistant secretary-general in charge of political affairs, was accompanied by Brigadier Hashin Mbita,

● To Page 2

UN rejects Namibia mission for OAU

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● From Page 1

executive secretary of the OAU liberation committee, and Mensa Bonsu, chief of the OAU decolonisation secretariat

He said his team wanted to go to Namibia to assess the situation on the ground, look into the question of logistics and meet UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari and discuss with him deployment of the OAU observer mission's personnel

"We are racing against time The sooner we are allowed (to set up the mission) the better and it will enable us to discharge our responsibilities properly"

The mission was important for the OAU in its commitment in the decolonisation of Africa

Tadesse said the OAU viewed as "crucial" for the destiny of Namibian people that the elections be conducted in conformity with provisions of UN resolution 435

☐ Reuter reports from Luanda that Swapo said at the weekend that all of its guerrillas remaining in Namibia could withdraw to Angola by Friday if they were not obstructed by SA forces

It reacted cautiously to SA's statement last Friday that it would confine its troops in Namibia to their bases for 60 hours from Wednesday, to allow Swapo fighters to pull out. A Swapo spokesman said "We are waiting on the ground to see if that really happens" — Sapa

B/Day 24/7/89

● See Page 3

Mubarak to be next OAU chief

CAIRO — African leaders had agreed privately to elect Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak the next OAU chairman, African diplomats said yesterday

An ambassador said "You can take it for granted that it will be Mubarak"

He and other officials said the decision still needed to be formally approved by OAU members at a summit meeting in Addis Ababa in July

One said "There is no other candidate It is already settled"

The move will kick off a year in which Egypt, a key player in Middle East politics, takes a more high-profile role on African issues

Egypt will host an OAU conference on African debt at the end of August that will bring together officials from African and creditor countries as well as specialists from international financial institutions

An Egyptian official said a separate conference in July would deal with the joint issues of African and Latin American debt

Also during the summer, Egyptian officials are hoping to receive prominent black Americans to discuss racial discrimination and apartheid

African diplomats said Libya, a harsh opponent of Egypt's peace treaty with Israel, would not object to Mubarak as the head of the 51-member OAU One said "At this point, nobody would listen to what came out of Tripoli anyway"

Mubarak, replacing Mali's President Moussa Traore in an annual rotation, will be the first Egyptian to head the OAU since Gamal Abdel Nasser took the chair at its first summit in 1964 — Sapa-Reuter

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Mubarak, replacing Mali's President Moussa Traore in an annual rotation, will be the first Egyptian to head the OAU since Gamal Abdel Nasser took the chair at its first summit in 1964 — Sapa-Reuter

Boycott threat

Sowetan 18/5/89

(230)

THE Organisation of African Unity has threatened a boycott of sporting events involving Britain if UK rugby players play in South Africa.

Sowetan 29/5/89

OAU service

(230)

THE Azanian National Youth Unity has organised a service to mark the 26th anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity at the Dube YWCA tomorrow starting at 5pm

OAU Day, commonly known as Africa Liberation Day, is commemorated in all African countries The OAU is composed of African leaders from throughout the continent Its main objective is the unification of Africa

Various organisations including cultural movements have been invited to mark the significance of this day

"Azanyu therefore calls upon the oppressed, exploited and the dispossessed to join thousands of other Africans throughout the continent to rededicate themselves to the goals envisioned by the sagacious leaders in the likes of Sobukwe, Lembede, Nkrumah and many others," a spokesman said

(230)

8-14/6/89. Sowetan

'Action man' tipped for top OAU post

One of Africa's best-known political figures, Salim Salim (right) of Tanzania, has been put forward as a candidate for the post of secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity. ISAA MRUMA reports on the implications should Salim be elected:

ONE of the main tasks for the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit in July will be to elect a new secretary-general.

Ide Oumarou, former foreign minister of Niger, who was elected in 1985, says he will run again, but he is facing a tough rival.

For Salim Ahmed Salim, who served in New York as Tanzania's permanent United Nations representative in 1970-1980 and then unsuccessfully fought Kurt Waldheim for the UN Secretary-Generalship, has thrown his hat in the ring.

Salim's candidacy has been approved by Tanzania's ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi party President Hassan Ali Mwinyi said he had been approached by several friendly countries seeking Salim as a contestant

Respected

Some east and southern African countries want to break the West African monopoly of the job All secretary-generals have been from West Africa since the OAU was formed in 1963

The Arab world, which remembers Salim's contribution to debates on the Palestinian issue at the UN, may also support him

A respected diplomat and statesman, Salim made his mark in New York when he was president of the UN committee on decolonisation

He is highly articulate on issues related to the liberation struggle in Africa and the Middle East His bid for the the top US job was dashed by United States opposition

Salim was born in 1942 in Pemba, one of the islands of Zanzibar, with which mainland Tanzania united in 1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania He was his country's youngest-ever representative abroad

After the sudden death of Tanzanian prime minister Edward Sokoine in 1984, Salim was made prime minister.

He became famous for the term "lackadaisicalism" — an attack on practices that led to inefficiency or delays in fulfilling duty

In short, he is man of action, who wants to see work done He is widely respected in Tanzania as a forthright, open and honest leader, with a reputation for pragmatism

Elections for OAU secretary-general have proved troublesome in recent years

The OAU marks its 26th anniversary with many difficult tasks ahead, including the overseeing of the full implementation of the Namibian independence plan

Problems

There are also severe economic problems, with Africa's total external debt standing at $218-billion and debt servicing set to rise from $28-billion in 1987 to $45-billion in 1995

Salim was tipped to take over the presidency of Tanzania after the retirement of Nyerere, but the vice-president, Mwinyi, was nominated and Salim became minister of defence and national service and deputy prime minister

If Salim is elected OAU secretary-general, Mwinyi will have to find a new defence minister, but the post of deputy prime minister will probably be allowed to wither. — *GEMINI NEWS*

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Zeph urges aid for struggle

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE president of the Pan Africanist Congress has called on African and non-aligned countries to offer material help in the South African struggle and realisation of total liberation for the African continent.

Mr Zephania Mothopeng made his call when he addressed African and non-aligned ambassadors at the United Nations this week

Mothopeng said "Following the independence of Namibia, Azania will then be the focus of attention after November 1989 " He told the ambassadors that the people of Azania were determined and organised to get their national liberation and self determination

"Nothing less than total eradication of the apartheid system and the return of the land to the rightful owners will be acceptable "

Mothopeng said the Azanian people rejected reforms and attempts at co-option

He told the 50 members of the Organisation of African Unity that Africa must unite to defeat colonialism and imperialism "The liberation of Azania, the continent's last colonised territory, will realise the objectives of the founding fathers of the OAU, namely, the total liberation of the African continent ".

New OAU bid to crush apartheid

Star 17/7/89. 230

ADDIS ABABA — African Ministers meeting here ahead of the annual summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) are expected to seek tougher global action this week to force South Africa to scrap apartheid

Despite peace moves in Namibia, Angola and Mozambique, and the meeting between President Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela, black Africa remains wary of Pretoria's intentions

"The situation in South Africa itself and in the Frontline states is particularly serious," said one OAU source, echoing wide concern over what is seen as a South African threat of destabilisation

Sources close to the secretariat of the 49-member body said a five-day meeting of Foreign Ministers starting today could also renew a four-year-old call for an international conference on Africa's $230 billion (about R620 billion) foreign debt

The meeting will be followed by a summit from July 24-26

OAU members will again face discord within their own ranks with tensions remaining between Mauritania and Senegal

The problem began with a border shooting following a dispute over grazing rights last April, which in turn led to widespread rioting

An answer has still to be found to the conflict over the Western Sahara which prompted Morocco to quit the OAU in 1984 when the organisation admitted the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic which controls part of the former colony

But the chief focus of attention will be South Africa and the transition to independence for Namibia after 74 years of Pretoria's disputed rule over the mineral-rich territory, African diplomats said

The OAU plans to send an observer force to monitor UN-supervised elections in Namibia in November but its Liberation Committee appears deadlocked over who should go

The 22 Foreign Ministers on the committee nevertheless urged the United Nations last Wednesday to boost its peacekeeping force of 4 650 troops in Namibia to ensure free elections

The sources close to the secretariat said the Ministers would appeal this week for more effective international sanctions on oil supplies to South Africa

In addition they would consider possible action by their own governments against oil companies supplying the country

They will call for international pressure against countries such as Japan and Taiwan which trade with the Republic

The conference is also expected to consider a proposal for black southern African states to sever all economic ties with their white-ruled neighbour

But countries like Zambia and Zimbabwe, which rely heavily on such links, find this difficult

Despite a flurry of international initiatives over the past two years to ease the burden of Africa's crushing debt, the Ministers will seek further relief

Many African governments feel that efforts so far have barely dented the problem In fact it has got worse

They are also expected to endorse the recent call of the UN Economic Commission for Africa for an alternative to conventional economic reforms

This proposes gentler remedies for economic ills than those often prescribed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in return for aid

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak is expected to succeed Mali President Moussa Traore as OAU chairman

Niger's Mr Ide Oumarou has said he wants another term as secretary-general, but faces a stiff challenge from Tanzania's Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister, Mr Salim Ahmed Salim — Sapa-Reuter

Tough action on SA looms

B/Day 17/7/89

ADDIS ABABA — African ministers meeting here ahead of the OAU annual summit are expected to seek tougher global action to force SA to scrap apartheid

Despite peace moves in Namibia, Angola and Mozambique, and the Botha/Mandela meeting, black Africa remains wary of Pretoria's intentions

(230)

The meeting, starting today, might also call for an international conference on Africa's $230bn foreign debt — Sapa-Reuter.

B/Day 19/7/89 (230)

OAU calls for mandatory oil embargo on SA

ADDIS ABABA — The OAU yesterday called for the imposition of a mandatory international oil embargo on SA to try to force government to end apartheid

"If a total oil embargo were to be imposed on SA, its reserves would last for only six to seven months," OAU secretary-general Ide Oumarou told African foreign ministers preparing for the annual summit of their heads of state next week

"The application of the oil embargo on SA is very important, more especially because oil is one of the rare strategic commodities SA lacks," he said

Oumarou sharply attacked international oil trading companies British Petroleum, Caltex, Mobil, Shell and Total, accusing them of flouting the non-binding, UN-sponsored oil embargo on SA

The 49-nation OAU, brushing aside Pretoria's efforts to reform apartheid and in conceding Namibia's independence, is preparing to adopt a series of tough measures against the country to try to force radical political and economic changes

Oumarou urged Western states to join a global effort to impose sweeping economic sanctions on SA and accused Taiwan, Japan and Hong Kong of moving their businesses into SA to replace US firms that had disinvested in protest against apartheid in the past few years.

Turning to Africa's $230bn foreign debt, the OAU chief, who is from Niger, renewed African calls for an international conference to work out ways of easing the burden on the world's poorest continent

Western nations have repeatedly spurned the calls, saying they preferred to deal with each country's debt and not with Africa as a bloc — Sapa-Reuter

Iran signs two mining accords in east Africa

TEHERAN — Iran had signed agreements outlining co-operation in mining and production with the east African nations of Tanzania and Mozambique, the official Islamic Republic News Agency (Irna) reported yesterday

Irna, in a report on the return of Minister of Mines and Metals Mohammad Reza Ayatollahi from visits to east Africa, said the agreement with Tanzania covered exchange of geological information and training of Tanzanians in exploration, geochemistry and geophysics

B/Day 19/7/89

In Mozambique, Iran agreed to help in the exploration and production of titanium, graphite and gold It also agreed to train 20 mine technicians — AP-DJ

Argus 20/7/87

ANC fears Red-SA links

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From STANLEY UYS
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The "mass democratic movement," principally the ANC, UDF and Cosatu, is alarmed that some of its "closest friends" — including the Soviet Union and China — are supporting the moves towards "negotiations" between the South African government and the black liberation movement and that it could lose the initiative.

Accordingly, the three organisations hurriedly want to establish an all-Africa position that would be endorsed by the Organisation of African Unity at its meeting from July 29 to 31.

They see this as the only way to "pre-empt any other initiative".

This is disclosed in a document drawn up by the three organisations at a meeting in Lusaka on June 6 and 7 and circulated confidentially to leading members for study and comment.

The document betrays signs of panic over the "mass democratic movement" being forced to enter into negotiations with South Africa before it is ready for such talks.

The document refers to Zambia's "predisposition towards negotiation" and its plan to invite South Africa to a frontline summit this year.

(Report by S Uys, 32-33 Hatton Gardens, London, W1)

● **Full text — page 19.**

US 'holds key to peace'

ADDIS ABABA — The Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity said yesterday the United States can make "a decisive contribution" to ending hostilities in Southern Africa.

Sowetan 20/7/89

"The search for a stable and definitive solution to the situation in Angola and in Southern Africa in general depends on the United States," said Ode Oumarou. (230)

He spoke on the second day of the Council of Ministers meeting at the OAU's headquarters in Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa. The council will draw up an agenda and resolutions to be considered by a meeting of African heads of state beginning next Monday. — Sapa-AP

Race begins for OAU leadership

STAR 21/7/89

ADDIS ABABA — Lobbying has already begun in an attempt to achieve consensus on the next Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity

This will be one of the major decisions facing African heads of state when they meet in Addis Ababa next week for their annual summit (230)

The current Secretary-General Mr Ide Oumarou, is standing for a further term but the Frontline states have put forward Tanzanian Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister Mr Salim Salim as their candidate for the post

It is understood the Frontline states and other countries supporting Mr Salim Salim are still hoping for consensus before the summit — Sapa

news"

Two 'SA spies' to die

Cape Times 21/7/89 (23)

LISBON. — An Angolan tribunal yesterday sentenced two Air Force pilots to death for spying for South Africa, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

Humberto Campos Abrantes and Jose Jorge Setas Ferreira face the firing squad for passing military secrets to Pretoria in 1984 and 1985 respectively, it said.

Abrantes was said to have passed on classified information, including the strength of the Air Force and arms it possessed.

Ferreira was charged with planning to divert a Soviet-made MI-25 helicopter to South Africa, where he would have been paid $1 million (R2,7m) and given protection.

Judge Augusto Costa Cerneiro said the two had sacrificed the country's interests for personal gain.

"The security of our armed forces, people and state were put aside for the interests of imperialism, particularly of South Africa and Unita"

Ministers discuss continental force

B/Day 21/7/89

ADDIS ABABA — African ministers yesterday debated a controversial proposal to form a continental peace-keeping force costing more than $143m

The establishment of the defence force, to serve mainly as an intermediary between warring African states, has been repeatedly thwarted by opponents within the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) who say it could be used to unseat legitimate governments The issue has been on the OAU agenda since 1979

OAU foreign ministers, meeting in Addis Ababa ahead of the annual summit of their 49 heads of state starting on Monday, were told the force would also be used to safeguard the territorial integrity of member states, especially those that were victims of foreign aggression

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Upkeep

That was an apparent reference to white-ruled SA, which has often been accused by its black neighbours of destabilising them either through direct military attacks or support for rebels

Upkeep of the nearly 6 000-man force would cost $143,3m a year

Political analysts question whether Africa, whose current $230bn foreign debt is still rising, can afford to maintain a peace-keeping force

"Already several states have not paid up their annual OAU budget contributions Where will they get this extra money?" one analyst said

The debt is among key topics being discussed at the five-day conference which ends today — Sapa-Reuter.

Star 24/7/87

African states threaten on SA debt

ADDIS ABABA – African states, rebuffing South African overtures, have urged international banks to halt rescheduling of Pretoria's foreign debt.

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They called for sweeping mandatory sanctions on South Africa, accusing it of a reign of terror against political opponents.

Foreign Ministers of the 49-nation Organisation of African Unity preparing for the opening of a summit in Addis Ababa today, adopted the resolutions at the end of a week of talks that ended on Saturday night.

Heads of state and other dignitaries began arriving in Addis Ababa yesterday for the summit. – Sapa-Reuter

COMMENT

Telephone: (011) 673-4160

Condemn the action by rebels

ONE of the saddest reflections on human nature is whenever contenders in a conflict attempt to settle their disputes, hostilities become fiercer

As presidents Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya discussed peace initiatives for Mozambique, the Renamo rebels increased their fight.

Rebels had attacked Ressano Garcia a few hours also after National Party leader, Mr F W De Klerk held talks with President Chissano.

It was reported in South Africa that there was a massacre at Ressano Garcia, an important railway station across the border from Komatipoort.

Many civilians were reported to have been killed by Renamo rebels.

The Renamo rebels are obviously anxious that peace talks between Mozambique, South Africa and other African nations should fail. They are wasting their time.

South Africa has now shown that it has no wish to support the rebels as these terrorists have been an embarrassment to them. The civil war between Mozambican rebels has destroyed large parts of Mozambique

It is about time the international community condemned very strongly the acts by these rebels They are stalling peace talks not only in that area but in the rest of the sub continent

THE *Sowetan's* cartoonist Len Sak is on holiday. His cartoons will reappear when he returns.

De Cuellar

De Klerk

Sowetan 24/7/89.

OAU URGED TO ADOPT A '435' OF SORTS ON SA

230

ADDIS ABABA - The Organisation of African Unity Council of Ministers has called on the United Nations to exercise its full responsibility in Namibia and prevent South Africa from manipulating the interpretation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 to its own advantage.

Ziana national news agency reports it has also rejected outright, South Africa's ruling National Party's five-year manifesto, which party leader F W de Klerk has tried to present as a new and elightened policy which the council dismissed as being aimed at entrenching white rule in the country

The ministers reaffirmed that only an election based on one man, one vote, could lead to the establishment of a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

These are some of the resolutions adopted by the OAU Council of Ministers at the end of their meeting, which was formally closed yesterday

The meeting was chaired by Zimbabwe's foreign minister Mr Nathan Shamuyarira.

In his closing remarks, Shamuyarira said many of the delegations at the meeting, which began last Monday in preparation for the three-day OAU summit which begins today, said that it was time the OAU adopted a strategy on South Africa

"One delegate called it a 435 of sorts," he said.

On economic issues, he said. "We would like to feel that the steps and measures we have proposed will play an important role and make sure the decade of the 90s is not lost as the 80s was, as far as economics were concerned."

Namibia was a major focus of the foreign ministers deliberations over the past week and a lengthy resolution reflected their concern.

The resolution deplored the inadequate deployment of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) at the start of the implementation of UN Resolution 435, "which enabled South Africa's army of occupation to hunt down and massacre Swapo combatants based in Namibia"

It called on the UN secretary general, who is due to attend the summit meeting here, to take every measure, including increasing the military component to Untag to the 7500 men provided for in Resolution 435, to ensure South Africa's compliance with the resolution and create conditions for free and fair elections in Namibia.

It strongly condemned the decision to deploy South African forces on the eve of the transition to independence and "the unwarranted military attacks against Swapo combatants awaiting confinement to base in accordance with the provisions of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 (1978), as well as the atrocities committed against the civilian population in Namibia."

The resolution went on to condemn South Africa's machinations aimed at preventing Swapo winning the elections due in November

It condemned the integration of "the Koevoet murder squads" into the South West Africa Police (Swapol) and demanded the demobilisation of all Koevoet elements from the police force and the dismantling of their command structures, in accordance with the provisions of Resolution 435

It said the council had decided to follow closely developments in Namibia and in the event of continued violations of Resolution 435 by South Africa would convene an emergency session to consider appropriate action.

It called on the UN Secretary General to ensure the proportional representation system to be used in the elections in Namibia was straightforward and simple

To ensure the release by South Africa of all Namibian political prisoners and the repeal of all oppressive and discriminatory laws in Namibia, in line with Resolution 435

The resolution recommended the UN discharge its full responsibility of supervising and controlling the elections and that the UN Secretary General's special representative proceed with the step by-step implementation process only after he had satisfied himself it would lead to free and fair elections

It called on the African and international media to counter South African propaganda against Swapo and fully cover the election events in Namibia

The resolution on South Africa, among other things, condemned the "reign of terror" being perpetrated under the state of emergency It condemned the death sentences passed on opponents of apartheid, especially the Upington 14, and the long prison terms imposed on the Sharpeville Six and the Delmas trialists.

The ministers demanded an end to "the judicial murders perpetrated by the racist regime on South African patriots whose real status according to relevant Geneva Conventions is that of prisoners of war"

The Council of Ministers also demanded the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees It called for the immediate and unconditional unbanning of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and all other anti-apartheid organisations

It also condemned the growing military co-operation between South Africa, Chile, Israel and Taiwan "as well as certain Western countries" and called for the strict observance of the UN arms embargo against Pretoria

FOCUS

The NP's 5-year plan given thumbs down

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thloloe Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku All of 61 Commando Road Industria West, Johannesburg

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Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, watched by Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam, is welcomed to the OAU summit in Addis Ababa Picture REUTER

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Africa's debt is key OAU issue

ADDIS ABABA — African leaders opened an Organisation for African Unity (OAU) summit yesterday deeply worried that they may never settle the continent's $230bn foreign debt

"Chances for meeting the ever-increasing debt burden are nil under the present circumstances," says an OAU report

It revived the OAU call for an international conference on Africa's external debt, and previous proposals which include a 10-year suspension on debt repayments

B/Day 25/7/89

Creditors

The report was requested by African heads of state at their summit last year after failing to win 15 European creditor governments over to the idea of such a conference

Creditors favour a case-by-case approach rather than a conference

The debt of individual African countries is tiny compared with the $112bn owed by Brazil, the Third World's leading debtor

The OAU estimates Africa's current debt service obligations at about $31bn a year Debt servicing swallows up more than 40% of many states' export earnings, and in some cases exceeds them

In addition to a 10-year moratorium on debt service payments, the OAU hopes a conference would agree on a total maximum level of debt service, which African countries would subsequently be expected to pay, as a percentage of exports

The OAU report said attempts to resolve Africa's debt crisis should reflect the fact that the continent was the world's poorest

The report noted African countries had suffered from trade protectionism, a drop in mineral prices and farm product exports, and a squeeze on much needed imports of manufactured and other goods

It reported a continued decline or stagnation in investment and per capita output

The UN Economic Commission for Africa said in the first half of 1989 economic growth was an annualised 2,2%, after 2,5% in 1988, lagging well behind population growth of about 3,1% — Sapa-Reuter

Star 25/7/89. (230)

OAU's Mubarak vows to tackle SA, debt

ADDIS ABABA — African heads of state opened their annual summit here yesterday with a fresh call for mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak, taking over as head of the 49-member Organisation of African Unity (OAU), pledged firm action against Pretoria and Africa's crippling foreign debt.

Ethiopia's President Mengistu Haile Mariam, host of the three-day summit, said South Africa's apartheid policies could not be reformed and should be eradicated.

He dismissed recent constitutional reforms as cosmetic, and said they had been accompanied by ever more draconian steps against opponents of apartheid.

But President Mengistu also spoke of "a ray of hope" in southern Africa, with peace moves under way in Angola and Mozambique, and Namibia headed for independence.

United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar told the opening session he was confident elections due in November for Namibia's constituent assembly would go ahead as planned.

Resolutions passed here last week by OAU foreign ministers, demanding an end to loans to Pretoria, are virtually certain to be adopted. — Reuter.

Call for liberation movements to unite

Star 26/7/89

(230)

ADDIS ABABA — Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi yesterday called on South African liberation movements to overcome their differences and unite in the struggle against apartheid, Ziana, Zimbabwe's national news agency, reports.

"The time has come for different groups fighting apartheid to do away with their minor differences and unite," Mr Moi said in an address at the summit of the Organisation of African Unity.

He criticised African countries in arrears with their contributions to the OAU.

President Moi also said African leaders would never forgive themselves, or be forgiven by their children, if Namibian elections were not seen to be free and fair. — Sapa.

Dr F Bowie, a medical superintendent at Schuur Hospital, said he could not comment because he did not have all the facts at his disposal.

PAINFUL EXPERIENCE ... operation. The X-Ray plate alongside shows wi

Namibia focus at OAU summit

CAPE TIMES 26/7/89 (230)

ADDIS ABABA — For the second day running, the topic of Namibia dominated the Organisation of African Unity summit here yesterday The OAU is calling for an increase in the number of United Nations troops deployed in Namibia to 7,500.

At the opening of the summit in the Ethiopian capital on Monday, UN Secretary-General Mr Perez de Cuellar and Swapo head Mr Sam Nujoma displayed a divergence of opinion over the situation in Namibia.

Mr Nujoma appealed to the UN to increase its troop presence on the basis that this was the only way to stop South Africa from installing a puppet government there.

But while condemning police units for intimidation, Mr Perez de Cuellar avoided the issue of increasing the number of UN troops. Yesterday a Western diplomat here described Mr Perez de Cuellar's criticism of the South African authorities as "muted".

The chairman of the frontline states, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, described Namibia as a test case for South Africa itself. "Dismantling apartheid is the OAU's only immediate task after Namibia," he said. "It will be the most complex battle, not only of the bullet, but of wit. It will be the OAU's final battle for liberation"

Dr Kaunda warned that if the OAU — which has arguably played little or no role in settling the Namibia question — got left behind in the "fast-moving political developments" in Southern Africa, it would be "completely ineffective to influence the direction of the final events in South Africa".

He too urged the OAU to give Swapo another lump sum "for the material help it so badly needs in the run-up to the November elections" The OAU pledged Swapo $5 million (about R13,5m) last February.

On Monday, President Mengistu Mariam of Ethiopia surprised everyone by mentioning his own war against the Eritreans, and the Sudanese leader, Lieutenant-General al Bashir, has also referred to Sudan's civil war.

Dr Kaunda — in an aside from his prepared speech — followed suit, asking the new OAU chairman, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, to dissuade Middle East countries from backing the rebels in Eritrea Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Syria have all been suspected of funding various rebel factions — Daily Telegraph

Plessey 'out to smash us' union

CAPE TIMES 26/7/89

THE Electrical and Allied Workers' Trade Union has accused Plessey SA of trying to "smash" the union after more than 400 workers were yesterday lawfully locked out of the Retreat electronics plant

And at Renak, a subsidiary of the British-owned Plessey, about 100 EAWTUSA members yesterday downed tools for an hour in support of Plessey workers

Union members at Plessey SA have rejected the company's average increase of 17% and other benefits relating to conditions of work, instead demanding a 26% wage increase

Plessey SA managing director Dr John Temple yesterday warned that the company would "soon" employ temporary labour

EAWTUSA Western Cape branch secretary Mr Brian Williams yesterday said "The lockout has little to do with the negotations and more with smashing the union"

OAU feelings on reform mixed

B/Day 26/7/89

ADDIS ABABA — African heads of state heard conflicting evidence yesterday on the merits of painful economic reforms, with some speakers saying they did not work and others insisting there was no alternative

In spite of difficulties posed by such reforms, "our peoples must not be given the impression that there are magical alternatives", declared Nigeria's Chief of General Staff, Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu.

"To do so gives false hopes to the citizens, defeats the purposes of structural adjustment and undermines government efforts."

Aikhomu was speaking at the three-day annual summit of the 49-member OAU, due to end today

Nigeria was swept in April by riots after the imposition of tough reforms endorsed by the IMF More than 20 people were killed

Other speakers praised an alternative strategy mapped out this year by the UN Economic Commission for Africa, which proposes gentler, longer-term remedies than those favoured by the IMF and World Bank

"Africa needs a different approach," said Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who in May 1987 abandoned IMF-sponsored reforms after riots over moves to remove subsidies on the staple maize meal. The subsidies were later restored (230)

OAU secretary-general Ide Oumarou said tough austerity measures agreed with foreign donors in return for aid had missed their targets due to delays in the flow of supporting funds, a continuous erosion in terms of trade and the drain caused by repayments on Africa's $230bn foreign debt

Africa had become victim to "an increasingly open stranglehold of the IMF and other banking institutions on our economic options", he said

Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi said stringent reforms usually failed to take account of the human dimension

In spite of differences over economic reforms, delegates were unanimous in calling for substantially greater debt relief from creditors to enable Africa's economies to recover

Aikhomu asked the summit to adopt a Nigerian plan urging creditors to cancel the official, bilateral debt of all African debtors and not just the poorest countries — Sapa-Reuter

Tanzanian gets top OAU job

ADDIS ABABA — Tanzania's Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister Salim Ahmed Salim was yesterday elected Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

He got 38 votes in a secret ballot conducted at the end of the OAU's annual heads of state summit, more than the two-thirds majority among the 49 member states he needed to win the post, an official said.

Mr Salim (47), a career diplomat for many years and one-time foreign minister, had been widely expected to win the contest against the incumbent, Mr Ide Oumarou of Niger.

Political analysts said Mr Salim's election showed that African states wanted to focus their attention on SA, which they accuse of destabilising its black-ruled neighbours.

Mr Salim has been an outspoken critic of SA, taking command over the years of key anti-apartheid committees at the United Nations and the OAU.

"Under Oumarou, the OAU appeared not to have enough teeth nor was it strong enough against South Africa at international forums," said an African diplomat at OAU headquarters in the Ethiopian capital.

Mr Salim is also a member of Tanzania's ruling party central committee and has been a journalist.— Sapa-Reuter.

Untag force is 'inadequate'

ADDIS ABABA — African heads of state, ending a three-day OAU summit, yesterday said the size of UN peace-keeping forces in Namibia was inadequate to guarantee free and fair elections. (230

The Organisation of African Unity also told the UN Security Council to order South Africa to halt its alleged intimidation of voters ahead of Namibian elections set for November 6. Star 2 11 87

It demanded that the UN press South Africa to disband its counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet, widely accused of intimidating voters.

It said the UN should force South Africa to release all Namibian political prisoners and detainees before the elections and called for a halt to what it said was a bias by South Africa's controlled media against Swapo. — Reuter.

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Sanctions beginning to bite

By Robyn Chalmers

CALLS for stricter economic sanctions against South Africa are gaining momentum.

Indications are that sanctions and disinvestment are beginning to hurt the economy

British Labour Party shadow foreign secretary Gerald Kaufman said in Johannesburg this week that he would increase his pressure for comprehensive sanctions to end apartheid

Earlier this month, the Commonwealth was urged to adopt a new schedule of escalating trade sanctions against SA. The Organisation for African Unity (OAU) opened its annual summit with fresh demands for mandatory sanctions against SA.

Anti-apartheid groups plan to launch a worldwide campaign for sanctions The Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) will intensify pressure for sanctions and the African National Congress (ANC) is developing strategies to prevent SA from renegotiating its $21-billion foreign debt.

Gerald Kaufman . Labour Party will tighten the screws on SA

Towards the end of last year, Trust Bank managing director Chris van Wyk conducted a macro-economic analysis in which he said the SA economy was still very much alive, but that rapid population growth coupled with poor economic growth was lowering living standards

In analysing the adverse effect of sanctions and disinvestment, Dr Van Wyk calculated that the net cumulative loss of foreign currency would

WRAP-UP OF CAMPAIGN SO FAR

amount to about R30-billion by 1990

"The cumulative net capital outflow of R20-billion in the form of disinvestment and debt repayments since mid-1984 will probably rise to about R25-billion by 1990

"Add to this an estimated cumulative export loss of R10-billion, subtract a saving of about R5-billion in interest and divident payments, and you will arrive at the R30-billion figure"

CSIR president Chris Garbers said that the erosion of SA's finances was also reflected in foreign debt, which grew from R10,1-billion in 1975 to R55,5-billion by 1987

American Chamber of Commerce executive director Adrian Botha says SA has lost 196 US companies through disinvestment Although the short-term effects are not big, the medium- to long-term effects are frightening

"There has been a minimal effect on the economy from disinvestment so far because there has really only been a change of ownership However, new companies wanting to invest in SA no longer have the knowledge that old, reputable organisations are confident enough to remain

"Possibly the worst effect of economic sanctions is that they have stifled economic growth in the face of an escalating population and growing unemployment."

Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) director Mark Orkin said at last week's MegaTrends conference in Johannesburg that sanctions were unexpectedly efficient.

"The effectiveness of economic pressures is evident in recent political developments — the ending of influx control and SA participation in the Angola-Namibia accord

"Equally, the real impact of disinvestment is medium-term forgone investment. In the short term, the queue for foreign currency to pay departing parent companies has helped depress the financial rand to lows reminiscent of 1985, and the long-term trend is only downwards."

Witwatersrand University Centre for Policy Studies director Lawrence Schlemmer says the Gallup Poll funded by the Chamber of Mines makes it clear that all South Africans, but especially blacks, are seriously concerned about job opportunities in the light of sanctions

"Sanctions as an issue is likely to become increasingly controversial. Obviously, sanctions must have some effect on economic growth. If they did not they would hardly be plausible as a political strategy.

"The most valid argument for sanctions is not that the SA Government will yield or collapse under moral and economic pressure. Historically, sanctions have a poor track record.

"A logically sound reason for further sanctions, however, is that in weakening the economic base of the Government one weakens its strategic resources, and through trade boycotts, weakens its international links."

Kaunda to meet F W and P W

Crucial discussions will take place in Livingstone on August 28

Star 11/8/89

230

Mr F W de Klerk and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha will meet President Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia on August 28.

A statement by the Department of Foreign Affairs last night confirmed the meeting.

It said the meeting was a continuation of talks with President Kaunda initiated by President P W Botha

President Kaunda, after a one-day meeting of the six Frontline states in Lusaka yesterday, told a news conference "I have briefed my colleagues that I am meeting Mr de Klerk in Livingstone"

President Kaunda had offered to meet Mr de Klerk to discuss ways of ending apartheid

Mr de Klerk, expected to succeed President Botha after the elections in September, has said he is committed to dismantling racial segregation

He has promised to bring South Africa's 26 million blacks into the central government, where they have no voice

But he insists that race classification remain the basis of the political system and that blacks should not dominate whites

Decision still secret

President Kaunda, asked if the Frontline states — Zambia, Angola, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Mozambique and Botswana — believed the time was now right to negotiate with Pretoria, said the summit had taken a decision But he declined to say what it was, adding that the Frontline states would report to the Organisation of African Unity committee on southern Africa, which will meet in Harare on August 21

Leaders of the ANC had privately opposed a meeting between President Kaunda and Mr de Klerk Their conditions for dialogue were that the South African Government must free political prisoners, lift the state of emergency and also bans on political organisations

President Kaunda said President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola had briefed the summit on efforts to end the civil war in Angola between government forces and the Unita rebels

He said the eight African nations which launched the Angolan peace process in May would meet in Harare on August 22 to review progress.

He added that the mediator in the Angolan peace process, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, had sent a message telling the leaders of new developments "favourable to the Angolan people"

Angolan government and Unita officials have been meeting in Kinshasa to try to salvage a peace plan and ceasefire agreed by President dos Santos and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi in June

Each side has accused the other of breaking the ceasefire

Angolan diplomats said President dos Santos was expected to travel to Kinshasa today to discuss the peace process

In Lusaka, President Kaunda said the Frontline summit had supported efforts by President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique to negotiate peace with right-wing Renamo rebels

President Chissano briefed the summit on talks in Nairobi between Renamo and Mozambique church intermediaries acting for the government

Mr Sam Nujoma, president of Swapo, told the conference of Namibia's progress towards independence

President Kaunda said this issue would also be discussed at the OAU committee meeting in Harare

Mr de Klerk visited Mozambique three weeks ago and called on Renamo to abandon the 14-year-old war

In June he toured five European countries to try to halt sanctions — Sapa-Reuter and Political Staff

Kaunda to meet FW

Cape Times 11/8/89

LUSAKA. — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, chairman of the frontline states, yesterday said he would meet Mr F W de Klerk on August 28 in Zambia.

After a one-day summit here of leaders of the six frontline states, Dr Kaunda told a news conference: "I have briefed my colleagues that I am meeting Mr De Klerk in Livingstone (Zambia) on the 28th of this month."

A Foreign Ministry spokesman in Pretoria confirmed last night that Mr De Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha would meet Dr Kaunda on August 28.

Asked whether the frontline states — Zambia, Angola, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Mozambique and Botswana — believed the time was now right to negotiate with Pretoria, Dr Kaunda said the summit had taken a decision on that issue.

But he declined to disclose what that decision was, saying the frontline states would report to the Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) committee on Southern Africa which would meet in Harare on August 21.

To page 2

From page 1

Cape Times 11/8/89

ANC leaders had privately opposed a meeting between Dr Kaunda and Mr De Klerk. They said they needed proof from Pretoria that it was ready to end apartheid.

Their conditions for dialogue were that the government should free political prisoners and lift a state of emergency and a ban on political organisations.

Dr Kaunda said Angolan President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos had briefed the summit on efforts to end the civil war in Angola between government forces and Unita rebels.

He said the eight African nations which launched the Angolan peace process in May would meet in Harare on August 22 to review progress.

Angolan government and Unita officials have been meeting in Kinshasa to try to salvage a peace plan and ceasefire agreed on in June. Each side has accused the other of breaking the ceasefire.

Mr Dos Santos was expected to travel to Kinshasa tomorrow to discuss the peace process with Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, mediator in the Angolan peace process.

Mr Sam Nujoma, president of Swapo, told the leaders of Namibia's progress towards independence. Dr Kaunda said this issue would also figure at the OAU committee meeting in Harare. — Sapa-Reuter and Political Staff

435-type plan for new SA

ZIMBABWEANS are hopeful that next week's meeting here of leaders of 14 African countries of the OAU Special Committee on Southern Africa will see the adoption of a new strategy to end apartheid in South Africa.

Zimbabwe worked hard to get the Tanzanian diplomat, Mr Salim Salim, elected to the post of Secretary-General of the OAU in the belief that he will concentrate the organisation's attention on South Africa

President Mugabe said after his return from the OAU summit in Addis Ababa last month that it was agreed a programme should be drawn up to which African states could adhere and help the people of South Africa get rid of apartheid

On Monday, August 21, the ad hoc committee will discuss a programme of action which, if agreed to, could be taken to the United Nations for endorsement.

Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira has said the strategy should set the ground rules for resolving the situation in South Africa just as UN Resolution 435 had been accepted as the international strategy for setting Namibia on the road to independence

According to Zimbabwe's national news agency the 14 countries which will be represented at next week's meeting are the six Frontline States of Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Tanzania, together with Egypt, Mali, Nigeria, Algeria, Senegal, Cape Verde, Congo and Ethiopia

The Egyptian President Mr Hosni Mubarak, current chairman of the OAU, will preside over the Harare meeting.

The ANC, the PAC and Swapo will have delegations

Last week the Frontline States met in Lusaka to agree on their stance and considered an ANC document concerning negotiations with Pretoria

The Zimbabwean view is that the South African debate will dominate the proceedings, but the leaders are also expected to hear progress reports on the settlement moves in Angola and Mozambique.

Observers had expected Zaire to be present because of President Mobutu's role as mediator in Angola but apparently Mobutu is not expected

Southern Africa on Harare agendas

Star 18/8/89

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Conference centres and hotels in the Zimbabwean capital are in for a hectic few days, reports **ROBIN DREW of The Star's Africa News Service.**

HARARE — Crucial southern African issues will come under the spotlight next week at a series of top-level meetings in Zimbabwe

Harare is the venue for four summit conferences starting with the meeting on Monday of heads of government from 14 African countries from the Organisation of African Unity ad hoc committee on South Africa

This will be followed by a meeting of the special committee of the OAU concerned with the Angolan settlement moves, which will hear a report on progress in bringing Unita and the MPLA together

Midweek will see a meeting of leaders of Portuguese-speaking African countries and finally there will be a get-together of heads of government from the nine Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference member-states

Official sources in Harare say Zimbabwe will put no obstacles in the way of Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi attending the Angolan committee meeting, to be chaired by President Mobutu of Zaire.

At the ad hoc committee on South Africa meeting, regarded as the main event, interest will focus on whether the committee favours taking a programme of action on SA to the United Nations for endorsement

Pretoria would rather see this question remain one for the OAU than one for the UN.

At a recent news conference, however, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe said he saw no immediate prospect of the OAU talking to Pretoria

The emphasis will be on getting negotiations going in an atmosphere of peace between Pretoria and anti-apartheid bodies including the ANC

An ANC document laying down its known conditions for negotiation is on the table for discussion

Zimbabweans are hopeful that the meeting will see the adoption of a new strategy to hasten the advent of negotiations, failing which punitive measures should be applied with United Nations approval.

Mubarak OAU chairman

F W de Klerk. SA leader

OAU draws up an answer to Pretoria

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Sowetan 21/8/89

HARARE - African states and liberation movements, closing ranks against a South African diplomatic offensive, will try today to draw up a common strategy on negotiations to end apartheid, African diplomats said

The document expected to emerge from the meeting in Harare of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) ad-hoc committee on Southern Africa will be Africa's response to mounting international pressure for a negotiated settlement

'It will set out the path for negotiations if the South Africans are interested," one diplomat said

The OAU initiative would test the seriousness of repeated statements by South African leaders that they were ready to dismantle apartheid

ANC

The African National Congress (ANC), the main guerilla group fighting to end white minority rule in South Africa will be represented at today's 13-nation meeting

The Lusaka based ANC is hoping the OAU will back its own negotiating position

The OAU negotiation document is expected to maintain the ANC's demand that South Africa should show it is serious about ending apartheid by creating the right climate for negotiations

The ANC says Pretoria can do this by ending the existing state of emergency, releasing political prisoners lifting a ban on political groups and withdrawing troops from black townships

In defining its strategy, the OAU is expected to address such issues as who should negotiate with the South African Government when negotiations begin what they would discuss and what

Focus on apartheid

SAPA-REUTER
In HARARE

role the international community could play

Possible mechanisms to end apartheid include the formation of a transitional government in South Africa, diplomats said

Frontline

Expected at today s OAU ad hoc committee meeting are the leaders of Egypt as OAU chairman, of the six frontline states - Angola Botswana Mozambique Tanzania Zambia and Zimbabwe - and Algeria Cape Verde, Congo Ethiopia, Mali and Nigeria

Also present will be leaders of the ANC and another South African liberation movement the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Namibian nationalist group Swapo (South West Africa People s Organisation)

While today s meeting will concentrate on South Africa it will also review Namibia s independence process and moves to end the wars in Angola and Mozambique diplomats said

Review

Eight African leaders - from Angola Congo, Gabon, Mozambique Sao Tome and Principe Zaire Zambia and Zimbabwe - will also meet tomorrow in Harare to review the progress of efforts to end Angola s 14-year-old conflict

A peace initiative launched by Zaire in June has lost momentum in recent weeks with the Angolan government and Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) rebels accusing each other of breaking a ceasefire

The speed of the reconciliation has been slow and we are trying to speed it up," one diplomat said

Ceasefire

Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko is expected to brief the meeting on the current state of the ceasefire and a tentative peace plan agreed between Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi on June 22 Mobutu will speak for Savimbi who is not expected to attend, diplomats said

On Wednesday, the five Portuguese-speaking African states - Angola, Cape Verde Guinea Bissau Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe - might also get together in the Zimbabwean capital to discuss their own affairs, the diplomats said

Harare's week of summitry will be rounded off at the weekend with the annual consultative conference of the nine-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), the regional economic grouping.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thloloe Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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OAU plan to end apartheid

Star 21/8/89 The Star's Africa News Service (230)

HARARE — A master plan for ending apartheid in South Africa will be discussed at today's meeting here of 14 African states which form the ad hoc Committee on South Africa established by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

The master plan suggestion is the theme of an editorial in a Zimbabwean newspaper, *The Sunday Mail*, which says the lack of a binding common approach by African countries has allowed Pretoria to make diplomatic forays into Africa, dividing and weakening the OAU

Zimbabwean government sources see the meeting as vital to the proposal to create a common approach to South Africa which will allow Africa to speak with one voice.

Members of the OAU secretariat have been busy over the past week drawing up a document which incorporates the views of the ANC and the PAC on how best to go about ending apartheid

A well informed source said the document would deal not only with the process involved in dismantling apartheid, but also with the transition to majority rule

The meeting will be chaired by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, current chairman of the OAU, and will be formally opened by President Mugabe Delegations from the ANC, PAC and Swapo will attend

Frontline states' leaders agreed last week on their approach to what has been termed "a new strategy" on South Africa after discussing an ANC position paper. But the document which will go forward for consideration by the ad hoc committee is said to contain other views as well and should not be seen as an ANC scheme put forward for approval

Egyptian spokesmen have said it is likely that, if the document is approved, it will go to the September summit of the 101 nation Non-Aligned Movement in Belgrade as part of the process of obtaining international approval for the strategy

Among the leaders present will be President Chissano of Mozambique Observers here believe his contribution to the debate will be important in helping to shape an all-Africa view towards Pretoria's peace overtures

OAU backs plan for SA talks

Cape Times 22/8/89 230

From PASCAL FLETCHER

HARARE. — The Organisation of African Unity yesterday took a tough line on South Africa and adopted the ANC's preconditions for negotiations with the government.

Before any dialogue can begin, Pretoria must lift the state of emergency, free political prisoners, lift a ban on political groups and restrictions on individuals, withdraw troops from black townships and end political trials and executions

The nine-page document clearly backed the known negotiating position of the African National Congress

Based on a draft drawn up in Lusaka by the ANC, Cosatu and the UDF in June, the document does not spell out who will represent black South Africans in the projected talks

In its suggested agenda for negotiations, the OAU said the government and liberation movements should discuss a ceasefire and a new constitution — to be drawn up by an interim government which would also supervise elections

Step up support

To force South Africa to the negotiating table, the OAU would step up its support for guerilla movements and its campaign for mandatory sanctions against the South African government, seek to prevent the rescheduling of South Africa's foreign debt and work for the introduction of a mandatory international embargo on oil sales to the Republic

A separate final communique adopted by the OAU ad hoc committee stressed "with regret" that South Africa had not up to now shown any serious intention to eliminate apartheid

"The committee condemns and rejects all recent manoeuvres by the South African authorities aimed at deceiving world opinion, since their real aim is to perpetuate apartheid," it said "Apartheid cannot be reformed but must be eliminated"

MICHAEL HARTNACK reports that President Robert Mugabe, long considered the most adamant of the frontline leaders in his opposition to talks with South Africa, gave his blessing to projected negotiations

Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak, newly-elected chairman of the OAU, told the meeting of 13 African heads of state and representatives of Swapo, the ANC and the PAC that Africa "cannot work in isolation from the atmosphere of rapprochement on the international scene"

Embarrassing moments

There were embarrassing moments when the 75-year-old president of the PAC, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, was invited by Mr Mubarak to address the opening session "on behalf of the liberation movements" Mr Mothopeng was first introduced as "president of the ANC", but his longstanding rival, Mr Oliver Tambo, was yesterday still in London receiving medical treatment

Contradicting the whole purpose of the gathering, he asserted "At this stage I say that the question of negotiation is out"

ANC spokesmen later dissociated themselves from his remarks

Mr Mothopeng, who appeared confused during a rambling address, said negotiations could not be attempted until black South Africans had put themselves on at least equal footing with the government through the "armed struggle"

● PAC rejects negotiation — Page 3

OAU adopts ANC plan for settlement in SA

IR(6) 22/8/89 230

From JOHN RYAN
Argus Africa News Service

HARARE — The Organisation of African Unity has adopted the African National Congress's settlement plan for South Africa, which could now become an international blueprint for peace

An ANC spokesman confirmed last night that the organisation hoped the OAU-endorsed document would be presented to organisations such as the Non-Aligned Movement, and so solidify into a statement of ultimatum in the same way United Nations Resolution 435 became the accepted charter for independence in Namibia and Angola

The result would be to put the South African government under even greater pressure to negotiate Among other things, the plan accepted by the OAU aims at intensifying the "liberation struggle" through greater financial sanctions

At the same time, however, an ANC spokesman conceded that his movement did not believe Pretoria was ready to negotiate But he said it was important for the ANC to take the initiative at a time when the international community seemed to want a negotiated settlement in South Africa

It is certain now that the ANC-OAU document will be tabled for discussion when President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia meets acting State President F W de Klerk in Livingstone next Monday.

In a surprise development at the OAU ad hoc committee meeting here yesterday, the Pan Africanist Congress rejected negotiations with South Africa

The PAC's position is that the struggle must continue as before Ironically, its statement was made minutes after the OAU chairman, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, expressed the wish that the ANC and PAC develop a single strategy for change in South Africa

In a preamble to the ANC proposals it accepted, the OAU said "all the necessary measures" had to be adopted now to bring a speedy end to the apartheid system

The ANC plan, widely leaked before yesterday's meeting, proposes that talks should take place between the "liberation movements" and the South African government to suspend hostilities through a mutually binding ceasefire

The parties should then establish a base on which to adopt and put into effect a new constitution

But before any of this happened, measures should be taken to "release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally, unban all restricted people and organisations, remove all troops from the townships, end the state of emergency and repeal all suppressive laws and end all political trials and executions"

Thames searched for bodies after disaster

Peace prospects are improving — OAU group

Angola and Unita reach for a solution

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23/8/89.

Star

By John Ryan, The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Angola's shaky settlement plan received a boost yesterday when the eight African nations assigned to monitor the peace proposals issued a communique suggesting differences between the MPLA government and Unita were on the point of being ironed out

The chairman of the group, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, indicated to a press conference that Zairean leader President Mobutu, mediator in the negotiations, had undertaken to deliver by September 18 Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi's signed agreement on a lasting ceasefire, and a date for his temporary retirement

The eight nations have agreed to hold their next summit in Kinshasa on September 18

A ceasefire was accepted in principle but not formally endorsed when Dr Savimbi and President dos Santos of Angola met in their historic encounter in Zaire on June 22

But since then there have been allegations of breaches of the agreement, mainly from Angola In the past month, Angola has charged Unita with shooting down three aircraft and executing a group of Cuban soldiers

Asked how settlement plans were proceeding, President Kaunda said "Wait until September 18 It is very near This summit is not daunted It will continue until we succeed"

A report from Rabat in Morocco said Dr Savimbi was offering the MPLA government a permanent ceasefire in exchange for certain assurances

Asked if this offer had been discussed at the eight-nation meeting, President Kaunda said the only suggestions on the matter of a ceasefire had come from President Mobutu.

Key elements

In answer to a question on whether the Unita leader had agreed to retire as part of the Zaire deal, President Kaunda said "He was a bit difficult, but eventually he agreed

"It was hard work, but that's how it happened The South African leaders were involved and accepted it"

The eight nations of the monitoring group are Zaire, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Gabon, Congo, Mozambique, Angola, and Sao Tome and Principe

The key elements of the peace plan were an amnesty for Unita members, an end to hostilities, the integration of Unita members into Angolan society and institutions, and the recognition by external powers of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Angola

Speaking after the group communique was presented, President Kaunda said there had been "ups and downs" in maintaining the ceasefire

"But we have given advice to our mediator, and the objective is for something more effective"

(230) B/day 23/8/89

ANC's vision for South Africa gets the nod from OAU

The OAU special committee on southern Africa this week adopted an ANC document outlining guidelines for a negotiated settlement in SA. This is the full text of the draft declaration.

PREAMBLE

THE PEOPLE of Africa, singly, collectively and acting through the OAU, are engaged in serious efforts to establish peace throughout the continent by ending all conflicts through negotiations based on the principle of justice and peace for all

We reaffirm our conviction, which history confirms, that where colonial, racial and apartheid domination exist, there can neither be peace nor justice

Accordingly, we reiterate that while the apartheid system in SA persists, the peoples of our continent as a whole cannot achieve the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace which are both crucial in themselves and fundamental to the stability and development of Africa

With regard to the region of southern Africa, the entire continent is vitally interested that the processes in which it is involved, leading to the complete and genuine independence of Namibia, as well as peace in Angola and Mozambique, should succeed in the shortest possible time

Equally, Africa is deeply concerned that the destabilisation by SA of all the countries of the region, whether through direct aggression, sponsorship of surrogates, economic subversion or other means, should end immediately

We recognise the reality that permanent peace and stability in southern Africa can be achieved only when the system of apartheid in SA has been liquidated and SA transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country

We therefore reiterate that all the necessary measures should be adopted now to bring a speedy end to the apartheid system, in the interest of all the people of southern Africa, our continent and the world at large

We believe that, as a result of the liberation struggle and international pressure against apartheid, as well as global efforts to liquidate regional conflicts, possibilities exist for further movement towards the resolution of the problems facing the people of SA

For these possibilities to lead to fundamental change in SA, the Pretoria regime must abandon its abhorrent concepts and practices of racial domination and its record of failure to honour agreements, all of which have already resulted in the loss of so many lives and the destruction of much property in the countries of southern Africa

We reaffirm our recognition of the right of all peoples, including those of SA, to determine their own destiny, and work out for themselves the institutions and the system of government under which they will, by general consent, live and work together to build a harmonious society

The OAU remains committed to doing everything possible and necessary to assist the people of SA, in such ways as the representatives of the oppressed may determine, to achieve this objective We are certain that, arising from its duty to help end the criminal apartheid system, the rest of the world community is ready to extend similar assistance to the people of SA

We make these commitments because we believe that all people are equal and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, sex or creed

We believe that all men and women have the right and duty to participate in their own government, as equal members of society

No individual or group of individuals has any right to govern others without their consent

The apartheid system violates all these fundamental and universal principles

Correctly characterised as a crime against humanity, it is responsible for the death of countless numbers of people in SA

It has sought to dehumanise entire peoples

It has imposed a brutal war on the whole region of southern Africa, resulting in untold loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent men, women and children This scourge and affront to humanity must be fought and eradicated in its totality

We have therefore supported and continue to support all those in SA who pursue this noble objective through political, armed and other forms of struggle We believe this to be our duty, carried out in the interest of all humanity.

While extending this support to those who strive for a non-racial and democratic society in SA, a point on which no compromise is possible, we have repeatedly expressed our preference for a solution arrived at by peaceful means We know that the majority of the people of SA and their liberation movement who have been compelled to take up arms, have also upheld this position for many decades and continue to do so.

The positions contained in this declaration are consistent with and are a continuation of those elaborated in the Lusaka Manifesto two decades ago They take into account the changes that have taken place in southern Africa since that manifesto was adopted by the OAU and the rest of the international community

They constitute a new challenge to the Pretoria regime to join in the noble effort to end the apartheid system, an objective to which the OAU has been committed from its very birth

Consequently, we shall continue to do everything in our power to help intensify the liberation struggle and international pressure against the system of apartheid until this system is ended and SA is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens

In keeping with this solemn resolve, and responding directly to the wishes of the representatives of the majority of the people of SA, we publicly pledge ourselves to the positions contained hereunder

We are convinced that their implementation will lead to a speedy end of the apartheid system and therefore the opening of a new dawn of peace for all the peoples of Africa, in which racism, colonial domination and white minority rule on our continent would be abolished forever

PRINCIPLES

Armed struggle, calls for curb to continue - ANC

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Sowetan 24/8/89

Thami Mazwai, senior assistant editor of *Sowetan*, was in Harare for Monday's meeting of the Organisation of African Unity's ad hoc committee meeting on Southern Africa

In this article he gives the ANC's views on the adoption by the committee of its blueprint for negotiations with the South African Government. The blueprint was first presented to the Frontline States on August 10. After it was accepted by the Frontline States Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda fine-tuned it for Monday's meeting It has now to be ratified by the full summit of the OAU next July and it will then be forwarded to governments and international organisations

THE adoption by the Organisation of African Unity's ad hoc committee on Southern Africa of its blueprint will not affect the methods the ANC has used so far to force change in the country the armed struggle will be abandoned only when a new constitution that firmly establishes South Africa as a democracy is embraced.

"Until a new constitution is adopted and the South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country

At Monday's meeting it was agreed that pressures on South Africa should be maintained and even increased in order to get the country to submit to the democratic process as outlined in the declaration

According to supporters of the ANC, its memorandum originated from the visit of the Eminent Persons Group to South Africa in 1985

"We were not impressed with the EPG but as it was a decision of people like Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia, India, Canada and other Commonwealth countries that have been supporting our struggle, we co-operated

"Negotiations were on the agenda and the bottom line was freedom now. How were we to define this? How do we move?

"That is when we explored the concept of negotiation There will be a negotiation scenario in future - even the transfer of power must be negotiated We had to ask ourselves if we were for negotiation and if we were not an impediment to a peaceful resolution of the crisis Obviously a peaceful resolution of the crisis in the country is preferable

"We know that the regime is always opposed to this and it proved it when it bombed our offices in Lusaka, Harare and Botswana The EPG saw for itself what the Government was capable of doing and the various states of emergency confirmed our conclusion that the Government is intransigent

"Nonetheless we ex- to mend its ways and Great Britain and the United Stated were ready to act as brokers

Obviously we were going to be in the corridors when that happened and we would be presented with a fait accompli," the spokesman

"We also consulted with various organisations in the country such as the MDM, Cosatu and the churches

"As far as we are concerned the ball is now in the OAU's court, but we initiated what is now the OAU position Our memorandum represents an initiative by South Africans themselves and we do not have an imposition from the world's capitals

"But, it must be understood, we have not announced a winding down of the armed struggle or of the sanctions campaign It is 'Aluta Continua' as usual," he said

"All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism," it continues

The declaration talks of an "economic order which shall promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans "

The South African Government is then called upon to create a climate for negotiations by . removing all troops from the townships, lifting the bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and people, releasing all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally without any restrictions imposed on them, ending the state of emergency and all security legislation such as the Internal Security Act designed to circumscribe political activity, and the ceasing all political trials and executions

The declaration says it is necessary to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of remaking their country

According to the guidelines for the process of negotiation, discussions should take place between the liberation movements and the South African "regime" to achieve the suspension of hostilities and the adoption of a constitution based on the philosophy described in the principles

The parties will de-

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Sowetan 24/8/89

plored the concept of negotiations particularly as it was being spoken about in various capitals in 1987 and 1988 and there was a real danger of the European countries taking it upon themselves to set the agenda for negotiations We had to take it out of their hands

"When South Africa was finally forced to comply with 435 it was evident that they wanted to use this as a foot in the door into the rest of Africa: 'There were sudden talks that Pretoria wanted said

As speed was needed to come up with a position and agreement had been reached on the parameters the ANC was mandated with the task of drafting the document

"We told the PAC's Joe Mkhwanazi and Johnson Mlambo of this assignment and synthesised our ideas in our original blueprint. As you have heard for yourself they are not opposed to the principle of negotiation but raised issues of a technical nature

termine the role to be played by the international community

The programme of action commits the OAU to informing governments, the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations, the Commonwealth and other international organisations of the declaration and getting their support

An appeal is made to the world to support the declaration to ensure the liquidation of apartheid and transformation of Government creates a climate for negotiation it will be business as usual," a leading member of the organisation said

"The armed struggle and sanctions campaigns will be intensified "

"Our memorandum focussed on continental and international action and was designed for the OAU," another said

It is quite evident that Monday's adoption of its document is the first step in a process which will culminate in the adoption

● To Page 9

Sowetan 24/8/87

ANC plan will not upset SA says Pik

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THE South African Government will not be upset if President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia presents the ANC settlement plan for discussion during his talks next week with Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk

SOWETAN Correspondent

This was made clear by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha following the adoption by a committee of the organisation of African Unity of the ANC plan as its blueprint for peace

The South African Government would not be upset, Botha said, even though Kaunda had assured former President P W Botha he was only interested in getting to know De Klerk better - "and I take it he would not have lied to President Botha"

Handling

If the document did come up for discussion, it would be handled in the same way as any difficult problem which had come up in meetings with foreign powers such as the Russians, Angola and Cuba

"We will handle this like grown up people and like the country which is the strongest in the region" What was important was not what Kaunda conveyed to the Government but what the Government conveyed to him

"Our point of view on the ANC is clear It has been made public, and it doesn't matter what African leaders do when we meet them," he said.

ANC view

An ANC spokesman confirmed yesterday that the organisation hoped the OAU-endorsed document would be presented to organisations such as the non-aligned movement or the United Nations and so solidify into a statement or ultimatum, in the same way UN Resolution 435 became the accepted charter for independence and peace in Namibia and Angola.

The result would be to put the South African Government under even greater pressure to negotiate

Aims

Among other things, the plan accepted by the OAU aims at intensifying the "liberation struggle" through greater financial sanctions

The spokesman conceded his movement did not believe Pretoria was ready to negotiate, but he said it was important for the ANC to take the initiative at a time when the international community seemed to want a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

It is certain the ANC-OAU document will be tabled for discussion when Kaunda meets De Klerk in Livingstone

Surprise

In a surprising development at the OAU ad hoc committee meeting, the Pan Africanist Congress rejected negotiations with South Africa

The PAC's position is that the struggle must continue as before

Ironically, its statement was made minutes after the OAU chairman, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, expressed the wish that the ANC and PAC come to terms and develop a single strategy for change in South Africa.

Heated

The ANC plan, widely leaked before the meeting, proposes that talks should take place between the "liberation movements" and the Government to suspend hostilities through a mutually binding ceasefire.

The parties should then establish a base on which to adopt and put into effect a new constitution

They should also define and agree on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to democracy

OAU adopts ANC plan

230 Star 25/8/89

An African National Congress document outlining guidelines for a negotiated settlement in South Africa was this week adopted by the Organisation of African Unity special committee on southern Africa. Here is the full text.

Confrontation . . . an MDM protest against apartheid on beaches recently Now the OAU has urged "that all the necessary measures should be adopted to bring a speedy end to the apartheid system".

PREAMBLE

The people of Africa, singly, collectively and acting through the OAU, are engaged in serious efforts to establish peace throughout the continent by ending all conflicts through negotiations based on the principle of justice and peace for all

We reaffirm our conviction, which history confirms, that where colonial, racial and apartheid domination exist, there can neither be peace nor justice

Accordingly, we reiterate that while the apartheid system in SA persists, the peoples of our continent as a whole cannot achieve the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace which are both crucial in themselves and fundamental to the stability and development of Africa.

With regard to the region of southern Africa, the entire continent is vitally interested that the processes in which it is involved, leading to the complete and genuine independence of Namibia, as well as peace in Angola and Mozambique, should succeed in the shortest possible time

Equally, Africa is deeply concerned that the destabilisation by SA of all the countries of the region, whether through direct aggression, sponsorship of surrogates, economic subversion or other means, should end immediately

We recognise the reality that permanent peace and stability in southern Africa can be achieved only when the system of apartheid in SA has been liquidated and SA transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country

Speedy end

We therefore reiterate that all the necessary measures should be adopted now to bring a speedy end to the apartheid system, in the interest of all the people of southern Africa, our continent and the world at large

We believe that, as a result of the liberation struggle and international pressure against apartheid, as well as global efforts to liquidate regional conflicts, possibilities exist for further movement towards the resolution of the problems facing the people of SA

For these possibilities to lead to fundamental change in SA, the Pretoria regime must abandon its abhorrent concepts and practices of racial domination and its record of failure to honour agreements, all of which have already resulted in the loss of so many lives and the destruction of much property in the countries of southern Africa

We reaffirm our recognition of the right of all peoples, including those of SA, to determine their own destiny, and work out for themselves the institution and the system of government under which they will, by general consent, live and work together to build a harmonious society

The OAU remains committed to doing everything possible and necessary to assist the people of SA, in such ways as the representatives of the oppressed may determine, to achieve this objective. We are certain that, arising from its duty to help end the criminal apartheid system, the rest of the world community is ready to extend similar assistance to the people of SA

We make these commitments because we believe that all people are equal and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, sex or creed

We believe that all men and woman have the right and duty to participate in their own government, as equal members of society

No individual or group of individuals has any right to govern others without their consent

The apartheid system violates all these fundamental and universal principles

Correctly characterised as a crime against humanity, it is responsible for the death of countless numbers of people in SA

It has sought to dehumanise entire peoples.

It has imposed a brutal war on the whole region of southern Africa, resulting in untold loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent men, women and children This scourge and affront to humanity must be fought and eradicated in its totality

We have therefore supported and continue to support all those in SA who pursue this noble objective through political, armed and other forms of struggle We believe this to be our duty, carried out in the interest of all humanity.

While extending this support to those who strive for a non-racial and democratic society in SA, a point on which no compromise is possible, we have repeatedly expressed our preference for a solution arrived at by peaceful means

We know that the majority of the people of SA and their liberation movement who have been compelled to take up arms, have also upheld this position for many decades and continue to do so.

The positions contained in this declaration are consistent with and are a continuation of those elaborated in the Lusaka Manifesto two decades ago They take into account the changes that have taken place in southern Africa since that manifesto was adopted by the OAU and the rest of the international community

Noble effort

They constitute a new challenge to the Pretoria regime to join in the noble effort to end the apartheid system, an objective to which the OAU has been committed from its very birth

Consequently, we shall continue to do everything in our power to help intensify the liberation struggle and international pressure against the system of apartheid until this system is ended and SA is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens

In keeping with this solemn resolve, and responding directly to the wishes of the representatives of the majority of the people of SA, we publicly pledge ourselves to the positions contained hereunder

We are convinced that their implementation will lead to a speedy end of the apartheid system and therefore the opening of a new dawn of peace for all the peoples of Africa, in which racism, colonial domination and white minority rule on our continent would be abolished forever

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

We believe that a conjuncture of circumstances exists which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the Pretoria regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations

Such an eventuality would be an expression of the long-standing preference of the majority of the people of SA to arrive at a political settlement

We would therefore encourage the people of SA, as part of their overall struggle, to get together to negotiate an end to the apartheid system and agree on all the measures that are necessary to transform their country into a non-racial democracy

We support the position held by the majority of the people of SA that these objectives, and not the amendment or reform of the apartheid system, should be the aims of the negotiation

Equal rights

We are at one with them that the outcome of such a process should be a new constitutional order based on the following principles, among others

- SA shall become a united, democratic and non-racial state
- All its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed
- All its people shall have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of a universal suffrage, exercised through one person one vote, under a common voters' role
- All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism
- All shall enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched Bill of Rights
- SA shall have a new legal system which shall guarantee equality of all before the law
- SA shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary
- There shall be created an economic order that shall promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans
- A democratic SA shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples

We believe that agreement on the above principles shall constitute the foundation for an internationally acceptable solution which shall enable SA to take its rightful place as an equal partner among the African and world community of nations

CLIMATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS

Together with the rest of the world, we believe that it is essential, before any negotiations can take place, that the necessary climate for negotiations be created

The apartheid regime has the urgent responsibility to respond positively to this universally acclaimed demand and thus create this climate

Accordingly, the present regime should, at the very least

- Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them
- Lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons
- Remove all troops from the townships
- End the state of emergency and repeal all legislation, such as and including the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity
- Cease all political trials and political executions

These measures are necessary to produce conditions in which free political discussion can take place — an essential condition to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of re-making their country

The measures listed above should therefore precede negotiations

GUIDELINES TO THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION

We support the view of the liberation movement that upon the creation of this climate, the process of negotiations should commence along the following lines

Discussions should take place between the liberation movement and the South African regime to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire

New constitution

Negotiations should then proceed to establish the basis for the adoption of a new constitution by agreeing on, among others, the principles enunciated above

Having agreed on these principles, the parties should then negotiate the necessary mechanism for drawing up the new constitution

The parties shall define andagree on the role to be played by he international community in enuring a successful transition to a lemocratic order

The parties shall agree on te formation of an interim government to supervise the process of drawing up and adopting a new constiution, govern and administer the ountry, as well as effect the transitin to a democratic order, includig the holding of elections

After the adoption of the nw constitution, all armed hostilites will be deemed to have formallyterminated

For its part, the international community would lift the anctions that have been imposedagainst apartheid SA

The new SA shall qulify for membership of the OAU

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

In pursuance of the objectives stated in this document, the OAU hereby commits itself to

- Inform governments and inter-governmental organisations throughout the world, including the Non-Aligned Movement the UN General Assembly, the Security Council, the Commonwealth and others of these perspectives, and solicit their support
- Mandate the Frontline states, acting as the representatives of the OAU, to remain seized of the issue of a political resolution of the South African question

Step up campaign

- Step up all-round support for the South African liberation movement and campaign in the rest of the world in pursuance of this objective.
- Intensify the campaign for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid SA In this regard, immediately mobilise against the rescheduling of Pretoria's foreign debts, and work for the imposition of a mandatory oil embargo and the full observance by all countries of the arms embargo
- Ensure that the African continent does not relax existing measures for the total isolation of apartheid SA
- Continue to monitor the situation in Namibia and extend all necessary support to Swapo in its struggle for a genuinely independent Namibia
- Extend such assistance as the governments of Angola and Mozambique may require in order to secure peace for their people
- Render all possible assistance to the Frontline states to enable them to withstand Pretoria's campaign of aggression and destabilisation and enable them to continue to give their all-round support to the people of Namibia and SA

We appeal to all peope of goodwill throughout the world to support this programme of action as a necessary measure to secure the earliest liquidation of the apartheid system and the transformation of SA into a united, democratic and non-racial country

OAU endorses ANC's stance on negotiation

THE 24-point document circulated at the fourth session of the Organisation of African Unity Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa says the situation in South Africa could lead to the abolition of apartheid through negotiations

The adoption of the document – drawn up by the ANC, UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions in June – by the OAU committee means that it endorses negotiations between the South African government and liberation movements

However, the president of the Pan-Africanist Congress Zeph Mothopeng ruled out any negotiations with South Africa – thus distancing his movement from the ANC on this issue

"Negotiations ' said Mothopeng, "are out "

He noted negotiations were only possible if all parties in the country were at equal strength

The PAC position is significantly different from that of the ANC which believes it can open a dialogue with the Pretoria government once a number of basic conditions have been met

PAC president Zeph Mothopeng.

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ANC's peace proposals

Here are the ANC's peace proposals which were adopted by the Organisation of African Unity's ad hoc committee on Southern Africa at its meeting in Harare this week

PREAMBLE

1 0 The people of Africa, singly, collectively and acting through the OAU, are engaged in serious efforts to establish peace throughout the continent by ending all conflicts through negotiations based on the principle of justice and peace for all

2.0 We reaffirm our conviction, which history confirms, that where colonial, racial and apartheid domination exist, there can neither be peace nor justice

3 0 Accordingly, we reiterate that while the apartheid system in South Africa persists, the peoples of our continent as a whole cannot achieve the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace which are both crucial in themselves and fundamental to the stability and development of Africa

4 0 With regard to the region of Southern Africa, the entire continent is vitally interested that the processes, in which it is involved, leading to the complete and genuine independence of Namibia, as well as peace in Angola and Mozambique, should succeed in the shortest possible time

Equally, Africa is deeply concerned that the destabilisation by South Africa of all the countries of the region, whether through direct aggression, sponsorship of surrogates economic subversion and other means, should end immediately

5 0 We recognise the reality that permanent peace and stability in Southern Africa can only be achieved when the system of apartheid in South Africa has been liquidated and South Africa transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country

We therefore reiterate that all the necessary measures should be adopted now, to bring a speedy end to the apartheid system, in the interest of all the people of Southern Africa, our continent and the world at large

6 0 We believe that, as a result of the liberation struggle and international pressure against apartheid, as well as global efforts to liquidate regional conflicts, possibilities exist for further movement towards the resolution of the problems facing the people of South Africa

For these possibilities to lead to fundamental change in South Africa, the Pretoria regime must abandon its abhorrent concepts and practices of racial domination and its record of failure to honour agreements, all of which have already resulted in the loss of so many lives and the destruction of much property in the countries of Southern Africa

7 0 We reaffirm our recognition of the right of all peoples, including those of South Africa, to determine their own destiny, and to work out for themselves the institutions and the system of government under which they will, by general consent, live and work together to build a harmonious society

The Organisation of African Unity remains committed to do everything possible and necessary, to assist the people of South Africa, in such ways as the representatives of the oppressed may determine, to achieve this objective

We are certain that, arising from its duty to help end the criminal apartheid system, the rest of the world community is ready to extend similar assistance to the people of South Africa

8 0 We make these commitments because we believe that all people are equal and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, sex or creed

We believe that all men and women have the right and duty to participate in their own government, as equal members of society

No individual or group of individuals has any right to govern others without their consent

The apartheid system violates all these fundamental and universal principles Correctly characterised as a crime against humanity, it is responsible for the death of countless numbers of people in South Africa

It has sought to dehumanise entire peoples It has imposed a brutal war on the whole region of Southern Africa, resulting in untold loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent men, women and children

This scourge and affront to humanity must be fought and eradicated in its totality

9 0 We have therefore supported and continued to support all those in South Africa who pursue this noble objective through political, armed and other forms of struggle We believe this to be our duty, carried out in the interest of all humanity

10 0 While extending this support to those who strive for a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa, a point on which no compromise is possible, we have repeatedly expressed our preference for a solution arrived at by peaceful means

We know that the majority of the people of South Africa and their liberation movement, who have been compelled to take up arms, have also upheld this position for many decades and continue to do so

11 0 The positions contained in this Declaration are consistent with and are a continuation of those elaborated in the Lusaka Manifesto, two decades ago

They take into account the changes that have taken place in Southern Africa since that Manifesto was adopted by the OAU and the rest of the international community

They constitute a new challenge to the Pretoria regime to join in the noble effort to end the apartheid system, an objective to which the OAU has been committed from its very birth

12 0 Consequently, we shall continue to do everything in our power to help intensify the liberation struggle and international pressure against the system of apartheid until this system is ended and South Afric is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens

ence of the majority of the people of South Africa to arrive at a political settlement

15 0 We would therefore encourage the people of South Africa, as part of their overall struggle, to get together to negotiate an end to the apartheid system and agree on all the measures that are necessary to transform their country into a non-racial democracy

We support the position held by the majority of the people of South Africa that these objectives, and not the amendment or reform of the apartheid system, should be the aims of the negotiations

16.0 We are at one with them that the outcome of such a process should be a new constitutional order based on the following principles, among others

16 1 South Africa shall become a united, democratic and non-racial state

16.2 All its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, regardless of race, colour, sex and creed

16.3 All its people shall have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of a universal suffrage, exercised through one person one vote, under a common voters' roll

16.4 All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism

16.5 All shall enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedoms and civil liberties protected under an entrenched Bill of Rights

16.6 South Africa shall have a new legal system which shall guarantee

lieve that it is essential, befre any negotiations can take place, that the necessary climate for negotiations be created

The apartheid regime has the urgent responsibility to respond positively to this universally acclaimed demand and thus create this climate

19 0 Accordingly, the present regime should, at the very least

19 1 Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them,

19 2 Lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons,

19.3 Remove all troops from the townships,

19 4 End the state of emergency and repeal all legislation, such as and including the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity, and,

19.5 Cease all political trials and political executions

20 0 These measures are necessary to produce the conditions in which free political discussion can take place - and essential condition to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of remaking their country The measures listed above should therefore precede negotiations

VI. GUIDELINES TO THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION

21 0 We support the view of the South African liberation movement that upon the creation of this climate, the process of negotiations should commence along the following lines

21 1 Discussions should

21 6 After the adoption of the new Constitution, all armed hostilities will be deemed to have formally terminated

21 7 For its part, the international community would lift the sanctions that have been imposed against apartheid South Africa

22 0 The new South Africa shall qualify for membership of the Organisation of African Unity

V. PROGRAMME OF ACTION.

23 0 In persuance of the objectives stated in this document, the Organisation of African Unity hereby commits itself to

23 1 Inform governments and inter-governmental organisations throughout the world, including the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations General Assembly, the Security Council, the Commonwealth and others of these perspectives, and solicit their support

23 2 Mandate the Front-line States, acting as the representatives of the OAU, to remain seized of the issue of a political resolution of the South African question,

23.3 Step up all-round support for the South African liberation movement and campaign in the rest of the world in pursuance of this objective,

23 4 Intensify the campaign for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa in this regard immediately mobilise against the rescheduling of Pretoria's foreign debts work for the imposition of a mandatory oil embargo and the full observance by all countries of the arms embargo,

23 5 Ensure that the Afri-

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held system, an objective to which the OAU has been committed from its very birth

12 0 Consequently, we shall continue to do everything in our power to help intensify the liberation struggle and international pressure against the system of apartheid until this system is ended and South Afric is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens

13 0 In keeping with this solemn resolve, and responding directly to the wishes of the representatives of the majority of the people of South Africa, we publicly pledge ourselves to the positions contained hereunder We are convinced that their implementation will lead to a speedy end of the apartheid system and therefore the opening of a new dawn of peace for all the people of Africa, in which racism, colonial domination and white minority rule on our continent would be abolished for ever

II. STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLE

14 0 We believe that a conjuncture of circumstances exist which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the Pretoria regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations

Such an eventuality would be an expression of the long-standing preferred

(230) (illegible) Argus 27/8/89

MDM praises OAU over SA peace plan

By CONNIE MOLUSI

THE Mass Democratic Movement has praised the Organisation of African Unity's adoption of the ANC plan to achieve peace in South Africa

At a Press conference this week, Murphy Morobe of the UDF said the OAU summit made history when it adopted "what we believe to be a detailed plan for a process to achieve peace in South Africa"

"The position adopted in the declaration complements our stated position on negotiations," he said

"Since the declaration has become a document of the OAU, it is the responsibility of the MDM, together with the rest of Africa, to ensure that the declaration becomes a truly people's document

But he added "From the assessment of the current situation, negotiations are still far in the future and thus it is imperative to intensify campaigns against apartheid"

The UDF-Cosatu delegation which attended the OAU summit also held private briefings with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe

"President Kaunda took the opportunity to inform us that the Zambian government had no intention of kicking the ANC out of Zambia"

Morobe said the declaration would fit well into the current debate within MDM structures on the issue of a negotiated settlement

The plan has only been adopted by the OAU ad-hoc committee on Southern Africa This means it still has to be formally adopted by the OAU heads of state in January next year

Murphy Morobe- ...Plan adds to negotiation debate.

It makes the same demands that have been put forward by the MDM and follows the unifying perspective to be developed at the October conference for a democratic future

Because of printing problems last Thursday's Focus was garbled. It is being reproduced today for those of our readers who were interested in it but could not make head or tail of it. The article was written by THAMI MAZWAI, who was in Harare last Monday for the Organisation of African Unity ad hoc committee on Southern Africa meeting which looked at strategies to be adopted by the continent on South Africa.

OAU leaders want talks

THE adoption by the Organisation of African Unity's ad hoc committee on Southern Africa of its blueprint, will not affect the methods the ANC has used so far to force change in the country the armed struggle will be abandoned only when a new constitution that firmly establishes South Africa as a democracy is embraced.

"Until a new constitution is adopted and the Government creates a climate for negotiation, it will be business as usual," a leading member of the organisation said

The armed struggle and sanctions campaigns will be intensified

"Our memorandum focussed on continental and international action and was designed for the OAU " another said

It is quite evident that Monday's adoption of its document, is the first step in a process, which will culminate in the adoption by the United Nations of a resolution similar to 435 on Namibia, to serve as a basis for future discussions and strategies on South Africa

Pressure

Pressure on South Africa will now be to make it comply with the new resolution, just as pressure was applied on the country to implement Resolution 435 on Namibia

ANC members argue that the Zimbabwean experience, when liberation organisations adopted the slogan Nibmar (no independence before majority rule), justified the ANC strategy of getting the Frontline States and the OAU to endorse its blueprint

"We have to ensure that the initiative remains with us and the conditions and guarantees necessary for negotiations are set by South Africans and not by the international community,' ANC officials say

Initiative

' For instance when the Western Contact Group on Namibia was formed it took the initiative out of the United Nations and the Namibians

"When the European powers fell out, the initiative was left in the hands of the United States We know what happened in the process We have taken pre-emptive action Our memorandum details the type of society we want and how it can be attained," a spokesman said

The memorandum, adopted as the Draft Declaration of the OAU ad hoc committee on Southern Africa" is divided into five sections the preamble, statement of principles, climate for negotiations, guidelines to the process of negotiations and programme of action

A commitment to the creation of a just South Africa free of discrimination is contained in the preamble

"Consequently we (the OAU) shall continue to do everything in our power to help intensify the liberation struggle and international pressure against the system of apartheid until this system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens

In keeping with this solemn resolve, and responding directly to the wishes of the representatives of the majority of the people of South Africa, we publicly pledge ourselves the positions contained hereunder

"We are convinced that the implementation will lead to a speedy end of the apartheid system and therefore the opening of a new dawn of peace for the peoples of Africa, in which racism, colonial domination and white minority rule on our continent would be abolished for ever," the declaration states

The principles embody excerpts from the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and specify that all the people of South Africa "have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of universal suffrage, exercised through one person one vote, under a common voters roll

"All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism," it continues

The declaration talks of an "economic order which shall promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans "

The South African Government is then called upon to create a climate for negotiations by removing all troops from the townships, lifting the bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and people, releasing all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally without any restrictions imposed on them, ending the state of emergency and all security legislation such as the Internal Security Act designed to circumscribe political activity, and the ceasing of all political trials and executions.

Negotiation

The declaration says it is necessary to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of remaking their country

According to the guidelines for the process of negotiation, discussions should take place between the liberation movements and the South African "regime" to achieve the suspension of hostilities and the adoption of a constitution based on the philosophy described in the principles

The parties will determine the role to be played by the international community

The programme of action commits the OAU to informing governments, the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations, the Commonwealth and other international organisations of the declaration and getting their support

An appeal is made to the world to support the declaration to ensure the liquidation of apartheid and transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country

According to supporters of the ANC, its memorandum originated from the visit of the Eminent Persons Group to South Africa in 1985

"We were not impressed with the EPG, but, as it was a decision of people like Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia, India, Canada and other Commonwealth countries that have been supporting our struggle, we co-operated

"Negotiations were on the agenda and the bottom line was freedom now How were we to define this? How do we move

"That is when we explored the concept of negotiation There will be a negotiation scenario in future - even the transfer of power must be

Nonetheless we explored the concept of negotiations particularly as it was being spoken about in various capitals in 1987 and 1988 and there was a real danger of the European countries taking it upon themselves to set the agenda for negotiations We had to take it out of their hands

"When South Africa was finally forced to comply with 435 it was evident that they wanted to use this as a foot in the door into the rest of Africa

'There were sudden talks that Pretoria wanted to mend its ways and Great Britain and the United Stated were ready to act as brokers Obviously we were going to be in the corridors when that happened and we would be presented with a *fait accompli*," the spokesman said

"As speed was needed to come up with a position and agreement had been reached on the parameters, the ANC was mandated with the task of drafting the document

We told the PAC's Joe Mkhwanazi and Johnson Mlambo of this assignment and synthesised our ideas in our original blueprint As you have heard they are not opposed to the principle of negotiation but raised issues of a technical nature We also consulted with various organisations in the country such as the MDM Cosatu and the churches

"As far as we are concerned the ball is now in the OAU's court, but we initiated what is now the OAU position Our memorandum represents an initiative by South Africans themselves and we do not have an imposition from the world's capitals

But, it must be understood, we have not announced a winding down of the armed struggle or of the sanctions campaign It is 'Aluta Continua' as usual," he said

It's still a long road to peace in our time

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S/Times 3/9/89

by John Barratt

Director-General, SA Institute of International Affairs

THE current peace moves in Southern Africa are not an isolated occurrence in today's changing world In many regions there are discussions to resolve long-standing conflicts There has even been talk of a global "outbreak of peace"

Behind this hopeful new mood is the burgeoning rapprochement between the two superpowers, a product of the "new thinking" of the Soviet Union since the advent of Gorbachev in 1985

In our own region we have seen a remarkable change of direction, including the agreement on Namibian independence, the Cuban and South African withdrawals from Angola, the beginning of talks between Unita and the MPLA, exploratory talks on a reconciliation between Frelimo amd Renamo in Mozambique, efforts of the Frontline States, the ANC and the OAU to formulate an initial negotiating position for South Africa's domestic conflict, and now the surprising visits of Acting State President FW de Klerk to Presidents Mobutu and Kaunda

However, a serious note of caution is required In spite of the new and hopeful international mood, including in our region of Africa, one has to recognise that not one of the regional conflicts in different parts of the world has yet been resolved Euphoria is therefore premature

In southern Africa, too, nothing is yet settled, although in Namibia at least the road ahead for this independence process looks reasonably good, even if the post-independence outlook is less clear

In Angola the two contending parties are still far apart, the ceasefire agreed to at Gbadolite is proving very fragile, the "Savimbi factor" has not yet been resolved, and the Soviets are still supporting the MPLA and the Americans Unita

Essential

Prospects for Namibia after independence depend largely on peace in Angola, and the independence process itself could even be derailed if the civil war resumes in earnest and the Cubans halt their withdrawal

Mr De Klerk's hurried visits to Zaire and Zambia in the midst of the election campaign were therefore essential to prevent the Angolan talks from collapsing completely, and to gain time to find a way to deal with South Africa's problem of how to persuade Mr Savimbi to come to terms with the new realities of the region

For this problem has by no means yet been resolved, and Savimbi may find after our elections — if he has not done so already — that Pretoria's "new thinking" on its regional relations no longer includes even the political, let alone military, commitment to him and Unita which it saw fit to make in the past

Presidents Mobutu and Kaunda apparently chose not to do or say anything to embarrass Mr De Klerk before the election, either over South Africa's relations with Unita or on apartheid and the issue of negotiations with the ANC

This was in spite of the current domestic unrest They know they will have to deal with him in the future, and for the time being they, like the major Western leaders, seem prepared to "give FW a chance"

Who would have expected that these two African leaders and Dr Chissano of Mozambique would combine with Mrs Thatcher and Mr Kohl of West Germany in giving Mr De Klerk and his party such a boost in the election campaign by their meetings with him?

He has thus been able to don the mantle of international statesman much more quickly than his predecessors

But he must know that these high-level meetings in Europe and Southern Africa — important as they may have been in opening lines of communication — have not resolved any substantive issues

These issues remain to be dealt with after Wednesday's votes have been counted, when the new State President and his government will come under a harsh international spotlight, and he will be judged very soon by his actions rather than his words Apart from the unsettled Angolan conflict and the related question of ensuring that Namibia is successfully launched into independence, there is the equally vital issue for southern Africa of bringing peace and development to Mozambique If this conflict — for which South Africa bears a heavy responsibility — is not resolved, and the present exploratory talks do not soon show more progress, relations with Mozambique will again deteriorate

Our relations with Zimbabwe, which have been directly affected for most of the '80s from the chaos in Mozambique, will also stand little chance of improvement, and Malawi will continue to suffer from being cut off from its natural routes to the sea and from the influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees

Credibility

A high level of priority has already been given to Mozambique in Pretoria, and much has been done in the past year to repair the damage of earlier actions This has been recognised internationally and in the region, but it remains an unresolved issue

Above all, if the momentum of the peace process in Southern Africa and the Government's credibility in this process are to be maintained, the issue of a negotiated settlement within South Africa will have to be realistically faced

All the major external powers, including the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, Germany, France and Japan are now promoting the concept of negotiations for a political settlement

As vague and unspecific as this concept may still be, it is still seen as an alternative to escalating violence and to ideas of a revolutionary change Within southern Africa this approach is also receiving growing support, and the ANC has been persuaded to produce a declaration on its negotiating position

The negotiation has been endorsed by an OAU committee, including the Frontline States, and it will no doubt be approved by the OAU as a whole

Although Mr De Klerk and the National Party are openly committed to negotiations for a new constitution, the ANC has, in the international context, stolen a march on them

Its declaration may make some demands which no white government could realistically be expected to consider seriously, but the ANC has at least placed its initial position on the table

Pretoria will be expected to respond and to acknowledge that the ANC is one of the parties which will have to be involved in any realistic negotiations in the future

This issue cannot be put off until all other regional issues are resolved, because Western governments, as much as those in southern Africa, will now be looking for a new government to provide substance to the expectations which Mr De Klerk has aroused

Unless he has hidden plans, to be divulged after Wednesday, they may have to learn that, as with other regional conflicts, there is still a long way to go before Southern African peace is assured

However, for the time being the region appears to at least be going in the right direction

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NAM adopts ANC policy document on SA

BELGRADE — The Non-Aligned Movement has adopted the ANC document which accepts peace negotiations provided the SA Government complies with a number of conditions.

The NAM yesterday also condemned Pretoria's current diplomatic offensive, saying it was "meaningless and deceitful", the Zimbabwean news agency Ziana reported.

The ANC document, adopted by the Organisation of African Unity in Harare last month and now official OAU policy, was adopted by the NAM political committee, and NAM leaders were expected to endorse it by the time the summit ends today.

In a one-sentence paragraph, the NAM said: "The heads of state or government endorsed the declaration of the Organisation of African Unity ad hoc committee on southern Africa on the question of South Africa adopted in Harare, Zimbabwe, on August 21 1989 and adopted it as a non-aligned declaration on South Africa." Star 7/9/89

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DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE

The NAM declaration on southern Africa also expressed concern that "the SA regime has embarked on a diplomatic offensive designed to protect the image of an apartheid South Africa ready to live in peace with its neighbours and reform apartheid, which is a ploy designed to lessen international pressures against the regime".

It said Pretoria refused to have genuine dialogue with authentic leaders of the oppressed majority of South Africa.

The NAM cautioned the international community against contacts with South Africa, the outcome of which it said was against the interests of the oppressed people of the country.

It rejected "the euphoria with which some Western news media have accepted and projected the racist regime's acting President Frederik W de Klerk as a man of change" — Sapa.

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'SA in diplomatic accord'

KEN POTTINGER

LISBON — SA and the West African island state of Cape Verde would shortly establish formal diplomatic relations, a report here claimed yesterday

The move would represent a breakthrough in Pretoria's 35-year isolation from the great majority of its black African fellow states.

The specialist weekly Lisbon paper Africa, citing Cape Verdean and SA sources, said discussions about exchanging envoys had been completed and a formal announcement was expected in the near future.

But DANIEL SIMON reports that Foreign Affairs spokesman Madelaine Gericke said last night reports that formal diplomatic ties would be established were untrue

There was no immediate Cape Verdean reaction in Lisbon

The island's President Aristides Pereira, an African moderate, has boldly advocated encouraging SA to dismantle its apartheid policy through closer contacts with other African states

His views are contested by hardliners at the OAU who insist on isolation and sanctions Diplomats here say a move to open embassies in the two capitals could be followed by similar gestures from the Ivory Coast and Mozambique Such a development would be a clear sign of support for F W de Klerk

Cape Verde, a former Portuguese colony, is an important refuelling stop for SAA flights to Europe and post-independence relations between SA and the island have been cordial It was the scene of the first formal contacts between SA and Angola which paved the way for the Brazzaville peace deal on Namibia

South - 5/10 - 11/10/89

(230)

Leadership tussle for Commonwealth

Who will take over as Commonwealth secretary-general next June when Shridath Ramphal retires after 15 years? There are two strong contenders for what is considered one of the most powerful jobs in the world, and the election could test the Commonwealth's tradition of taking decisions by consensus. DEREK INGRAM reports:

CHOOSING a successor for Commonwealth secretary-general Shridath Ramphal is proving a major headache for the 48-nation body.

After months of speculation and campaigning, the issue may only be resolved when the organisation holds its summit in Kuala Lumpur this weekend

Many countries, especially the host country, Malaysia, had hoped that the election of a secretary-general would be settled well in advance of the summit so that the leaders merely had to rubberstamp the appointment It is not turning out that way

Anyaoku

Fraser

After several possible candidates were named earlier this year, only two remain Former Australian prime minister Malcolm Fraser is being backed by his country, while Nigeria is sponsoring Ramphal's deputy secretary (political), Chief Emeka Anyaoku

Anyaoku appears to have most support, but one or two major member countries, most notably Britain, are not showing their hand The Australians claim that on a head count they are leading

The situation has no real precedent Since the Commonwealth secretariat was formed in 1965 there have been only two secretaries-general, the Canadian diplomat Arnold Smith, who served two five-year terms, and Ramphal, whose third five-year term ends in mid-1990 Ramphal has told governments he does not intend to stand again

Smith was chosen out of seven candidates At the 1965 summit in London when Commonwealth countries totalled 22 against today's 48, the British conducted the discussion in a committee of officials

The official chairing the meeting finally asked the representatives of each country to write on a piece of paper which candidate they preferred Smith was the easy winner

For the Commonwealth, the procedure was unusual The tradition is never to vote on any issue but to decide by consensus

In 1979 a minor challenge to Ramphal's second term was brushed off at the Lusaka summit and in 1983, when the question of a third term was discussed by the leaders in New Delhi, Ramphal was quickly given it — two years ahead of time

This time there has been a real contest, with both candidates lobbying governments, including prime ministers and presidents, around the world for several months

Fraser began his campaign more than two years ago Although he is a political opponent of the present Australian government — his Liberal government was defeated by Labour in 1983 — Labour prime minister Bob Hawke has given him the government's full support

Anyaoku entered the arena late because he wanted to be quite sure that Ramphal did not intend to stand again When he did declare himself a candidate he set about seeking support in a typically thorough way

Question marks have remained over the position of Canada, Britain and even India

The fact that the issue seems likely to go to the summit meeting shows that the traditional consensus system has not so far worked

Some British officials still seem to be hoping that another candidate might emerge, but there is no sign of this happening

Hawke seeks harsh sanctions

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda makes a point while addressing a news conference before opening the Commonwealth summit debate in Kuala Lumpur on SA. In his speech he condemned international banks for rescheduling SA's debt. Picture REUTER

KUALA LUMPUR — Australia put forward a five-point plan to tighten the economic screw on SA to the Commonwealth summit yesterday, but ran headlong into opposition from British PM Margaret Thatcher.

Australian PM Bob Hawke's plan "to extend and intensify financial sanctions", submitted during an extensive debate on southern Africa, was swiftly attacked by Thatcher as a recipe for increasing poverty.

"Sanctions only work by punishing the poor," a senior British official reported Thatcher as telling the meeting.

Hawke's plan would endorse the "Harare Declaration" approved by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) last August, which sets out a blueprint for negotiations.

Demands

His plan would go further than existing Commonwealth policy, implicitly endorsing the OAU call for a transitional government in SA.

It also reaffirms long-standing Commonwealth demands such as the release of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, lifting the state of emergency, and ending the ban on the ANC and other movements.

De Klerk would be required to take legislative action to abolish apartheid laws when the SA parliament meets early next year

The debate on SA began a few hours after Pretoria punched a large hole in the Commonwealth's list of potential sanctions by announcing an $8bn debt rescheduling agreement with foreign commercial banks

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia described the bankers as "bloodsuckers" and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe said he was "disgusted".

Canadian and Australian leaders put a more optimistic spin on the news, saying it would not solve SA's chronic economic problems and that the terms of the accord were tough.

Under Hawke's plan, governments would be asked not to underwrite trade deals with SA except through export guarantee credits.

The Australian plan would keep alive an eight-nation committee of foreign ministers on SA set up two years ago, and establish a permanent research unit to monitor developments on a regular basis.

It would explore the possibility of developing a major International Monetary Fund financial package for SA that would depend on "structural political reform of a kind that could reasonably guarantee economic stability".

Officials said the Hawke plan was much tougher than expected and took the meeting by surprise

Thatcher said Britain would have nothing to do with extra sanctions, but she did not propose easing existing sanctions

Spokesman Patsy Robertson said a majority favoured giving De Klerk six months to fulfil his promises of reform.

Earlier, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda told journalists that on sanctions "We will not move Mrs Thatcher and she will not move us." He said the subject was as divisive as it had ever been.

He saw De Klerk as an honest, sincere man but added. "Personally, I don't give this regime more than three years"

Frontline states also opposed giving SA anything that might resemble a breathing space.

☐ Britain has also poured cold water on a proposed Commonwealth fund to help poorer nations join a world programme to save the environment.

"There is a sticking point about the fund. Britain does not want it," a Commonwealth official said yesterday.

"It is quite clear that to cope properly with the environmental challenge, more money is going to have to be spent," the official said.

Burden

Commonwealth officials said Britain was reluctant to fork out more money to the Commonwealth secretariat.

Malaysia has drafted a 10-point "Langkawi Declaration" calling on rich and poor nations to equally share the burden of tackling problems of pollution and climatic change.

The declaration, due to be adopted during a leaders' weekend retreat on the northern resort island of Langkawi, calls for a fund to help poor nations take part in international environmental programmes.

In 1988/89 Britain contributed more than £10m to Commonwealth programmes and to maintenance of the secretariat.

The leaders are set to tackle the environmental and world pollution issues tomorrow, the third day of the week-long biennial summit. — Sapa-Reuter

Optimism at Commonwealth

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South 19-25/10/89

'Boy king' makes summit history

TWENTY-ONE-YEAR-OLD King Mswati III of Swaziland is the youngest person ever to attend the Commonwealth meeting

He is probably the youngest person ever to attend an international summit of this nature

The Kuala Lumpur meeting is of "heads of governments", not heads of state (though some are both) and hitherto Swaziland has sent its prime minister

But recently the king dismissed Prime Minister Sotsha Dlamini, appointed an acting prime minister, Obde Dlamini, and said he would go to Kuala Lumpur himself

He may have got the idea from Lesotho, whose King Moshoeshoe II started going to these meetings in 1985 instead of a member of his government Lesotho now has a military ruler, Major-General Justin Lekhanya

Also at the summit is the Sultan of Brunei, the world's richest man, who has represented his country since it became independent in 1984

Apart from the King of Swaziland the most striking new face at the Commonwealth table since the last meeting in Vancouver is prime minister Benazir Bhutto, who took Pakistan back into the Commonwealth on October 1

Another new face is president Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, who came to power in 1985, but did not attend the 1985 and 1987 summits

Other changes

Others are president George Vassiliou of Cyprus, who took over after an election from Spyros Kyprianou, and Geoffrey Palmer, who replaced David Lange as prime minister of New Zealand only three months ago

There have been three other changes since 1987 President Ranasinghe Premadasa of Sri Lanka has succeeded Junius Jayewardene

Rabbie Namaliu is the new prime minister of Papua New Guinea He followed Paias Wingti after a parliamentary vote of no-confidence

Solomon Mamaloni has replaced Peter Kenilorea as prime minister of the Solomon Islands

Three old faces have returned From the Caribbean is Michael Manley, prime minister of Jamaica again, who chaired the Commonwealth summit of 1975 and George Price, who at 70 has just defeated Manuel Esquivel and has once more become prime minister of Belize

From the Pacific comes prime minister Tofilau Eti Alasana of Western Samoa, who has returned as prime minister in place of Va'ai Kolone Eti was at the 1983 summit in New Delhi

King Mswati

Kaunda

Thatcher

EVERYONE felt a little upbeat when they took their places for the Commonwealth summit in Kuala Lumpur this week.

Firstly, it is being hosted by a prime minister, Mahathir Mohamad, who only a few years ago was casting doubts on the worth of the Commonwealth

Secondly, sitting among them is Benazir Bhutto.

Pakistan is back after 17 years, an act that has blown right off course the prophets of Commonwealth decline.

By next year the leaders seated around the specially made oval rubber-wood table will be expecting Namibia to become member No 50

The summit in the Putra World Trade Centre has a packed agenda and the going is tough The threat to the physical survival of some member countries because of environmental changes, differences of approach on southern Africa, even the choice of the next Commonwealth secretary-general, are not having heads nodding in unison

Greenhouse

Unwelcome messages are coming to the table A report from a committee of experts set up to examine the threat posed by the greenhouse effect tells industrialised countries that they will have to earmark huge sums of money to the developing world

This is to help them adapt their own industries so that they do not cause as much pollution as the rich countries

The leaders will issue a Commonwealth declaration on the environment That is the easy part Whether they will agree to the recommendations of the expert group is quite another matter

Southern Africa is something on which they certainly will not agree, although this time at least they agreed to disagree

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will persist in her stand against more sanctions and the rest of the Commonwealth will proceed without her, as it has done for last four years

Thatcher is pleading that the new government of president FW de Klerk must be given more time to move his country towards proper democracy and she will argue that her policy of dialogue with South Africa rather than isolation is paying off

The Commonwealth is meeting in Kuala Lumpur in a more optimistic mood than for many years. One reason is the return of Pakistan and the appearance of prime minister Benazir Bhutto at the table. If there are any stars this year it will be Bhutto. The problem of sheer survival because of climatic changes, is sharing the top of the agenda with South Africa. DEREK INGRAM reports:

Bhutto

The other leaders say that the fundamentals have still not been tackled, that apartheid in schools, hospitals and living areas remain in place and that the reign of terror still exists in the African townships

Dialogue

The pressures, they say, must be increased The South Africans must not be allowed to roll over the huge debt that has to be paid in 1990

They are telling Thatcher that her dialogue with the South African government is in fact being helped by the pressure that us already being applied by the rest of the Commonwealth and other countries, particularly the United States

The eight-nation committee of foreign ministers, which Thatcher refused to join when it was formed in Vancouver, has been instrumental in that

The meeting will be presented with an up-to-date report on the Namibian election process

Secretary-general Shirdath Ramphal has suggested that the Commonwealth needs to set up a standing arrangement for observing elections

He said "At this moment when the thrust for democracy is so strong in worldwide terms, I feel this is a challenge to which the Commonwealth will want to rise"

The Commonwealth scored a big success with its observer group operation in Zimbabwe in 1980 Its group in Uganda suffered from being set up too late

Sri Lanka also asked for help too late for any to be given Now there is the operation in Namibia

International observer groups for elections are becoming acceptable, they help to ensure fair play and bolster delicate new governments The United Nations is organising an observer operation in Nicaragua next year

The leaders are anxious about the future of the Commonwealth Games in view of the threat to the Auckland Games in January posed by the tours to South Africa by the British and Australian rugby players and the rebel England cricket team

Unhindered

The cricket tour opens on the same day as the Games The leaders are unlikely to promise not to boycott Auckland but the Games are expected to proceed unhindered

African countries do not want to upset New Zealand which stands to lose financially if the Games are disrupted The future of the Games themselves could be in jeopardy

The leaders will give the go-ahead to the setting up of a novel new institution, a Commonwealth Equity Fund

The Fund will operate purely commercially and will aim to find potential investment opportunities in small and low-income countries

Private institutions have welcomed the idea, two years in preparation by the Commonwealth secretariat

Then there is the thorny question of the next secretary-general Member countries are divided and torn between Malcolm Fraser, former prime minister of Australia, and Ramphal's deputy, Chief Emeka Anyaoku of Nigeria

Both candidates are there, Anyaoku in the meeting chairing the parallel Committee of the Whole (the top officials) and Fraser lobbying outside

At the weekend the leaders go to their retreat on Langkawi Island and there they will decide

There, too, the leaders sitting informally and alone are likely to debate the future of the Commonwealth itself

The leaders meet in historic times The old global order that dates back to 1945 has broken up Superpower conflict has been replaced by superpower cooperation East Europe is in turmoil

The Soviet Union is moving into unchartered waters China remains an enigma

The discussion began in Kuala Lumpur and will be carried on by a group of senior Commonwealth figures probably right up to the next summit in 1991 The bid for hosting that one is coming from the small island state of Malta — *GEMINI NEWS*

Leaders agree to disagree on SA

WHEN Commonwealth leaders get down to discussing South Africa they will focus on the intentions of the new State President, FW de Klerk

The key question is whether he really means to break apartheid and reform the constitution or is he just an old bird in new plumage?

The leaders are unlikely to find much change in British prime minister Margaret Thatcher's basic position on South Africa, but they are determined not to go through the same arguments on sanctions with her again They accept that she will stand aside from them

She wants the Commonwealth to give De Klerk more time to prove himself, and most will disagree

Thatcher has been busy for weeks preparing her position for Kuala Lumpur She wants to visit South Africa and score a diplomatic coup there, but she will not go unless Nelson Mandela is released and she is sure of results

Thatcher will refuse to go along with proposals at Kuala Lumpur for the Commonwealth to increase the financial squeeze on South Africa

In the weeks before Kuala Lumpur a delegation of officials from Australia, Canada and India have been meeting top executives of major world banks to persuade them not to help Pretoria by easing terms of debt repayment of loans

The Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers, which does not include Britain, is recommending to the summit increased financial sanctions following a detailed examination of their impact

But Thatcher wants nothing to do with it

She insists that change can come about only if the South African economy is strong and that sanctions will hurt the blacks most

She points to the help Britain is giving towards the education of blacks, the consistent support for the Frontline States and her insistence on the release of Mandela

Thatcher was quick to meet De Klerk when he was acting president and she corresponds with him as she did with his predecessor, PW Botha

One other leader will give a personal assessment of De Klerk, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia The two men met just before the South African general election

The summit meets at a critical moment for southern Africa

Namibian general elections will be held on November 6 leading to independence in 1990

Cuban troops are leaving Angola, but the ceasefire between Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels and the Angolan government broke down almost before it started

Now the parties are making another attempt, pushed by US president George Bush, who has talked with Savimbi and president Mobutu Se Seseko of Zaire, the go-between

The ANC has now done a formidable amount of planning for a post-apartheid South Africa

Its draft declaration presented to the last meeting of the Organisation of African Unity would open the way to dialogue along the lines of the proposals of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group three years ago

A crucial point in that programme is a suspension of violence by both sides

The Commonwealth leaders are likely to decide that the South Africans will not really be moved until they have been further squeezed economically

At that point, Thatcher will just look the other way — *GEMINI NEWS*

Pretoria accused of human, economic mayhem

UN lays Frontline plight at SA's door

230

Star 14/11/87

A United Nations report says Pretoria's alleged destabilisation of its neighbours is far greater than previously estimated and that more needs to be done to assist the states of southern Africa, reports DAVID BRAUN of The Star's Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — The magnitude of South Africa's destabilisation of its neighbours and their resulting needs calls for greater and more sustained global support, UN Under Secretary-General Mr Adebayo Adedeji says in the preface to a report on the economic cost of Frontline resistance to apartheid

The report, prepared by a UN inter-agency task force, is to be released today

Mr Adedeji says the commissioning of the study shows the seriousness with which the UN views the plight of the destabilised southern Africa states

He hopes the report, by revealing the extent of the human and economic devastation which the countries of southern Africa have had to sustain and the scale of assistance urgently needed from the international community to meet the economic and security needs of the besieged states of the sub-region, will contribute to the search for a solution

Key to survival

The report blames Pretoria's "total strategy" policy for the disaster which has beset the region, causing 1,5 million people to die since 1980 and costing the Frontline states R150 billion, mainly in lost economic growth, over the same period

The study found that Mozambiques transportation network, primarily because of its access to the sea, was a key to the region's survival and to the reduction of regional economic dependence on Pretoria

This transportation network — and the nation and people surrounding it — had been the target for a level of destruction that had reduced Mozambique's options for independent survival and increased the region's defence costs, depleting resources available for development and frightening off outside investment, the study found

It presents the situation of each of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Confeference (SADCC) member-states and analyses for each the cost of what it calls apartheid's war for survival

The report estimates the total regional cost of South African destabilisation and aggression is running at about R25 billion a year, or about 40 percent of achieved regional gross domestic product

Over the 1980-88 period it has totalled about R150 billion — twice the present annual GDP and about three times the gross external resource inflows (grants, soft loans, export credits and commercial loans) of the past nine years

The report says Angola bore the largest absolute burden of R11,5 billion last year and R69-R75 billion over 1980-88 Mozambique is next with R6,3-R7,6 billion in 1988 and R38,2 billion for the period

No state escaped significant loss, with even Swaziland suffering a R76,5 million loss last year and a R510 million loss during the 1980-88 period

The main elements in the losses have been excess defence costs, loss of merchandise exports, excess transport costs on external trade and loss of traffic revenue

The report says the losses suggest that in the absence of war, the region's annual GDP growth trend would have been about 5 percent as opposed to the 3 percent achieved

In the case of Angola and Zimbabwe, healthy per capita growth of up to 8 percent a year could have been achieved, and in the cases of Mozambique, Tanzania, probably Malawi and perhaps Zambia, GDP growth could have been held at levels equal to or in excess of population growth

Without an end to apartheid, there can be no lasting peace in the region, the report adds

"But with the prospect of reducing hostilities comes a glimmer of hope for economic and social reconstruction, and a pressing need for the international community to have a greater understanding of the magnitude of the regional damage that has been wrought in the name of apartheid's existence — to the people of the region, their economies, their social infrastructure, their children and their future"

Analysing the root cause of the disaster — South Africa's "total strategy" policy — the report says it is not South Africa's objective simply to militarily destabilise those states which have the "geographical misfortune" to share its borders, but rather to use destructive methods or disincentives as well as incentives to persuade them that their interests lie with Pretoria, rather than in opposition to apartheid

"The incidents of this type of pressure are too numerous to record here, but the following examples provide an insight

- Destruction of regional transportation routes through Mozambique and Angola has forced five other SADCC states which are landlocked to use routes through South Africa, depriving the transit states of revenue and depositing it instead in Pretoria's coffers
- This control of regional trade, particularly exports and imports of petrol, has been used to exert pressure on neighbours which favour sanctions or are boisterous in their condemnation of apartheid, and it assists in the circumvention of sanctions, as does joint marketing of some commodities

Co-existence

- Joint economic projects, existing or planned, have been used to exert pressure for security agreements — successfully in some cases
- Overt and covert warfare has been waged to bludgeon some neighbouring countries into "peaceful" co-existence with apartheid and to exert pressure for the expulsion of SA exiles who favour the removal of apartheid and creation of democracy in SA
- Political pressure has been exerted through various means, so far unsuccessful, for recognition of the homelands, and thus separate development.

"Pretoria believes it must keep southern Africa safe and profitable for apartheid," the report says "It is committed to using military as well as economic sanctions to achieve that end, and has demonstrated it has the power to impose a massive burden on the independent states of southern Africa"

Superpower Relations in Africa

Countries in Africa where rivalries between the United States and the Soviet Union came into play during the Cold War years and now are fading.

ETHIOPIA

Allied with U S during the 44 year reign of Emperor Haile Selassie, Ethiopia broke away after a military coup in 1974 brought about a Marxist-led state Soviet support followed but has waned recently as Ethiopia wages a costly war against rebels in the country's northern zone U S -Ethiopian relations appear to be warming as evidenced by the visit this year of the U S Undersecretary for Africa

ANGOLA

U.S. and South African-backed rebels have been fighting the southwest African nation's Soviet-supported Marxist government since since they lost a civil war after independence from Portugal in 1975 Peace talks with U.S and African mediation began in June. The talks follow a U.S.-brokered regional peace accord signed by Angola, Cuba and South Africa. Cuba agreed to withdraw 50,000 soldiers from Angola by 1991 Angola is seeking more U.S. recognition, which Washington is withholding until the government agrees to free elections. The Angolan government now looks less toward Moscow for aid and more toward the West

NAMIBIA

When they signed the peace accords, South Africa agreed to grant Namibia independence in a year-long process that included the Cuban withdrawal from Angola and South African withdrawal from Namibia

MOZAMBIQUE

The country has been in a state of constant war that began with an independence struggle from Portugal in 1963-75 and continued on after that in civil war between Soviet-backed government forces and the South African-backed Mozambique National Resistance. Highly secretive and sporadic peace talks in past year between church, government and rebel leaders have yielded no visible results.

SOUTH AFRICA

The Soviet Union broke relations with South Africa in 1956 and says they cannot be restored until South Africa ends apartheid Relations between the two countries have warmed in the past year and Moscow, as does Washington, now espouses a negotiated political solution between South Africa's blacks and whites free of outside interference

AP/T Dean Caple

UN agrees on route to a new SA

STAR 15/12/89 250

UNITED NATIONS — The United Nations General Assembly adopted a unanimous resolution yesterday declaring apartheid a "crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind"

But South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha today criticised the declaration as fundamentally flawed and unacceptable to the South African Government

He said it was also bizarre, coming at a time when the SA Government was moving rapidly and resolutely towards creating a climate for negotiations

The adoption of the declaration is interpreted as pointing the way towards a non-racial society in South Africa

The declaration was the first time that all UN members, including South Africa's major trading partners, agreed on a framework of guidelines and principles they hoped South Africa would follow in becoming a non-racial, democratic nation

The Assembly called on South Africa to negotiate seriously "the future of their country and its people . in an atmosphere, which by mutual agreement between the liberation movements . would be free of violence".

ISOLATION

Although the 159-member assembly has adopted countless resolutions against apartheid, the new declaration concludes a special session on the subject in which most members spelt out their views on South Africa's political and economic isolation from the world community

The declaration calls for peaceful negotiations, leading to a democratic "non-fragmented South Africa on the basis of universal, equal suffrage under a non-racial voters roll"

It also calls on South Africa to institute a legal system guaranteeing equality of all before the law and an independent, non-racial judiciary

"We believe acceptance of these fundamental principles could constitute the basis for an internationally acceptable solution that will enable South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner among the world community of nations," the declaration said

In suggesting guidelines for negotiations, the Assembly said it was urgent to create a favourable climate for such talks — Sapa-Reuter

Star 16/12/89 230

Framework for progress

UN in unique pact on guidelines for SA

PAT DEVEREAUX

THE impact of last weekend's Conference for a Democratic Future — attended by 4 600 delegates claiming to represent up to 15 million South Africans — has already had major international repercussions.

A Declaration Against Apartheid — based on the Organisation of African Unity's Harare Declaration setting out minimum guidelines for the process of negotiations in South Africa and backed unanimously by the CDF — was adopted on Thursday by the United Nations General Assembly in New York

This was the first time that all UN members, including South Africa's trading partners, have agreed on a framework of guidelines and principles they hoped South Africa would follow to achieve a non-racial, democratic future

A major achievement of the CDF, according to conference participants, was the outright support for the MDM's position on negotiations The main point in the OAU Harare document, drawn up earlier this year by the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions, is that the present Government must establish the necessary climate for negotiations

Some of the pre-conditions for negotiations outlined in the document include the release of political prisoners, universal franchise and unbanning of political organisations such as the ANC

The CDF also called for "maximum unity of anti-apartheid forces and the international community to intensify its efforts to isolate the De Klerk government".

Opening this week's UN debate on the Declaration Against Apartheid document, UN General Secretary Dr Perez de Cuellar said recent developments in South Africa provided grounds for guarded optimism that peaceful and fundamental change was now possible

But Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha yesterday lashed out at the UN's adoption of the Declaration Against Apartheid document claiming it was "flawed and unacceptable to the South African Government"

Describing it as bizarre, coming at a time when the SA Government was moving rapidly and resolutely towards creating a climate for negotiations, Mr Botha said in a statement, the declaration adopted by a special session of the UN's General Assembly sought to prescribe to South Africa what form its constitution should take.

He said it was unacceptable to the SA Government because it sought to endorse negotiating positions of one probable party alone, of many whose participation in the elaboration of a new constitution for South Africa would be essential.

Far-reaching steps were being taken, Mr Botha said, to create a climate for negotiations from which would emerge a democratic political system in which none would have the right to govern others without their consent. The Government was irrevocably committed to a dispensation in which individual and minority rights were protected and all were equal before the law

Meanwhile anti-apartheid leaders and groups have backed the UN's adoption of the Declaration Against Apartheid

Dr Max Coleman of the Human Rights Commission is expected to return to South Africa today after presenting extensive evidence on repression in this country — including that of hit-squad activity — to the UN Assembly.

Eastern Cape MDM official, Mr Mkhuseli Jack, a key mover at the conference said yesterday "One of the achievements of the conference was that the people at grassroots level have participated in shaping the document on negotiations passed by the UN this week Combined with a call to work towards a constituent assembly where a new South African constitution can be drawn up — we now have a strong mandate to negotiate in a way that will guaranteee that we will lose nothing at the end of the day

"On another level conference delegates have vowed to intensify mass defiance to end apartheid We in the Eastern Cape are much stronger now as we have overcome the negative effects of the state of emergency," said Mr Jack

Five Freedoms Forum Publicity Secretary, Ms Gael Neke said "The UN document provides a reasonable framework for progress towards negotiations in South Africa

"The time has come for the Government to recognise that the entire international community is joining with the majority inside South Africa in the same calls to end apartheid, to remove the obstacles to negotiation and to bring about fundamental change

"The challenge is clearly being laid at F W de Klerk's door. He now has to put substance to his rhetoric."

Pik puts blame on East Europe

230

Star 31/12/89

By MANDY JEAN WOODS

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha yesterday called on local leaders and organisations "still committed to the outdated policies of Eastern Europe" to show their willingness to change

Reacting to a New Year's message by Organisation of African Unity secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim, Mr Botha said the South African Government had already provided ample proof of its commitment to remove obstacles in the way of negotiation

Regimes

But he said the process was being delayed by certain organisatons which had, over the years, had close contacts with the recently deposed leaderships of certain Eastern European countries

He said it was the political policies and economic programmes of those Eastern European regimes which made those countries poor and their people oppressed

"These programmes are, surprisingly still encouraged by some groups and parties inside South Africa

Free

"We hope they will come to their senses and realise what consequences it will have for all South Africans

"The essence of the message of Eastern Europe's ideological revolutions was power sharing," he said

The Government was committed to creating a new SA based on free and just constitutional, social and economic systems and to removing obstacles

"The aim is to get rid of all discrimination Apartheid is no longer the policy of the SA government," he said

D. A. U. – 1990 – 1991

Frontline states to review SA developments

B/Day 5/2/91 (230)

HARARE — Frontline states leaders will meet in Harare tomorrow to review developments in SA, says Zimbabwe's Foreign Ministry

The summit meeting will be followed on Thursday by a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) ad hoc committee on southern Africa

In a statement, the ministry said leaders of SA's "liberation movements" would attend the summit

It was likely that the situation in Angola and Mozambique, where peace talks were being held, would be discussed.

The OAU ad hoc committee meeting, to be chaired by Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, would also discuss the latest developments in southern Africa and map out strategies for the future

It was expected to come up with a position paper on southern Africa, which would be presented to the UN and other international organisations. — Sapa

OAU likely stand firm on sanctions

Cape Times 7/2/91 (230)

HARARE — Leaders of the seven frontline states, plus Nigeria's President Ibrahim Babangida, Mr Nelson Mandela and PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, will today ask the Organisation of Afrian Unity to formally endorse their position on the continuance of sanctions against Pretoria

Today the 10 leaders are due to finalise a communique which will be presented immediately to the OAU ad hoc committee

The OAU is expected to seek the adoption of the communique as the United Nations' formal stance on the maintenance of sanctions and the sporting and cultural boycotts

Observers see the discussions as crucial to the OAU's ability to continue in a commanding position on the decision on when to lift sanctions

If the ad hoc committee takes a hard line and insists that sanctions remain in place, there was a likelihood of African opinion being ignored and Western nations reopening their diplomatic and trade links with South Africa, observers said

An indication of the significance of the meeting was the presence on the dias of Mr Babangida and OAU secretary-general Mr Salim Ahmed Salim — Sapa

OAU gives conditions for SA ties

(230)

Star 8/2/91

Star Africa Service

HARARE — African countries will call for the lifting of trade, sporting and cultural sanctions against South Africa once political prisoners have been released, exiles returned, and apartheid abolished

This was said yesterday by sources at the meeting of the Organisation of African Unity's ad hoc committee on southern Africa in Harare

The OAU is expected to back the ANC call for a constituent assembly and the establishment of an interim government

It was suggested that ties with SA could be re-established once political prisoners have been released and apartheid laws removed

Africa may phase out sanctions

230

Sowetan 8/2/91

Sowetan Africa News Service

HARARE - African countries will call for the phased lifting of sanctions - but not yet, according to sources at yesterday's meeting of the Oorganisation of African Unity special committee meeting.

Frontline heads of state resumed in closed session after failing to complete their business yesterday.

Once they have finally agreed on a communique this will go to the OAU committee for endorsment.

Conference sources said the Frontline State's position would not be made known officially until the OAU commmittee has agreed to it.

However it is understood that the demand will remain for the release of all political prisoners, the return of exiles and the removal of certain security laws, before any sanctions should be lifted.

The communique is expected to back the ANC call for a constituent assembly and the establishment of an interim government.

The suggestion is that trade, sporting and cultural ties could be re-established once political prisoners have been released and the apartheid laws removed from the statute books, as promised by Mr De Klerk.

But the removal of oil and financial sanctions, and the establishment of diplomatic and political ties, would have to wait until a later stage.

Sources said the communique would generally follow the stand taken by the ANC which has urged western countries not to lift sanctions at this stage.

OAU applauds unity moves

HARARE — PAC leader Clarence Makwetu received rousing applause yesterday when he told an OAU meeting that "positive steps" had been taken during unity talks between his organisation and the ANC.

"We will intensify this search for unity ... across a broad base of the oppressed," he said, but delegates to the OAU ad hoc committee meeting on southern Africa expressed concern over continuing township violence

OAU chairman and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni said: "The black people of SA should restrain themselves from action that makes them shoulder the blame for slowing the process towards the end of apartheid." Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe added that black-on-black violence "poisons the atmosphere for dialogue". — Sapa

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OAU committee supports sanctions

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — The OAU "ad hoc committee on southern Africa" last night endorsed the Frontline states' call for the maintenance of sanctions against SA until there was a "clear mechanism for the transfer of power to a democratic order"

"The present state of affairs gives no guarantees that the political process under way in SA is irreversible," said a communiqué issued after a meeting of the 16-nation committee which went over its allotted time in reaching consensus on the sanctions controversy (230)

The OAU is expected to seek UN General Assembly backing for its refusal to accord any recognition to changes in SA.

Pragmatists among the seven Frontline leaders, such as Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, were reported by conference sources to fear Africa would suffer serious loss of face by failing to come up with a graduated scheme of its own for restoring contacts with Pretoria at a time when East and West countries were establishing links, covertly followed by many African states.

However, Ugandan President and OAU chairman Yoweri Museveni told a Press conference OAU missions would be sent to lobby states against breaking sanctions.

Museveni said· "The mere intention is not enough" He said one man, one vote elections should have already taken place

The closing communiqué said Pretoria had only indicated an intention to meet the conditions for reacceptance into the world community which were set out in the 1989 Harare Declaration on the eradication of apartheid. B/Day 8/2/91

The communiqué said the SA government had so far failed to release all political prisoners and had failed to allow the unconditional return of exiles

The OAU committee expressed "grave concern" at the escalation of violence in SA and accused Pretoria of being reluctant to bring it to an end.

It also commended President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola for their efforts to negotiate peace agreements with the Renamo and Unita rebel movements

Sapa-Reuter reports that Japan welcomed reform moves in SA but would not lift sanctions until the US did, officials and diplomats said in Tokyo yesterday.

Kaizer Nyatsumba assesses the viability of a united front of liberation movements

A struggle that defies unity

Star 3/12/90 (230)

CALLS for the formation of a broad united front of South African liberation movements or anti-apartheid organisations have come and gone unheeded countless times in the past decade

The calls, which tended to originate mainly from bodies such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and some African countries, were directed mostly at the two oldest liberation movements, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), in the foreign capitals from which they operated

The calls for a united front have been seen as a wise strategic move to enable the liberation movements to speak with one voice on black aspirations and exert maximum pressure on Pretoria to ditch apartheid and give way to a new democratic order Various African leaders, including Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, have expressed support for such a front

These persistent calls, however, have largely been ignored by the two organisations, and accusations and counter-accusations have abounded as to which organisation has constantly scuttled the calls, thus effectively ensuring that the front was still-born

Top PAC leaders interviewed in Harare in September pointed accusing fingers at the pre-February 2 ANC leadership, which was based in Lusaka, saying it had constantly poured cold water on plans to form a united front This, the PAC leaders said, was because the ANC believed itself invincible at the polls and therefore saw no reason for a united front

ANC leaders have denied these allegations, and since his release on February 11 this year, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has been consistent in his calls for the formation of a broad front to speak with one voice at the negotiating table Mr Mandela, who paid a tribute to PAC acting president Clarence Makwethu, made this call again before African heads of state in Swaziland last month

Mr Mandela told the Swaziland conference that since Mr Makwethu took over from the late Zephania Mothopeng last month, prospects for unity between the two organisations had never been brighter Mr Makwethu rose to the occasion, telling the conference he was in favour of a joint approach with the ANC to President de Klerk's reform initiatives and that the PAC would decide at its second national congress in Johannesburg next month whether or not to join the ANC in a united front

But until calls for a united front emanate not only from the leaders but also from the different organisations' members themselves, the proposed united front will not take off. Significantly, while Mr Mandela's position in the ANC is quite secure and he is quite likely to assume the ANC presidency when Oliver Tambo bows out of active politics next year, the same cannot be said with certainty about Mr Makwethu

The PAC leader stands on shaky ground, and there is the December 7-9 PAC national congress which will determine whether to confirm Mr Makwethu in office

In spite of the uncertainties, the leaders of the different organisations, including the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), are optimistic that such a front will get off the ground The ANC's Gill Marcus said her organisation had repeatedly stated that "to move forward, we have to get the oppressed together" It was for this reason the ANC had held talks with a variety of organisations, including homeland leaders

Miss Marcus said all organisations which stood for peace, democracy and "the transfer of power to the majority" would be welcome in such a front, and this did not exclude the ANC's arch enemy, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), if it subscribed to the same ideals

PAC general secretary Philemon Tefu was equally optimistic

The PAC, he said, had always stood for "unity in action" among the oppressed, and it now welcomed Mr Mandela's pronouncements on the need for a constituent assembly and an interim government

Like Mr Tefu, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said his organisation had "always been pushing for unity among the oppressed" This was the reason Azapo had constantly called for a consultative conference of all the liberation movements, and he hoped the foundation for the formation of the united front would be laid at the meeting convened last week by Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Cape Town The successful outcome of that meeting will strengthen those hopes

Despite the optimism expressed by the leaders, the united front's success will depend on its acceptance at grassroots.

The three organisations are all aware of this, and have pledged themselves to selling the idea vigorously to their followers

The other serious issue presently dividing the potential partners is the question of negotiations with the Government The ANC fully endorses negotiations and takes pride at having initiated the "peace process", but Azapo has rejected the Government's invitation to enter into exploratory talks, and the PAC has yet to announce its response to the invitation Unless these organisations adopt the same position on negotiations, the planned united front could be short-lived.

The ANC's recent insistence on the need for a constituent assembly and an interim government is the only thing the three organisations now have in common

What unifies these organisations, however, immediately puts them in direct confrontation with Inkatha, which argues that the situation in South Africa is different from that in the pre-independence Namibia and consequently rejects both a constituent assembly and an interim government

But if all these organisations do indeed establish a united front, the National Party is unlikely to relish the prospect of sitting opposite a sea of black faces at the negotiating table □

The good, bad and ugly in Africa

South 13/12 - 17/12/90

The 42nd anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was observed last Monday. NOEL BRUYNS reports on human rights in Africa:

AFRICA experienced International Human Rights Day on Monday with reason to hope that the human rights of its people will be respected by its governments.

Most Organisation of African Unity (OAU) countries have ratified the African Charter of Human and People's Rights.

Mr Richard Carver, research director of Africa Watch, a recently-formed non-governmental human rights monitering organisation, believes the human rights situation in Africa remains bad, although there are some welcome improvements in the past decade

His views are expressed in the latest issue of the US journal, "Topic".

"In Uganda, after the period of the Amin regime and appalling massacres and torture by the Obote government, the coming to power of the Museveni government was a welcome development," says Carver.

"In Togo, a national commission on human rights has been set up in response to international criticism, particularly from Amnesty International, on the state of human rights in Togo "

Carver also mentions South Africa, saying "the phase that we're in now is a positive one, after the extremely bad period of widespread emergency detentions" Prominent prisoners had been released and death squads exposed.

Vigorous

"What has remained underreported are abuses of human rights in the homelands and in the rural areas," he says.

An ad hoc committee on human rights was formed in Ghana Nigeria also had a vigorous civil liberties organisation.

Some situations remained bad, specially in the Horn of Africa.

The Somalian government had essentially declared war on its own people, with widespread massacres and bombings of the civilian population

"The Ethiopian regime looks increasingly unsteady, but maintains the style of extreme repression as it has throughout the decade," says Carver.

Rowena Whelan reports from Addis Ababa on the chances of Africa getting its economic act together

Kicking and screaming into the next century at last

Star 19/20/90

230

AN African Economic Community by the year 2000? One Finance Minister laughed at the prospect, advocates said it was possible and economists began arguing

Bureaucratic, overlapping and underfunded, about 200 regional organisations have so far failed to weld Africa's fragmented economies into a viable market.

So can Africa, after 30 years of talking, meet the challenge of greater integration by the dawn of the new millenium?

"If you base your answer on what happened in the past, the answer is no," said Adebayo Adedeji, under-secretary-general of the United Nations and head of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). "But there is a growing awareness among African governments that there is a need for them to show greater political commitment"

"Nothing is unrealistic if the political commitment exists."

But African trade and finance is still overwhelmingly linked to Europe, home of its former colonial powers, despite pledges at independence in the 1950s and 1960s that forging economic links across the continent was a priority.

The World Bank calculates that intra-African business, as a share of the continent's total trade, remains at the level it was 20 or more years ago — despite such potential benefits as economies of scale in industry or greater food security if surplus grain producers could ship freely to famine areas.

Some people blame underdeveloped economic systems left behind at independence and unfair world trade practices.

Others note that the continent is still riven by wars and therefore has a long way to go to establish the political stability essential for regional development.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) is finalising a draft treaty for an African Economic Community for signature at a summit next June.

It says it wants to build on the achievements of regional groups such as the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), which links 18 southern and eastern African nations, and the 16-member Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas)

"The OAU will try to knit together at a continental level what is happening in the PTA, Ecowas and other regional groupings," said Brownson Dede, OAU assistant secretary-general.

Under the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action, sub-Saharan nations were divided into three groups: west Africa, central states, and eastern and southern countries. Each was to create a free trade area by ending internal tariffs, then set a common external tariff, and establish an economic community.

But many groups, including the PTA and Ecowas, are still facing an uphill struggle toward greater co-operation.

"There is no way you can harmonise the economies of the continent if you are unable to harmonise those of its regions," said Kadre Ouedraogo, Ecowas's deputy executive secretary.

At a PTA summit in Swaziland in November, some Western donors said there was little chance for large-scale funding for its regional development plans.

PTA finance ministers had earlier diluted a scheme for full monetary union by the end of the decade, saying harmonisation of economic and monetary policy would be essential first.

Plans to make Ecowas currencies convertible — a key step to boost trade — have been put back two years to 1994

"If you cannot achieve something at the level of 16 nations, you cannot achieve it at the level of 50," said Mr Ouedraogo, who is in charge of economic affairs.

Those who are optimistic that regional and pan-African efforts now stand a greater chance of success than in past decades point to two main factors:

- External pressure from emerging world trade blocs such as the European Community's single market after 1992, and
- Greater internal cohesion as most African countries restructure their economies, either independently or backed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

Commitment to these market reforms varies widely, but senior African officials say the process is already drawing the continent together

"Some countries are resisting," an OAU economic official said "But they'll be pulled along — maybe kicking and screaming — if they see there's something valuable to be gained" — Sapa-Reuter □

OECD does not expect global recession

230

Star 24/12/90

LONDON — The good news in the latest half-yearly Economic Outlook from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development is that the OECD does not expect anything like a global recession next year.

The bad news is that all the risks surrounding its forecast are on the downside, and that is before taking account of possible dangers arising from the Gulf crisis.

For the 24 industrialised nations of the OECD, the outlook projects 2 percent real growth in 1991 and 2,5 percent in 1992.

Overall inflation is expected to accelerate to an annual rate of 5,2 percent in the first half of 1991 from around 4,5 percent at present. Unemployment is forecast to rise to 6,9 percent of the industrial world's working population by the end of 1992 from around 6,3 at present.

The risks in the outlook were acknowledged by David Henderson, head of the OECD's economics and statistics department. He said gloomy economic news from the US over the past month meant the OECD's projections for US growth in the present half of 1990 and the first six months of 1991 were too optimistic

The OECD believes the latest oil price shock will pass rapidly through the economies of the industrialised world and do less damage than the shocks of 1973-74 and 1979.

Against a generally gloomy picture, some worries that plagued the OECD for years are now of less concern.

Recent exchange rate changes and widening growth differentials among the main economies should mean that by 1992, the US current account deficit and the Japanese and German surpluses may have narrowed to around 1 percent of gross national product in each case. — Financial Times.

Sanctions being 'eroded'

ADDIS ABABA — An OAU official yesterday expressed deep concern over what he termed the "gradual erosion" of the international consensus on sanctions against SA. (230)

"In the recent past, we have witnessed actions by countries, both within and outside Africa, that tend to undermine the collective position decided upon by the international community and the OAU," said OAU secretary general Salim Ahmed Salim. B/Day 28/12/90

In a New Year message, Salim said until there was evidence of an irreversible move to dismantle apartheid, sanctions against SA should be maintained

Salim did not cite any country he claimed had undermined the international consensus

He said the violence in which hundreds had been killed this year undermined the fight against apartheid and the unity of liberation movements in SA

"I would therefore like to renew my urgent appeal to all the anti-apartheid forces and to all the oppressed peoples of SA to put an end to this bloody and fratricidal violence," he said — Sapa-AP-Reuter

NEWS

Sanctions 'erosion' slated

Star 29/12/90

(230)

ADDIS ABABA — An Organization of African Unity official this week expressed deep concern over what he termed the "gradual erosion" of the international consensus on sanctions as a weapon against South Africa.

"In the recent past, we have witnessed actions by countries, both within and outside Africa, that tend to undermine the collective position decided upon by the international community and the Organisation of African Unity," said OAU secretary general Salim Ahmed Salim.

In a New Year message, Salim said that until there was evidence of an irreversible move to dismantle the apartheid system of racial segregation, sanctions against South Africa should be maintained.

Salim did not name any country or cite the actions he claimed had undermined the previous international consensus

South Africa says it now trades with every state on the continent except one, despite the ongoing calls for sanctions

Besides this the European Community has lifted a voluntary ban on new investment

Recent events in South Africa have generated a "mood of optimism hardly imaginable a few years ago," conceded Salim.

He expressed deep concern and regret at the continued township violence and urged the anti-apartheid forces "to put an end to the bloody fratricidal conflict" — Sapa-Associated Press

SOWETAN Friday

Plans for an African Economic Community

Sowetan 30/11/90 (230)

SAPA-REUTER

ADDIS ABABA - An African Economic Community by the year 2000? One finance minister laughed at the prospect, advocates said it was possible and economists began arguing

Bureaucratic, overlapping and underfunded, around 200 regional organisations have so far failed to weld Africa's fragmented economies into a viable market.

So can Africa, after 30 years of talking, meet the challege of greater integration by the dawn of the new millenium?

Answer

"If you base your answer on what happened in the past, the answer is 'No'," said Adebayo Adedeji, under-secretary-general of the United Nations and head of the Economic Commission for Africa

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Groups

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Summit

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MATRIC HISTORY

Africa after the Second World War (1939-1945)

New Nation 9/11 - 15/11/90 (230)

Students should focus on the following questions when reviewing the movements towards independence in Africa, the initial problems facing independent countries and the activities of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), namely

- **How was Africa affected by the Second World War?**
- **what were the major problems faced by African countries after they attained independence?**
- **examine the achievements and failures of the OAU.**

The end of British rule in Ghana Nkrumah, the first president of the new independent republic, waves goodbye to the last British foreign governor-general

Africa and the impact of the Second World War

By 1940, countries within North and North-East Africa had become directly involved in the Second World War Fighting was taking place on African soil, for example, within Abyssinia (now Ethiopia) Colonial countries, particularly Britain and France, had recruited Africans to fight in a volunteer army 80 000 African men from the French colonies were recruited to fight for France and over 280 000 African soldiers were recruited by the British army These soldiers realized that they had been recruited to fight for the freedom of their colonial countries against Nazism, whereas in reality, the same colonial powers denied African colonies the same freedom and rights. Throughout the war years, Africa's sea-routes, airfields and natural resources were of strategic importance.

During the war years, the movements towards independence and freedom gained greater momentum and the educated people within the African colonies became critical of the domination by colonial countries within Europe. To give air to such grievances, political parties were formed. Political leaders realised that the grievances of rural-workers had to be linked to those of urban workers who tried to gain the support of the masses in the struggle to end colonial rule in Africa. Strikes, boycotts and demonstrations were some methods used to demand independence.

African nationalism i.e. the desire to ensure that the interests of the country and its people are above those of an individual or foreign power gained support. African nationalism was a protest against foreign control and domination and a demand that all people are equal

In 1958 the Gold Coast (now Ghana) became the first British colony to gain independence. Independence struggles were sometimes peaceful and achieved through negotiation or violent depending on the reaction of the colonial populations Liberation wars were features of some colonial countries to gain independence, for example, in Mozambique and in Zimbabwe Warfare was largely responsible for the economic problems faced by independent African countries after liberation had been achieved.

Major problems faced by independent African states

It is difficult to generalize as each African country had different problems to solve upon independence However, it is important to note that colonialism had been responsible for the underdevelopment of all its colonies. i.e. the economics of most African colonies had been developed to support the needs of the colonial power and not the needs of the African people

Politically, most African states had been ruled in the same way as western, European countries Often, such administration was unsuitable to the African way of life Often, one political party became dominant and its leader became Prime Minister One-party states meant that no opposition was allowed and the country's laws could be determined by the whim of one person Some leaders used their authority to ensure that the interests of the people were acknowledged, whereas some became very authoritarian and imposed harsh penalties if people disobeyed or protested against their leadership

Economically, African states had been underdeveloped and continued to depend on their former colonial rulers, for example, Ghana had been developed to grow cocoa for the world market. Its economy under the British colonial regime had been developed solely for this purpose All other goods required had to be imported. As a result, the wealth of Ghana became dependent on the world cocoa price Ghana's economy has remained dependent on the export of cocoa even after independence Colonial countries often loaned their former colonies money for modernization and industrialization and so dependency remained

On a social level, all countries had to ensure that education be provided for all their people Illiteracy in the colonial period had been widespread Finance was needed to build schools, train teachers and personnel in independent Africa. Health and medical services had to be improved Housing and recreational facilities were needed, particularly, as many people left the land and moved into the cities in search of work

The achievements and failures of the OAU

In 1963 the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was formed to promote unity amongst all African states and to promote independence within Africa itself Its achievements to date outweigh some of the setbacks of this organisation

As colonies gained independence, so disputes over borders inevitably arose The OAU intervened and settled border disputes between Algeria and Morocco, Somalia and Ethiopia, Uganda and Tanzania, Senegal and Guinea and Niger and Dahomey

The OAU was the major organisation to fight colonialism It objected to Britain's control over the Central African Federation, which came to an end when Britain granted independence to North and South Rhodesia (now Zambia and Zimbabwe) and to Nyasaland (now Malawi) The OAU struggled for many years to end Portuguese colonialism within Angola and Mozambique It also applied economic pressure to end the minority-rule of Ian Smith in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and to end racism in southern Africa.

Members of the OAU are also members of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) and are a powerful pressure group against colonialism and racism

In 1964 the African Development Bank was founded to finance projects within Africa. Money has been loaned for the Tanzam railway line between Tanzania and Zambia, for irrigation schemes in Tunisia and for sewerage projects in Uganda. This enables African states to remain independent from overseas finance

The OAU suffered some setbacks and difficulties whenever negotiations towards independence failed Often African countries disagree on the action to be taken to encourage independence Some favour armed intervention, whereas others merely support economic sanctions to end colonialism

Within African countries, dissatisfaction arises over leadership and the dominance of one political party The OAU has tried to encourage democracy within Africa and the promotion of greater freedom Detention without trial is still a problem within many African states

Economically, many African countries are in debt and the OAU has been unable to finance or assist them at all Many African states are still dependent on world finance

However, the OAU remains a successful forum which encourages the unity of all countries on the African continent and debates issues which might be a source of conflict.

many OAU members disagreed was on direct intervention to end colonial rule in Rhodesia, now the independent country of The . remains non-aligned to the capitalist west and the socialist east. (7)

5 Name three non-violent methods used to gain independence

Exercises

1 Explain the following concepts
(a) Colonialism
(b) Self-determination
(c) Nationalism
(d) Uhuru
(e) Pan-Africanism (10)

2 What are the five major aims of the OAU? (5 x 2 = 10)

3 On which date do we commemorate African Liberation day?
(a) 21 March (b) 1 May
(c) 25 May
(d) 16 June (e) 12 September

4 Fill in the missing word/s
The President of Ethiopia, , invited African leaders to the capital, Addis Ababa, to discuss the formation of the OAU The two important bodies of the OAU are . . . and . . The OAU was formed in the year, The issue on which many OAU members disagreed was on direct intervention to end colonial rule in Rhodesia, now the independent country of . The remains non-aligned to the capitalist west and the socialist east. (7)

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AROUND THE WORLD

OAU pleads for starving Africans

ADDIS ABABA - The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) yesterday appealed for more money to help 17 million Africans left destitute by war and said the continent faced a human disaster if aid was not forthcoming. Sowetan 19/10/90

Wars on the continent had left more than five million refugees and 12 million displaced people, the OAU said in a statement. (230)

"The majority of these destitutes are women and children who are particularly vulnerable to the hardship imposed on them due to lack of food, health care, shelter and protection," it said.

Civil and border wars have ravaged all corners of Africa, and the OAU said the main responsibility for tackling the causes of the refugee crisis lay with Africa. But it said more international funds were also needed.

Rocky road ahead for Africa

(230) Star 9/8/90

Dateline London

Stanley Uys

Two changes have taken place that will fundamentally weaken Africa's future world role

One is the Soviet Union's withdrawal, where possible, from regional rivalries with the United States.

This means governments will no longer be able to play the superpowers off against each other, that the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc are bowing out of the donor game and that the West, effectively, will be left calling the tune in Africa.

The other change is that with the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, an entirely new zone has opened up to Western investors — countries with skilled workers who live adjacent to the European Community and will become an extension of it.

In the circumstances, as someone noted recently, an investor would have to be a philanthropist to invest in Africa.

So Africa will be doubly affected. The West will call the tune, but will not necessarily be putting much of an extra financial stake into Africa.

Angered by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank ... OAU leader Salim Ahmed Salim (left) and former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere.

Muscle

One can almost feel the West flexing its muscle in Africa.

Listen to Herman Cohen, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs: "The bulk of our economic assistance is now performance-based and is contingent on a government's support for economic reform and its recognition of human rights."

Britain is saying the same thing. British aid, said Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd recently, would depend on African governments moving away from "the inefficient authoritarian models of the past".

The World Bank's 1989 report on sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial performance set the framework.

At the root of Africa's development problems, it said, was a crisis of governance In other words, it was all very well to blame external factors, but the real problem lay in Africa itself This also was the conclusion reached by 500 delegates at the Conference on Popular Participation in Development held in Tanzania last February.

In the words of a United Nations publication, the delegates "explicitly identified the lack of participatory processes as the primary cause of Africa's unyielding, decade-long economic catastrophe"

So the disease has been diagnosed and the remedy prescribed· Africa must democratise its political systems and liberalise its economies

As the West sees it, Africa is in intensive care — and it has placed the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in charge as head physicians while it looks for richer pickings elsewhere

Here lies the rub. Cries of anguish are going up in Africa that the World Bank and IMF represent the return of colonialism

Julius Nyerere has described the IMF as "a gang of robbers and an instrument of neo-colonialism", and the Organisation of African Unity Secretary-General, Salim Ahmed Salim, while agreeing that Africa must democratise, protests that "Our efforts will be hamstrung by the non-democratic international economic system in which we operate and which militates against our development

"No matter how many political parties an African state has, that will not alter its economic fortunes It will not change the price of coffee, cocoa, cotton, sisal or copper "

The charge against the West is that the "structural adjustment" policies it has prescribed for Africa are re-enacting the old colonial relationships under which African economies were an extension of Western Europe's.

The West is on surer ground when it demands the political democratisation of Africa. This means one-party systems must become multi-party systems, or at least the one-party systems must not lock up their political opponents

This wind of change is beginning to blow already in Africa, particularly in the Ivory Coast, Benin, Niger, Gabon, Cameroun, Ethiopia, Zaire and Kenya

Why, in this changing climate, Nelson Mandela allowed himself to be seen to defend the Moi regime in Kenya during his recent visit there is a mystery He asked what right Africa's former colonial masters had to read Africa a lesson in democracy, considering that they had executed liberation leaders — as if the sins of the colonial past can excuse tyrannies today

A new Africa is stirring — some are calling it the Second Liberation — and the African National Congress should place itself firmly in this mainstream.

Remedies

To return to the economic problem even if Africa disagrees with the remedies the West is prescribing, is there anything it can do about it?

Socialism has failed and the former Soviet bloc sponsors are not available for assistance

The IMF may not dispense much cash to Africa, but donors, and investors, too, tend to judge a country's risk potential by whether it has an agreement with the IMF or not

So the IMF and World Bank, as agents of the West, have the whip hand, and South Africa, under a black government, would have to live with this fact of life.

Indeed, indications are that a future South African government may even find that the rules have been toughened for it

There is no escape from this situation: Africa seems to be securely positioned between a rock and a hard place.

available food on their hotel prompted a reduction in Iraqi ex- human tar an eve s - w i c i cou t -ers an C u

Breaking the logjam in the OAU

Sowetan 15/8/90

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk flew to Madagascar yesterday on a visit regarded in Pretoria as an important sign of what has been described as "the African thaw".

This is the term that has been used in diplomatic circles to describe South Africa's new acc p-tance in Africa as a result of e internal reforms being push De Klerk.

The visit to Madag is the first De Klerk has ma an African country in the era that has followed the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the independence of Namibia - the two events earlier this year that have sharply improved the Government's international image.

President Didier Ratsiraka's invitation to De Klerk to visit Madagascar is being measured in diplomatic quarters against the fact that the Malagasian leader had previously been viewed as a member of the radical African lobby that was most strongly opposed to any dealings with South Africa under an apartheid government

By asking the South African leader to sit down with him in his capital of Antananarivo, Ratsiraka has gone against the policy still officially espoused by the Organisation of African Unity no contact with Pretoria until apartheid is abolished

The invitation is seen as significant also in that Madagascar is generally regarded as belonging to the Southern African group of states, some of which have tended to avoid any unecessary contact with South Africa for fear of being accused of having fallen under Pretoria's influence.

Thus, while Mozambique has signed an accord with South Africa out of necessity, Botswana and Zimbabwe have kept at arms length as much as possible.

Ratsiraka has now rejected this taboo (230)

"He has recognised the changes that have been made in South Africa and given credit to Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela, ' said one diplomat, "and by that bridge has found his way towards saying, 'And now, in the new spirit of greater openness internationally we must speak to each other even in areas of disagreement' "

In some circles the Madagascan visit is seen as part of a process of breaking the logjam in the OAU which has prevented African states from dealing openly with Pretoria.

OAU chief tells SADCC to back delicate SA talks

Star 27/8/90

(230)

GABORONE — Organisation of African Unity head, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, appealed to African leaders this weekend to back delicate talks aimed at ending apartheid in South Africa

"Our united action in support of the negotiations between the ANC and the Government is needed now more than ever before," he said

President Museveni was speaking on the final day of the two-day annual summit of the 10-nation Southern African Development Coordination Conference.

The SADCC was set up in 1980 to isolate South Africa politically and lessen the region's economic dependence on it

The OAU chief said recent political developments in South Africa provided a sense of hope.

But he cautioned "We cannot fall into complacency and believe that the ANC and all the democratic forces inside South Africa can succeed in these negotiations without our united resolve to support them"

During the two days of talks and festivities, other SADCC leaders also condemned the South African violence which has claimed more than 500 lives in the past two weeks.

The SADCC leaders said international pressure should be maintained on Pretoria until there were irreversible democratic changes.

"Only a democratic South Africa is acceptable in our midst," said Botswana's President Quett Masire

The SADCC leaders also called for greater economic co-operation and integration among members. President Masire noted that the foreign debt of the 10 members, with a total population of 74 million, amounted to $25 billion (about R65 billion)

● President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique said his government was determined to remove obstacles to peace in his country

He denounced what he described as the delaying tactics of the rebel Renamo movement in talks with his government — Sapa-Reuter

OAU summit on changes

ADDIS ABABA - The Organisation of African Unity annual summit next week is likely to be dominated by concern over the impact on African states of the sweeping changes in Eastern Europe and South Africa in the past year Sowetan 5/7/90

These issues emerged as African foreign ministers met to prepare the agenda for the four-day meeting in the Ethiopian capital, OAU officials said. 230-

Changes in

End sanctions, says OAU head

ORGANISATION of African Unity chairman, Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak, is thinking of relaxing sanctions against South Africa – contrary to the wishes of liberation movements and most African countries, the Zimbabwean news agency Ziana reported on Friday

(230) C/Press 8/7/88

Explaining why Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira was not with him on his state visit to Uganda, President Robert Mugabe said Shamuyarira had gone to the OAU Council of Ministers meeting in Ethiopia to push Zimbabwe's position that sanctions against South Africa must be maintained.

"My minister drew my attention to the fact that our current chairman has different views about relaxing pressures against South Africa," Mugabe told his host, Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni.

Zimbabwe, other Frontline States, and the ANC – whose deputy president Nelson Mandela is also in Uganda – say sanctions should be maintained until apartheid is eradicated. They argue that the pillars of racial segregation and oppression are still in place in South Africa

Mubarak's term of office as OAU chairman ends after next week's summit meeting in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa, where the OAU has its headquarters

Mugabe said he was glad Mandela was in Uganda to brief him, Museveni and Mozambique's Joaquim Chissano on the situation in South Africa and how their countries could help end apartheid – before the three leaders (and Mandela) leave for the OAU summit today

He said they could also discuss other issues, such as the MNR rebels in Mozambique and the economic crisis facing Africa

■ At a function held by Museveni in his honour Mandela said talks with the South African Government resume on July 18

He added that he believed "in the near future" political prisoners would be released, the pillars of apartheid dismantled and the state of emergency repealed.

Commenting on his world tour, Mandela said Western governments had decided to maintain sanctions and help repatriate ANC exiles

"We can say that the international alliance against apartheid in South Africa has continued to grow in strength" – Sapa

Spec

'SA will be free soon', Mandela tells OAU

ARGUS 10/7/90 230

From Esmare van der Merwe Argus Special Correspondent in Addis Ababa

24 HOURS NEWS WATCH

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela told the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) yesterday that South Africa — the last country on the continent still subjected to white minorty rule — would soon be free.

The ANC deputy president attended the 26th heads of state summit of the OAU in Ethiopia which he had been invited to address on behalf of the liberation movements in Africa.

Entering the African Hall in the United National Economic Commission for Africa (Uneca) building shortly before the opening of the year's summit the ANC leader was loudly applauded by the 51 heads of states and their delegations.

Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, were led to special seats reserved for observers

Special mention was made of President Sam Nujoma of Namibia, the youngest country of the OUA after its independence this year

Stampede

While Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile-Miriam was delivering his opening address in Arabic, hundreds of journalists caused a stampede outside as they were forbidden by security officials to enter the huge empty press section inside the hall. After having watched about 20 minutes of the three-hour opeining session on closed-circuit televion without translation facilities, they were allowed in

After President Mengistu's opening address, President Nujoma was invited to respond on behalf of all the member countries.

He vowed that his country would strive to promote economic co-operation in Africa, encourage peaceful resolution of political conflict and would vigorously oppose foreign interference in the domestic affairs of all African states.

In his address, Mr Mandela — hailed by several speakers as an heroic son of Africa and a symbol of hope to the entire world — said the independence of Namibia had signalled the further collapse of colonial and imperial domination in Africa.

Days are numbered

South Africa, the last country on the continent still struggling for freedom, would be free "sooner rather than later".

He said· "Nothing can stop the process of the emancipation of our people The days of the apartheid crime against humanity are numbered."

Mr Mandela expressed the hope that a post-apartheid South Africa could soon be able to take up its rightful place in the OAU and would thus be enabled to contibute to economic and political stability and co-operation in Africa, the maintenance of peace on the continent and the establishment of improved relations in the rest of the world.

In his speech, President Mengistu welcomed the reforms introduced by State President F W de Klerk, but added that the unbanning of political organisations, the release of political prisoners and partial lifting of the state of emergency had "in no way affected the structure of the inhuman system of apartheid.

The OAU had drawn "immense satisfaction" from Mr Mandela's release and the political progress which had been made had strengthened their determination to struggle for the speedy removal of apartheid.

Closer ties

The OAU would encourage the process of negotiations between the Government and other political organsiations. For negotiations to proceed it was essential that the Government met the preconditions stipulated in the Harare Declaration It was thus essential that sanctions be maintained and the OAU carried a huge responsibility in ensuring that sanctions be implemented.

While Mr Mandela's presence and the political developments on South Africa was given much attention, several speakers highlighted the main goal of this year's summit — the forging of closer economic ties between African states to overcome the continent's pressing socio-economic problems, particularly in view of the world's shifting attention to Eastern Europe

OAU President Hosini Mubarak of Egypt, sketched a bleak picture of soaring foreign debt, poverty, disease and illiteracy on the continent

The continent's foreign debt of 257-billion dollars was 230 percent of the value of African exports.

Ugandan president Yoweri Kaguta Maseveni was yesterday elected the new chairman of the OAU, a position he will held for the next year.

July 9 1990 Star 9/7/90

Mandela joins OAU leaders for summit

By Esmare van der Merwe, Political Reporter

ADDIS ABABA — African heads of state arrived in Ethiopia at the weekend for the 52nd Organisation of African Unity summit which is expected to focus on the continent's dismal economic future, massive foreign debt, prospects for closer economic co-operation and joint strategy to put pressure on the South African Government to abolish apartheid.

For two African leaders this year's summit will be a first — Namibian President Sam Nujoma and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — who both received a red carpet welcome at Bule Airport yesterday

Mr Mandela, who will deliver an historic address at the summit, travelled from Uganda, with President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni who is tipped to take over the OAU chairmanship.

Absent from the summit is Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda who is trying to restore order in his country after last month's attempted coup

Pressure

Mr Mandela yesterday told a press conference the ANC would welcome increased pressure on Pretoria by the African states.

He publicly supported President Musaveni's support for the OAU chairmanship and added that a post—apartheid South Africa would become a member of the organisation

Speaking in Kampala yesterday, President Museveni confirmed that ANC military camps were now operating from Uganda.

But Mr Mandela, addressing a press conference on the last day of his state visit to Uganda, refused to comment on whether camps had been established in Uganda after having being forced to move from Angola in exchange for Cuban withdrawal from Angola in terms of Resolution 435

OAU summit to start

African leaders to focus on economics and ending apartheid

The Argus, M

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The Argus Correspondent

ADDIS ABABA. — African heads of state have arrived in Ethiopia for the 52nd Organisation of African Unity summit.

The summit is expected to focus on the continent's dismal economic future, huge foreign debt, prospects for closer economic co-operation and a joint strategy to put pressure on the South African government to abolish apartheid

For two African leaders, this year's summit will be a first — Namibian President Sam Nujoma and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, both of whom received a red carpet welcome at Bule Airport yesterday

Mr Mandela, who will deliver an historic address at the summit, travelled from Uganda with President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni who is widely tipped to take over the OAU chairmanship this week

Noticeably absent from this year's summit will be Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda who is trying to restore order in his country after an attempted coup last month

Mr Mandela, President Joachim Chissano of Mozambique and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe yesterday completed their coinciding state visits to Uganda.

They were expected to have discussed ties between the Southern African countries and efforts to facilitate further rapid political reforms in South Africa

At a joint rally on Saturday, President Mugabe spoke about the "imminent final battle" against racism in South Africa and said the Southern African leaders should present a consolidated view on political and economic co-operation in the region at the OAU summit

Mr Mandela yesterday told a Press conference the ANC would welcome increased pressure on Pretoria.

"We are in constant consultation with the frontline states and the OAU about the situation in South Africa The advice of the African states through the years has been of immense benefit to us during the course of our struggle and we wish that they would continue their support," he said

He said that a post-apartheid South Africa would become a member of the organisation.

(230) Star 11/7/90

Mandela addresses OAU heads of state summit

Nelson Mandela .. addressing closed session of OAU's heads of state summit.

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

ADDIS ABABA — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was to address a closed session today of the heads of state summit of the Organisation of African Unity

Mr Mandela delivered a speech on Monday on behalf of all liberation movements on the continent and yesterday attended the morning session

The ANC and PAC occupy reserved observer seats in the Africa Hall where the OAU's 51 member countries are seated

Among the ANC observers are foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki, deputy foreign affairs director Stanley Mabizela and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise

Apart from the summit, Mr Mandela is in Ethiopia as part of a six-week international tour and is constantly engaged in meetings with presidents, diplomats and dignitaries

He has met representatives of the Frontline states, southern African heads of states, including those of Botswana and Swaziland, and yesterday he met former US president Jimmy Carter

'OAU can now focus on fighting apartheid'

Political Reporter

ADDIS ABABA — The independence of Namibia would allow the Organisation of African Unity to focus all attention on efforts to eradicate apartheid in South Africa, OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed said yesterday.

Presenting his annual report to the 26th heads of states summit of the OAU, he said political and economic pressure against South Africa should be maintained until the process leading to democratic, non-racial society had become irreversible

He said the struggle against apartheid was entering a more delicate stage, with the opening of negotiations between the ANC and the South African Government, and Africa was "duty-bound to continue supporting the oppressed people of South Africa".

Unity and cohesion, he added, was imperative if Africa wish to maintain "international consensus as well as pressure on the Pretoria regime — two elements that are clearly pivotal for the struggle of the South African people"

OAU underlines its opposition to apartheid

From ESMARÉ van der MERWE
Political Staff

ARGUS 11/7/90

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ADDIS ABABA — The independence of Namibia would allow the Organisation of African Unity to focus attention on eradicating apartheid, OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed said

In his first annual report to the OAU summit here yesterday, he strongly reaffirmed Africa's support for the people of South Africa and its belief that pressure against the government should be maintained until "the process leading to the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial society" had become irreversible.

Africa and the international community had welcomed reforms introduced by President De Klerk, but apartheid remained intact.

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OAU summit promises Africa more democracy

ADDIS ABABA — Africa's leaders, buffeted by calls for change on the impoverished continent, yesterday pledged more democracy for their restless peoples

"We reiterate our commitment to democratise further our societies and consolidate democratic institutions in our countries," they said in a declaration adopted at the end of the annual Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit

Heads of state, prime ministers and foreign ministers also pledged to co-operate to end the numerous civil wars and conflicts between states hindering development of the continent

Changing world

"Peace and stability on our continent ... will lead to reduced spending on defence and security, and free extra resources for social-economic development," the declaration of the 51-member body said

The summit in Ethiopia was dominated by debate on how Africa should respond to a changing world and meet the demands of people for better lives.

The summit rejected Western pressure for East European-style reforms, and stressed the right of each individual state to determine "in all sovereignty" its own democratic system

African leaders have become concerned that Western nations will tie future aid to liberal reforms

The summit took place against a background of rioting and calls for change sweeping Africa

Delegates said there was a new realism among African leaders that things had to change, but added that the final declaration masked deep differences between member states

Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida said Africa had failed to meet challenges

"Ever since the majority of our countries became independent in the 1960s we have conducted our lives as if the world owes us a living"

He called for a continent-wide effort to solve Africa's debt crisis "It is of profound concern that while we should be building, we are busy destroying. Instead of collaborating, we are engaged in meaningless and futile antagonisms"

But Sudanese Foreign Minister Ali Sahloul told Reuters that the OAU had made a mistake in appearing to give in to pressure to link the issues of aid and democracy.

"It is encouraging certain circles in the West to make it a condition Democracy will eventually come as living conditions improve." — Reuter.

AT OAU ... Mr Mandela (seated next to Mrs Rosalind Carter, wife of former US president Mr Jimmy Carter) at the OAU summit this week shortly before he fell ill. Picture REUTER

Mandela rests in Kenya

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Cape Times 12/7/90

NAIROBI. — A tired and ill Mr Nelson Mandela was taken straight to Nairobi's central hospital on arrival here yesterday.

After preliminary tests, the 71-year-old ANC deputy president was whisked off for a rest at Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi's personal apartment at State House.

Last night the ANC confirmed that Mr Mandela has a slight case of pneumonia, adding that he had left Ethiopia because of altitude problems

Mr Mandela has just completed an exhausting tour of Europe and the United States. It is believed he caught a cold in Ireland which has now developed into pneumonia.

Yesterday he cut short his planned visit to Ethiopia and delivered an unusually short speech — 15 minutes — to the Organisation of African Unity summit before flying to Nairobi

Last night Mr Mandela's doctor, Dr Nthato Motlana, said he had spoken by telephone from Johannesburg to Mrs Mandela in Nairobi.

She had told him a slight case of pneumonia had been diagnosed

"His doctors, I am assured, say it is not serious at all and that he may continue with part of his official itinerary," Dr Motlana said.

It is reported that Mr Mandela looked unwell on arrival in Nairobi.

Accompanied by his wife, Winnie, he walked slowly down the stairs to the runway, clutching the stair rail.

After greeting President Moi and his cabinet, and waving to a small crowd of airport workers and security officials, Mr Mandela and Mr Moi climbed into the president's limousine and were driven away.

Winnie left in a separate vehicle.

Mr Mandela wore a black overcoat and fumbled as he took it off

Kenyan officials declined to dicuss Mr Mandela's health, but Mr Bethuel Kiplagat, the per-

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Africa's two giants who tower above the rest

W/E Mail 13/7/90

(230)

In the growing vacuum of credibility among Africa's rulers, two big men — Salim Ahmed Salim and Adebayo Adedeji — emerge as outstanding leaders of a bankrupt continent.

By VICTORIA BRITTAIN

Adebayo Adedeji and Salim Ahmed Salim: The exceptions to the helpless with which African rulers confront the continent's economic crisis

A YEAR ago, when Dr Salim Ahmed Salim was proposed as secretary general of the Organisation of African Unity, his friends divided into two camps

Some said he was being enticed to political death in a bureaucracy in Addis Ababa from which none emerged with a future

Others argued that he was the only man in Africa with the personal prestige, intellectual calibre and dauntless optimism to return the organisation to its 1960s status as leader of a continent then wrestling its way out of colonialism, and now mired in such deep economic, social and political crisis that talk of recolonolisation as inevitable has become commonplace

History probably had Salim leaning towards the pessimists The first secretary general of the OAU, Guinean High Court judge Mr Justice Diallo Telli, is the only one of his six predecessors remembered today And that is less for his distinguished record in Addis Ababa than for the invitation to dinner from President Sekou Toure which followed his return to Guinea and led to his death in Camp Boiro prison

Fifteen years ago — before the African crisis struck — Professor Adebayo Adedeji's friends similarly warned him that he was stepping into an oubliette by accepting Kurt Waldheim's request to head the United Nation's Addis Ababa-based Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) So little importance did Nigeria's heavyweight politicos attach to the job that

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P.T.O.

The two giants of the African continent tower above the rest

W/E Mail 13/7-19/7/90

●From PAGE 1

General Murtala Mohammed, in his short-lived takeover as Nigerian head of state, summoned Adedeji home and, without consultation, named him foreign minister Adedeji's clear disdain for the casual morality of soldiers in politics probably dates from this incident

Today these two are potentially the most influential men on the African continent. Adedeji, and later Salim, stepped out of the top ranks of national politics in Nigeria and Tanzania before the worst of the crisis hit at home, tainting all politicians with the whiff of failure In the growing vacuum of authority and credibility of the presidents, generals and prime ministers across the bankrupt continent, these two forceful men are emerging towering above the seedy fray

This week, as the foreign ministers and heads of state gather in Addis Ababa for the annual summit of the OAU, never have so many leaders had such a precarious hold on power, been under so much pressure from the international community or been so discredited at home But, this year, serious rumblings of discontent are epidemic, from Kenya across to Liberia, Ivory Coast and Gabon, and from Zambia north to the focus of the week's attention· Ethiopia itself.

Like politicians everywhere, Africa's leaders mostly do not like intellectuals — particularly supremely self-confident ones with an encyclopedic knowledge of skeletons in many cupboards — any more than Sekou Toure did. Salim, who has been Tanzania's prime minister, as well as defence minister and foreign minister, and Adedeji, who has degrees from Harvard and London capped by honours from universities all over the world, are the exceptions who have beaten the system which elavates mediocricy.

It was not surprising, certainly not to Salim, that there was enough opposition to him at last year's OAU summit to take to voting between him and the ineffectual incumbent, Ide Oumarou of Niger, to three ballots. The fight was, however, far from the straightforward Anglophone/Francophone tussle popularly presented It was a bitter struggle, led by President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, for an African spokesman who would fight to get the continent's dignity back in the international community after a period of stunning reverses for all the hopes of independence

With Namibian independence achieved, and South Africa moving towards political freedom, the focus of the OAU is shifting to economic questions. And it is Adedeji's pioneering economic studies which give Salim the basis for pointing the OAU at "economic liberation", as he puts it. Outside Africa it sounds like a cliche but he is deadly earnest, and is a man used to getting his way.

The latest five or six years have seen Africa's economic crisis, and the political and social collapse that has sprung from it, deepen to the extent that two-thirds of the continent has been forced to cede key policy-making to the Washington-based thinkers of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in exchange for any access to international capital. Washington's policies are daily bringing more poverty, more desperation and the rise of repression and corruption

Salim and Adedeji are the exceptions to the helplessness or cynicism with which African leaders confront the current disaster and the very real prospect that things are going to get even worse Outside the discredited power structures of national politics these two have a vast grassroots constituency across the continent. Adedeji, with great courage, began several years ago stepping on eggshells and advocating democratic reforms as one preliminary to reviving economic development possibilities. His implicit challenge to African elites found no support in the West which was still supporting the best known tyrannies such as Zaire and Kenya But, by a mixture of tact and toughness, Adedeji persuaded the African presidents to accept his reform programmes Salim, for all his apparent outgoing warmth and frankness, is also a subtle tactician and behind the scenes has put his political weight behind Adedeji's academic work As the ambassadors of those presidents to the international community, the West is finding the two increasingly difficult to ignore as they point out that the emperors (in the shape of the IMF, World Bank and the Western donors who tie their aid to them) have no clothes on

Salim was an obvious choice for anyone, like Mugabe, recognising that Africa needs some tough leadership. Although he is only 48, he has already missed by a whisker two even bigger jobs than chief executive for the 51 countries of Africa — president of Tanzania, and the first African secretary general of the UN The Machiavellian deals struck against him in both races appeared to take Salim by surprise — the first checks in his seemingly effortless rise In both cases those who opposed him were those who like the status quo, (particularly the permanent members of the Security Council), while those who backed him were for change and a tough and articulate espousal of the tiermondist attitudes now so unfashionable in the West and the former state socialist countries of Eastern Europe, but essential in the south.

Four years later, the chaotic and doomed Zanzibar revolution against the medieval world of the sultans erupted when Salim was in China with another youth delegation He got back to find himself, at the age of 21, posted as the ambassador of revolutionary Zanzibar, to the heady atmosphere of Abdul Nasser's Egypt — founder of the OAU and spokesman par excellence for Africa's decolonisation. After Zanzibar merged with mainland Tanganyika, Salim stayed on as ambassador until, at the age of 28, he became Tanzania's representative to the UN and nine years later, president of the General Assembly. In his spare time he managed a master's degree at Columbia University

Two triumphs marked that period and have set the shape of his life ever since. the administration of China to the UN against the wishes of the Nixon administration (later this probably brought the Soviet Union to vote with the United States to block his bid for the top UN job), and the chairmanship of the decolonisation committee, which would later bring him an insider's view of the agony and impotence of his friends in independent Angola and Mozambique as South Africa's proxies ripped their countries apart in the 1980s.

If Salim is the product of Africa's radical nationalist years on the world stage, and in particular of the Tanzania created by Julius Nyerere, Adedeji is from a very different background and a generation formed in the more measured days before independence

Within two years of arriving in Addis Ababa, Adedeji's studies for the EAC began to show that an economic crisis was emerging By 1980 his first report on how to avert it, the Lagos Plan of Action, was adopted by the OAU But the war with the World Bank for the domination of the continent's economic policy was already on The bank published the Berg report — the first in a series over the last decade which have blamed Africa's economic crisis on internal factors and signposted the way out with increased export commodities Adedeji begged Berg not to publish but instead to back the ECA strategy and get African countries working together for self-sufficiency

In 1985, having put Africa's economic crisis on the international agenda with a UN Special Session committed to it, Adedeji went for the job of director general of the UN's Industrial Development Organisation When he emerged as the front runner among the three candidates, the US changed the voting rules and he lost He took it as a hard lesson in Western retribution for failing to be "a good African"

Perhaps in response to the defeat, he went to work on Africa with more energy than ever He works an 18-hour day which leaves aides 30 years younger unable to keep up

Powerful Western policy makers, used to patronising African leaders who survive on their aid budgets, have a habit of slipping nervously away from public debate with Adedeji and Salim Douglas Hurd did it in a House of Commons conference with them last month when he left before either of them spoke Messrs Conable and Camdessus of the World Bank and the IMF did it when they ignored Adedeji at a meeting in Washington earlier this year when he said they were now more powerful in Africa than the colonial powers had been More powerful perhaps, but no more popular, and with the same chance of being seen off by history.

— The Guardian, London

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Star 13/7/90

Mandela again moves to diminish white fears

230

No solution can be found in South Africa if political forces are driven by a spirit of revenge and hatred, Nelson Mandela was to have told heads of African states this week. Political reporter **ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE**, reports on the speech he was to have delivered to the OAU summit in Addis Ababa

ADDIS ABABA — The success of a political settlement in South Africa depended on a spirit of reconciliation and a commitment by all the political forces "not to pursue the narrow-minded and destructive aim of gaining political advantage over one another".

This was Nelson Mandela's message this week to the 26th summit of heads of state of the Organisation of African Unity in the Ethiopian capital His speech was distributed at the summit after he had been flown to Nairobi on doctors' advice to be treated for pneumonia.

The ANC deputy president's conciliatory speech was clearly aimed at convincing any still sceptical African states of the sincerity of both the Government and the ANC to reach a political settlement

He noted that many South Africans who had suffered under apartheid instinctively wanted to seek revenge for past and current wrongs On the other hand, some whites wanted to block political reform by using maximum force

To overcome this, the ANC proposed that a new dispensation should not be based on colour, should not contain white veto rights and should not discriminate against whites.

Constitution

A constituent assembly which would be entrusted with the task of drawing up a new constitution should not be formed on the basis of mandates from racial and ethnic groups

The ANC was in favour of a system of one person, one vote and a Bill of Rights to guarantee the cultural, linguistic and religious rights of individuals This should sufficiently address white fears "to the extent that they preclude the possibility of discriminating against whites and their domination under a new apartheid system".

The ANC was very conscious of white fears and was prepared to discuss such fears with the white political parties.

The ANC was prepared to "agree on such measures as may be necessary to address the question of these fears, provided this does not undermine the democratic system and result in the re-introduction of apartheid".

Briefing the OAU on the progress which had been made at the Groote Schuur meeting between the ANC and the government, Mr Mandela said both parties had agreed that "nothing should be done to give the apartheid system even one more day of existence".

Minority

This implied that efforts should be made to ensure that the process of negotiations was not used to legitimise a white minority government to buy time for apartheid, nor should a new constitution empower a black majority and disenfranchise a white minority

"This is why we have consistently rejected the idea put forward by the Pretoria regime of power-sharing by racially defined political groups

"The democratic principle of majority rule is a political majority, not a racial majority"

Mr Mandela told the OAU that the ANC did not doubt the Government's willingness to remove the obstacles to negotiations as had been set out by the Harare Declaration

Elaborating on the reasons for having adopted the armed struggle, Mr Mandela commented "There are many uncertainties which derive from the resolve of sections of the white population to block a settlement by drowning our people in a bloodbath.

"This imposes on us the requirement that, should white South Africa once more deny us the possibility to bring about change by peaceful means, we must have the means to continue the struggle by means that would be dictated by this eventuality, which we do not desire."

Stop aping foreigners, says OAU's new leader

By SHAFA'ATH-AHMAD KHAN

Citizen 15/7/90 (230)

THE new Organisation of African Unity (OAU) chairman, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, is a leader with a strong sense of African pride.

When he was unanimously elected to succeed President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt at the annual summit of the 27-year-old OAU this week, the new chairman noted: "A society which does not feed itself or clothe itself, and which survives at the mercy of other societies, is a society in crisis."

Four and half years ago, his National Resistance Army ousted military leader General Tito Okello and he became President of Uganda.

Along with his concern for the welfare of the African continent is a sharp awareness of the cultural, socio-political and moral pitfalls he thinks have made inroads into the continent.

At the recent East African Social Science Conference in Kampala, Museveni, 46, chided black Africa for aping foreign political and cultural notions.

"Some (African countries) blindly imitated the West while others blindly imitated the East. Domination of Africa by foreigners has propelled us into the present position where Africa is the most backward continent," he lamented.

"Whenever Europe sneezes, Africa coughs. Whenever Europe plays a tune, Africa dances.

"The cultural subjugation of Africa reached absurdity when African women started destroying their pigmentation and the texture of their hair in order to look like white women."

Foreign practices, he noted at the conference, had ripped African society apart. He added that "foreign concepts should always be sieved to filter out the negative elements".

In another recent speech at St Paul's Cathedral in Namirembe, Kampala, he said the spread of AIDS in Uganda – which, according to the World Health Organisation, surpasses other African countries with more than 12 000 cases reported in the last eight years – had to be attributed to decadent sexual practices.

"People are rotten morally and, as a result, AIDS has spread very fast. We need to solve the problem of decadence and immoral living because, unless we do so, it will affect efficiency in production, health and other work."

Notwithstanding that, President Yet Museveni's political agenda for Africa is clear. He has appealed to African countries to co-operate, particularly in the areas of mutal defence and security.

On the eve of the OAU summit in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa, which was attended by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, Museveni confirmed that ANC military operatives were being given access to his country.

His promise as new OAU chairman is to take steps to solve Africa's acute crisis of not being able to adequately support itself.

OAU chairman Yoweri Museveni ... "Foreign practices have ripped African society apart."

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Hypocrisy at OAU summit

Cape Times 15/7/90 (230)

PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

A SAD picture was painted at the annual meeting of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU), says *Die Burger* in an editorial

"While the retiring chairman, president Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, highlighted increasing foreign debts, poverty, health problems and illiteracy in Africa, other speakers were concerned that Africa would sink deeper into the morass because of increasing attention given by the Western world to Eastern Europe.

"In the near hopeless circumstances in which Africa finds itself, one could expect that African leaders would go out of their way to seek realistic solutions for the oppressive problems of the continent Unfortunately, it does not appear to be the case.

"The doors are still closed to South Africa – the one country that could make a large contribution to improving the lot of the millions of inhabitants of the continent.

"Admittedly, a few friendly noises were made about the recent reforms of President FW de Klerk, but in the same breath it was said the OAU had a responsibility to ensure sanctions against South Africa were maintained because the 'apartheid system' was still in full swing"

What hypocrisy to ask for sustained sanctions while the large majority of African countries surreptitiously trade with South Africa, *Die Burger* says.

(250) STR. 16/7/90

Democracy: Can it grow in Africa?

By GRAHAM LINSCOTT

Who could disagree with the proposition of OAU secretary-general Ahmed Salim that, just as revolutions cannot be exported, so democracy has to be developed and rooted in local cultures?

Africa has been cursed by attempts to impose either West European democratic models or "revolutionary" cultures exported from the Soviet Union or Communist China.

Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda head a long list of the former. Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia are glaring examples of the latter.

Namibia is a promising example of a new course in which a head-count majority was not able to impose its will on the rest of the population. It is a promising example but, of course, Namibia still has to prove itself.

Attempts to graft Westminster democracy on to countries such as Zambia led to one-party rule, inefficiency and corruption.

Their people are a diversity of ethnic and regional interests. A gulf separated the masses from the small nationalist elites which took over from the colonial powers.

One-party rule seemed the only way to hold things together, and to an extent it worked — but only to an extent. There are today serious rumblings against it in Ivory Coast, Zambia and Kenya, representing both Francophone and Anglophone Africa.

Vanguard

In countries such as Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia, resistance to militarised rule by revolutionary vanguard parties is only too devastatingly obvious.

It seems, as Mr Salim suggests, that Africa needs to develop its own models of democracy, realistically rooted in local realities. How can this be achieved?

Consensus government seems the most feasible route, a drawing-in of all interest groups to the decision-making process. It would be a great sophistication on one-party rule or permanent power versus permanent opposition.

But then those involved have to forget notions of "representing the will of the people" or "representing the forces of history". They have to be prepared to compromise and recognise the legitimate rights of others.

Of course, South Africa is also on that list of failed attempts to graft Westminster democracy on to Africa. In spite of the fine democratic traditions of Parliament, the system has shown itself incapable of absorbing the entire population of the country without threatening the rights of important groupings.

Mr Salim and the OAU will no doubt look on with more than passing interest as negotiations get under way. South Africa has the opportunity to produce a democratic model with a relevance far beyond its borders.

□ □ □

Nelson Mandela tells the OAU summit that apartheid and racial segregation are about to disappear into history.

If he is that confident, why the insistence on retaining sanctions and why the continued rhetoric of the armed struggle?

One appreciates the reluctance to publicly abandon bargaining positions. But economic recession and continued espousal of the armed struggle in certain ANC quarters is working wonders for the right wing — who would like nothing more than to derail the whole process of negotiation.

□ □ □

It is the parliamentary recess and people are taking holidays. But could the Cabinet not take a slightly higher profile in projecting a positive future, at a time when right-wing bombs and farm murders are otherwise dominating the public consciousness?

Has President de Klerk considered the equivalent of President Reagan's fireside chats?

A terrible vacuum seems to be developing, and all kinds of mischief-makers could fill it.

When Europe sneezes, Africa shouldn't cough

230

South 19/7 - 25/7/90

Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni has taken over the chairmanship of the Organisation of African Unity for the next year. SHAFA'ATH-AHMED KHAN looks at some of his ideas for Africa and his country:

THE new chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, 46, is a leader with a strong sense of African pride.

He succeeded President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt at the annual summit of the 27-year-old OAU this month

He minces no words when he thinks African culture is being bitten by the alien bug or the social morale of his people by the decadent bug

Opening the East African Social Science Conference in Kampala recently, Museveni chided black Africa for aping foreign political and cultural notions, calling on them to take only the best from them.

"Some (African countries) blindly imitate the West, while others blindly imitate the East. Domination of Africa by foreigners has propelled us into the present position where Africa is the most backward continent," he lamented

Apparently concerned about the spread of non-African ideas on the continent, Museveni remarked. "Whenever Europe sneezes, Africa coughs Whenever Europe plays a tune, Africa dances".

Foreign practices, he noted, had ripped African society apart, but he appealed to Africans not to be "xenophobic by being allergic" to foreign notions.

"Foreign concepts should always be sieved to filter out the negative elements."

The apparent violation of morality, too, seems to be high on Museveni's agenda.

In another speech to the congregation of St Paul's Cathedral in Kampala,. he asserted that the spread of Aids in Uganda — which, according to the World Health Organisation has the highest incidence of the disease in Africa with more than 12 000 reported cases in the last eight years — had to be attributed to decadent sexual practices

Museveni's political agenda for Africa is clear — as he demonstrated in his speech at the East African Social Science Conference.

He appealed to African countries to strengthen their bond of cooperation — particularly in relation to mutual defence and security.

On the eve of the OAU summit in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa, the president — whose chairmanship was publicly favoured by ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, who also attended the opening session of the summit — confirmed that ANC military bases were presently been given access to his country.

Yoweri Museveni

Democracy 'no panacea for Africa'

LAGOS — Organisation of African Unity (OAU) head Salim Ahmed Salim believes multi-party democracy is not a panacea for economic ills in Africa, and Western nations should not make it a precondition for giving aid

"Africa is increasingly being told to establish multi-partyism as understood and practised in Europe, or face the possibility of what effectively would be economic sanctions," OAU Secretary-General Salim told a lecture audience in Lagos

African nations should resist this attempt to have European forms of democracy imposed on them as a condition for receiving financial aid, he said (230)

It was an over-simplification to suggest that multi-partyism was a solution to the problems of African nations, which needed to find their own paths to stable democratic systems taking account of the cultural peculiarities of their societies

Salim expressed fears that changes in global economic relations, particularly in Europe, could sweep Africa aside

"In the final analysis, it is Africa which can make itself relevant or irrelevant," Salim said — Sapa-Reuter

B/Day 25/6/90

Nelson Mandela talks to Kenyan Assistant Minister to the President's Office John Keen at Nairobi Airport yesterday. Mandela was on his way from Egypt to Zimbabwe. Picture REUTER

OAU is urged to tackle economics

B/Day 22/5/90 (230)

TRIPOLI — African economic ministers want the OAU to put economic development on the top of its July summit agenda, officials at a UN-sponsored meeting held at the weekend said

"The main problem for Africa isn't political, it's economic," said one senior delegate at the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) conference

"We've got to take issues like the African economic matter to a higher political level," the official said.

Progress that has been made on central OAU political concerns such as apartheid race laws in SA and independence for Namibia could leave a vacuum at the next heads of state meeting

ANC leader Nelson Mandela, addressing the ECA meeting on its final day on Saturday, noted that the economic crisis could block political progress

"Economic problems . all over the world can corrode political rights," he said

Delegates said if OAU leaders turned to Africa's economic plight, they could build political pressure ahead of talks with donor nations in Paris in September on fresh aid for the world's poorest states

For Africa's 28 least developed countries (LDCs) the priorities are relief from mounting debt, more development aid and higher commodity prices

"If nothing is going to be done on these three (areas), you can count the least developed countries out in the 1990s," said the conference's LDC committee chairman, Mustafa Nyang'anyi of Tanzania

But in private conversations, some delegates said the ECA had failed to set clear priorities, with the wide range of reports presented in Tripoli covering the same ground as previous conferences.

Despite African concerns about being pushed further to the margins of the world economy by the opening of a single European Community market after 1992, progress in opening up intra-African trade remains sluggish, delegates said

The need for selfhelp would become more acute as industrialised nations helped Eastern European states pay for their shift to market economies — Sapa-Reuter

DORR

and its subsidiaries

FM 6/4/90

Africa's unfinished business

(230)

FM 6/4/90

In his first interview with an SA publication, OAU Secretary General Salim Salim spoke to the FM's Amarnath Singh in Windoek last week.

***FM:* What does Namibia's independence represent for the OAU?**

Salim: A tremendous triumph, first for the people of Namibia, secondly for the African countries which for years supported their struggle for independence, and for international co-operation and understanding

Will Namibia be a Frontline State member?

It's logical, almost a foregone conclusion

Is this Africa's last unfinished business?

From the point of view of classical decolonisation, yes — aside from pockets of colonial possession But the real unfinished business as far as the struggle is concerned is, of course, the situation in SA itself

Is the OAU optimistic about SA now in view of President De Klerk's measures?

I am hopeful about the evolution of the situation in SA not primarily because of the measures taken by Mr De Klerk, which are welcome and positive, but because of the evolution of the situation itself What is happening in SA is essentially as a result of the resistance of the people of SA, both blacks and whites, in attempts to create a more just and democratic society A combination of factors, including international support, have contributed to the situation as it now evolves

Is there still a need for sanctions against SA?

As long as the fundamentals of the system of apartheid haven't changed, and until there is an irreversible process towards change, there is no basis for the international community to rethink its position.

What is the OAU role?

The OAU's position has always been that in the final analysis it's for the people of SA to decide their future.

We will look very closely at the envisaged preliminary talks on April 11, which would set the stage for meaningful substantive negotiation These are encouraging developments But we will continue to provide the necessary support to the ANC and other anti-apartheid organisations in SA We will continue to maintain international pressure for the purpose of change And we will be more than happy to see this change take place in an atmosphere of reconciliation and understanding For as long as the indignities committed against black people in SA continue all of us feel affected

Beyond that, the OAU ad hoc committee's monitoring group will follow the implementation of the General Assembly Declaration adopted last December. And we are hopeful My experiences in Namibia have reinforced my belief that fundamental change in SA is inevitable — before the decade is out

Will the OAU try to bring the ANC and PAC together?

We continue, as we did in Lusaka, to call on the anti-apartheid movement in SA generally to recognise the imperatives of the hour, and the need for a united position

What about the peace process in Angola?

It is our hope that saner forces will prevail The Angolan government trusts in the mediation efforts of President Mobutu, and we have no reason not to support those efforts.

But, frankly, the sooner the US recognises the legitimate government of Angola, the better the position it'll be in to make a constructive contribution to national reconciliation Now, I'm afraid to say, the American position is slightly untenable. on the one hand they want to be the people who are reconciling, on the other, they are absolutely committed to supporting Unita

Should Angola hold free and fair elections?

I think so The government is quite prepared to, but how do you hold free and fair elections under conditions of war? First and foremost there must be an end to the destruction, which is made possible by external factors — by the continued support which is being rendered to Unita

Especially after eastern Europe, shouldn't Africa aim for multiparty democracies?

The events in eastern Europe certainly have had far-reaching impact on our continent — economic and political, and concepts which were valid in terms of international relations no longer are. I think we should aim at the democratisation of our continent, and every society should be in a position to determine how this can be achieved Increasingly, I think the trend will be towards multiparty democracy, but not simply because it's happening in eastern Europe

What about its impact on African socialism?

Rhetoric apart, I know of no African country which has really established a Marxist society In our African setting, the trend has been towards creating an egalitarian society, which some call African socialism, democratic socialism, or even scientific socialism. But the basis for creating an egalitarian society has not been shattered simply because of the events in eastern Europe

But perhaps the economic mechanism to achieve that may lie in free enterprise?

I think it may lie in both. Because even in the freest of free enterprise societies there is some aspect of state control The question is how to balance the private sector with the public sector. But the issue in Africa has not been so much that African governments have not allowed the private enterprise to flourish In reality, and it's a reality we will have to face increasingly, in order to develop our countries we need the necessary investment and capital This has not been forthcoming for a number of factors partly the political situation, but essentially the realities of the economy Almost every African country welcomes foreign investment But the response has been limited. Why? Essentially because the investor would like to go where he can make a quick buck, where the necessary infrastructure and technology are in place. So now there's another problem for Africa and maybe for the Third World The trend will be more to focus investment in eastern Europe by virtue of the existence of the infrastructure, and its relative economic advancement compared to Africa

We must not stifle private initiative. But I'm not sure that simply that will be the panacea for Africa's problems Because this has been the policy of all our countries in one way or another. But the necessary reciprocal responses from the would-be partners of Africa have not been that forthcoming

The last World Bank report on Africa was pretty pessimistic. Are things changing?

The Chinese have a saying, that for every negative thing, there's something positive I believe that maybe, just maybe, these events in eastern Europe, the dramatic transformation of the international situation, may force us to recognise the importance of Africa working together, in co-operative interaction, to take the issue of economic integration more seriously, as well as issues of industrial rationalisation and food sufficiency. We can only do so by pooling our resources.

I personally believe that Africa's second and more fundamental, economic liberation, can come about only by a co-ordinated, concerted inter-African action Therefore, we have to support very seriously groups like the SADCC, the PTA, Ecowas in West Africa, and so on Short of that it's extremely difficult to think how we can get out of the present crisis.

It is true that some of the problems are the result of our own policies But it is equally true that we are going through an extremely hostile international economic environment. This cannot simply be pooh-poohed The conventional wisdom tends to say, if only Africans work harder, if only you get your act together things will be better. But in truth Africans are working hard, people should go to the villages and see for themselves As a result, many African countries are producing more than they used to, but are getting less than they used to before they increased production This is compounded by the indebtedness which hangs like an albatross on Africa's neck

If countries in Europe feel the urge and necessity to unite in order to become a force, the need for Africa to become more united is even more imperative.

SA comes in from the cold

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency and BRENDAN SEERY, Argus Africa News Service

Argus 22/3/90

WINDHOEK — South Africa has made a major diplomatic breakthrough in a hectic round of talks in Windhoek and its relations with the outside world will broaden, according to President F W de Klerk

Speaking at a Press conference in Windhoek shortly before he left for Cape Town following the Namibian independence celebrations he said that "many good results" would flow from the discussions in Windhoek

In an earlier interview, President Kaunda of Zambia, who met Mr De Klerk yesterday, said that their talks had been "extremely useful and he indicated that tensions between South Africa and the rest of Africa could be reduced

Mr De Klerk said today that part of the reason why South Africa's diplomatic relations would broaden was because its good faith was being accepted in the world

It was accepted that drastic change was coming and that the South African government was serious when it said it wanted to negotiate a new constitution

Important role

It was also accepted that South Africa could play an important role in the development of Southern Africa — which was in need of this

There were prospects of a developing South African region as a market for Europe

The atmosphere at the talks was "positive and constructive"

It was clear that high expectations had been raised but there was also a marked realism and an understanding of the complexity of the situation in South and southern Africa

South Africa had extended a hand of friendship to its neighbours and was ready to play a central role in bringing about peace in the region

Mr De Klerk said that in the talks he emphasised that, with its technological expertise and developed infrastructure, South Africa had much to contribute to the development of the region

Lifting of sanctions

The lifting of sanctions was not discussed as this was not regarded as a pawn in improving relations with the world

Mr De Klerk saw a large number of foreign representatives in the two-day diplomatic flurry in Windhoek

They included President Sam Nujoma of Namibia, United Nations secretary-general Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt who is chairman of the OAU, President Dos Santos of Angola, President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, President Kaunda of Zambia, President Drnovsek of Yugoslavia, the chairman of the non aligned movement, President Traore of Mali, and the Prime Minister of the Cape Verde Islands, Mr Pedro Pires

He also met the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, Ireland Finland, West Germany, Sweden and Spain as well as ministers from Italy, France and Norway

There were also meetings with the international committee of the Red Cross and the United Nations Commission for Refugees

Walvis Bay

● President De Klerk pledged that, whatever happened in discussions about Walvis Bay, South Africa would assure the "accessibility and use' of the enclave port for Namibia

He said in Windhoek today that the issue still had to be discussed fully between his government and the incoming Swapo administration in Windhoek, but that South Africa understood that the port was of "extreme economic importance" to Namibia

Mr De Klerk noted, however, that Pretoria's stand was that the status quo in the enclave would remain unchanged and that it would stay part of South Africa

President De Klerk

He said the Walvis Bay issue had not come up for serious discussion between himself and Mr Nujoma during the brief meeting they had in Windhoek This was because both he and Mr Nujoma were "extremely busy" over the past few days

Much of the talks centred on "practical day-to-day issues" — such as the continued use of the rand as currency and border control arrangements — and a number of "bilateral agreements" would flow from the discussion

The question of whether the two countries would have full diplomatic relations in the future had not been discussed, and was one of the issues which would have to be dealt with in future talks between Namibia and South Africa, Mr De Klerk said

Swapo has in the past said that, like Zimbabwe and other African countries, it would not have full diplomatic relations with South Africa after independence However, political observers have noticed a marked warming in the relationship between Swapo and South Africa during the transition to independence, and the warm welcome accorded President De Klerk at the independence celebrations — together with the changing climate in South Africa — has fuelled speculation about diplomatic contact between the two countries

● Dr Kaunda "getting to know FW better" — page 3
● Diplomatic breakthrough for South Africa — page 19

B/Day 20/3/90

Bumper year expected for unit trusts

(230) LIZ ROUSE

THE unit trust industry was heading for a bumper year in the wake of the Budget dividend and interest tax concessions, Old Mutual assistant GM for unit trust and sales development Bastiaan van der Westhuizen said.

Disclosing yesterday that the total assets under management by Old Mutual unit trusts rose to R2,5bn after reaching the R2bn mark four months ago, he said government's decision to make dividends tax free would improve the attraction of unit trusts.

"If one considers that apart from dividends being tax free, the Minister has doubled the interest exemption from R1 000 to R2 000 and further interest concessions are likely, unit trusts are a tremendous investment.

"Investors in unit trusts will not pay any tax on dividends received from their units. This will help to maximise capital growth, particularly where investors re-invest the tax-free dividends to purchase further units. Previously this could have created cash-flow problems as a result of tax paid on money not physically received, but re-invested"

Haven

Non-residents who did not carry on business in SA were liable for non-resident tax (NRST) on all dividends received from a SA source and would continue to pay NRST of 15% on dividends received from unit trusts

"The Minister also announced a so-called sale haven for listed shares on the JSE held for a period of more than 10 years. This means that any profit on the realisation of these shares will not be taxed. This safe haven does not appear to apply to unit trusts.

"The normal rules of capital and revenue are applicable, but in most cases where an individual sells units they are not subject to income tax."

"It should be noted that the R2 000 interest exemption was announced as an interim measure while the government investigates the feasibility of substituting a final withholding tax. This tax which will be levied at a low rate will presumably apply to unit trusts as well."

He said Old Mutual's Investors' Fund — the largest unit trust — was performing well.

Detention costs: 'No figures'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE costs of Mr Nelson Mandela's 15-month stay in a house at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl were not readily available, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday

But, he said, Mr Mandela had paid all the costs relating to the entertainment of visitors, who visited him at their own expense

Mr Coetsee, who was replying to a question tabled in the House of Assembly by Mr A P Oosthuizen (CP, Smithfield), said Mr Mandela was detained "in a comfortably equipped and properly secured home" at Victor Verster between December 7, 1988, and February 11 this year

The daily cost involved, as well as the daily cost of an ordinary prisoner, was "not readily available" as the per capita cost per prisoner per day differed from institution to institution

Solution in five years — Mandela

Own Correspondent

LONDON — African National Congress vice president Mr Nelson Mandela said he would get impatient' if it appeared a political solution would not be achieved within five years

He said the ANC was "not prepared to risk the same danger of Namibia where it took 12 years (after the implementation of UN Resolution 435) to reach a settlement"

Speaking on BBC television, Mr Mandela also emphasised that the ANC would not accept any delaying tactics during the negotiation process

"We will only sit and talk if we are assured each meeting will produce concrete results"

The first test of this will be in "talks about talks" on April 11 between an ANC delegation led by Mr Mandela and a government negotiating team led by President F W de Klerk.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would sit down and talk to the government only once it had "normalised the political situation in the country"

The unbanning of the ANC was only one of the pre-conditions the ANC set for talks Among other demands were the release of all political prisoners, the free return of exiles and the lifting of the state of emergency

For a settlement to be reached, the government would have to tackle fundamental issues from the outset. He declined to discuss ANC strategy

Mr Mandela said that while in prison he had given legal advice to fellow black prisoners, many of whom as a result had their sentences reduced, and also to some white guards

The former lawyer said the guards were often "youngsters with no alternative" but to work in the prisons service

"Once they realised you were not hostile, they treated you as a human"

By fostering their friendship, prisoners could get concessions such as extra blankets he said In return, he had helped the guards with their legal problems

'ANC goal to cut gap in wealth'

Political Staff

THE ANC regarded nationalisation as a means, not a goal, to remove or reduce the differences of wealth and development of less privileged people, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said in the House of Assembly yesterday

He said it was agreed that the gap in wealth in the country was too wide and that the poor should be uplifted

"Let us then first look at where the money can be found"

His experience with the ANC was it used only the pragmatic argument for nationalisation, not the purely ideological one, that it was necessary for the financial proceeds and dividends to go to the state and not individual shareholders for socio-economic purposes

"We must not elevate means into ends, which is what I suspect the ANC is doing in relation to nationalisation," Dr De Beer said.

OAU to make contact with govt

230 Cape Times 20/3/90

LUSAKA. — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) agreed yesterday to begin direct contacts with the South African government in an effort to find a peaceful end to apartheid

Diplomats said the move aims to co-ordinate Africa's contacts with South Africa and prevent direct diplomatic approaches by the government to moderate African states

The decision was taken by leaders of 13 OAU member states, constituting an ad hoc committee on Southern Africa

There was no immediate response from Pretoria

The OAU move followed a recommendation by the ANC to set up a group to maintain contact with all parties to the South African political dispute

"The ad hoc committee has supported strongly the programme put forward by the ANC that includes talks with President F W de Klerk," Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said yesterday

The committee is to set up a monitoring group, composed of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe

Until now the 51 member African grouping has shunned any official contact with Pretoria

Yesterday's summit took note of political reforms introduced in South Africa but said more needed to be done to build a climate for full negotiations leading to democracy — Sapa Reuter

CP MP is 'coloured man'

THE Conservative Party had sent a coloured man to represent the Kuruman constituency, Mr Desmond Lockey (LP, Northern Cape) said yesterday

He said during the vote on the own affairs budget that it was impossible that Mr Jan Hoon (CP, Kuruman) could be white, as his ancestors had come from Madagascar If the CP council were to enclose "Die Oog" — a Kuruman tourist attraction — Mr Hoon would not be allowed in — Sapa

Sent home

Political Staff

THE government last year repatriated 38 758 Mozambicans who had been in South Africa illegally, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, said yesterday

He was replying to a question tabled in the House of Assembly

NP: Natal violence 'illogical'

THE violence in Natal had become illogical and something had to be done to improve the basic qualities of life for blacks, Mr Johannes Maree (NP Klip River) said yesterday

It was necessary for people to be socially uplifted The youth were not attending school and more than 60 000 people were homeless as they were constantly fleeing danger

The conflict in the region was due to many reasons, one of which was ideological differences, he said — Sapa

NP 'buys time'

THE National Party had adopted a parking meter policy It was hoping to buy time from blacks by placing coins in the "black parking meter" majority, Mr A P Oosthuizen (CP Smithfield), said yesterday

It was now running out of time — Sapa

RADIO

SOUTH AFRICA
5.00 Get Going. 5.30 News. 5.35 Calling All Farmers. 6.00 Radio Today 6.01 News. 6.06 This New Day Dr R Codrington. 6.45 Topsport. 6.55 Weather 7.00 News. 7.35 Economic Report. 7.45 Special Report. 7.50 Parliament. 8.00 News.
8.35 Landmarks. 8.45 Cotillion 9.00 Paddy O'Byrne. 10.00 Talking of Nature. 10.30 Devotion. Past J Stegman. 10.45 Congratulations.
11.00 News Headlines. 11.05 Woman's World. 11.45 Novel Reading The Diary of Irie Vaughan.
12.00 Midday Concert.
1.00 News. 1 15 Weather Business. Market Trends. 1.30 Talkabout. 2.30 The Place of the Lion. 2.45 King of the Clarinet. 3.30 Short Story repeat. 3.45 Soundbox.
4.00 News Headlines. 4 05 The PM Show cricket.
5.00 Update news headlines, cricket, Special Report repeat.
6.00 The World at Six, Economic Report. 6.14 The Stock Exchange Today 6.30 Topsport. 6.53 Weather 6.56 Reflection.
7.00 News Headlines, Economic News. 7 10 Cotillion. 7.25 An Evening With Allegro. 7.27 Letter From America. 7.35 Music Till Eight. music in miniature. 8.00 Limelight. 8.30 My Word.
9.00 News, Weather 9.10 Landmarks. 9.25 Benediction the Rev H Lee. 9.30 Join Radio Allegro.

ALLEGRO
9.30 Music and Musicians. 10.20 Soiree Internationale. 11.00 News. 11 10 Die Stem en die Melodie. 12.00 Symphony 2000. 1.00 Eine Kleine Nachtmusik. 1.30

Curtis — By Ray Billingsley

King Tut — By Geoff Watson

OAU agrees to seek direct contact with SA

ARGUS 20/3/90 (230)

LUSAKA — The Organisation of African Unity has agreed to start direct contacts with the South African government to find a peaceful end to apartheid

Diplomats said the move aimed to co-ordinate Africa's contacts with South Africa and prevent direct diplomatic approaches by Pretoria to moderate African states

The decision was taken by leaders of 13 OAU members, constituting an ad-hoc committee on southern Africa, at a one-day summit in Lusaka yesterday

There was no immediate response from Pretoria

The OAU move followed a recommendation by the African National Congress to set up a group to maintain contact with all parties to the South African political dispute

"The ad-hoc committee has supported strongly the programme put forward by the ANC that includes talks with President De Klerk on April 11," Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda told a news conference after the summit

The committee is to set up a monitoring group, consisting of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe to watch peace moves recently set in motion by Mr De Klerk

The group, to be based in Lusaka, will be the first direct communication channel between the OAU and Pretoria

Yesterday's summit took note of political reforms introduced in South Africa but said more needed to be done to build a climate for full negotiations leading to democracy

A diplomat commented "They (African leaders) want to isolate South Africa but they realise that is now very difficult So they are seeking a way of controlling any contacts if and when they happen" — Sapa-Reuter

TRIAL: Former Rumanian Communist Party boss Emil Bobu (right) confers with his lawyer after appealing against his life sentence for genocide, while Manea Manescu (far left) speaks to Ion Dinca. The men, who wore suits in their original trial, appeared in court with shaved heads and in prison uniforms

East German minority party spurns coalition

EAST BERLIN — Social Dem- — a member of the three-party

ANC plan for OAU to deal with Pretoria

ARGUS 19/3/90

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Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The African National Congress will today ask the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to open direct contacts with the South African government in search of a negotiated end to apartheid

The proposal is contained in an ANC report to be presented to an OAU ad-hoc committee on Southern Africa due to hold a one-day summit in the Zambian capital today

The plan, expected to be accepted by the summit, aims to co-ordinate black Africa's contacts with South Africa and prevent direct diplomatic approaches by Pretoria to moderate African states

In the past Pretoria's diplomatic initiatives have tended to throw black Africa's policy on South Africa into disarray

Heads of state

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia is expected to brief the other heads of state attending today's meeting on his talks with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week

Representatives of Algeria, Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Mali, Nigeria, Cape Verde and the six frontline states will attend today's talks which will be chaired by the current OAU chairman and Egypt's President Mr Hosni Mubarak

The leaders of the frontline states (Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and Zimbabwe) yesterday met in Lusaka to discuss today's talks No details were released

Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Eduard Shevardnadze will arrive in Zambia today and is expected to be briefed by President Kaunda on today's OAU meeting

Mr Shevardnadze, who tomorrow travels to Namibia, is also expected to hold talks with the ANC in Lusaka today

Last week President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique was in the United States and Britain for talks on the current situation in Southern Africa

● Garner Thomson of the Argus Foreign Service reports from London that Mr Nelson Mandela has again warned that the ANC "will become impatient" if progress towards solving South Africa's problems is not apparent soon after discussions with the South African government begin on April 11

He told BBC TV interviewer Joan Bakewell in *Heart of the Matter*, a documentary screened here yesterday, that patience would run out "if a solution is not likely within five years"

Speaking in Stockholm shortly before returning to South Africa on Friday, he added "We are not prepared to risk the same dangers which faced us as far as Namibia was concerned, where it took 12 years to reach a settlement"

● The Argus Correspondent in Pretoria writes that ANC leaders yesterday repeated a call for discipline during South Africa's political transformation

Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada and UDF's Mr Patrick Lekota addressed an ANC rally in Lenasia

Call for unity

Mr Sisulu called for unity among all South Africans, saying this goal could be achieved by joining the ANC's ranks

He said "We have to ensure that the transition to a new South Africa will be a disciplined and an orderly process We must unite to build one nation in one South Africa We in the ANC call on all communities to become actively involved in shaping a new nationhood"

Mr Lekota meted out harsh criticism against people who tried to make political gain out of the freedom struggle, claiming that much violence was committed in the name of the ANC by people who wanted to portray the organisation as a threat

He warned that senseless killings would scare off white people, who were needed to build a non-racial South Africa and who could best encourage the government to move forward on the road to reform

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'Surprise' Mandela visit to Ethiopia

ADDIS ABABA. — Mr Nelson Mandela switched plans yesterday and flew here to thank Africa's ambassadors to the Organisation of African Unity for their support.

Interrupting what was to have been a six-day visit to Tanzania, the new deputy president of the African National Congress hastily rearranged his itinerary in an apparent effort to kill a flock of birds with one stone

Western diplomats here said the visit came as a "total surprise"

Mr Mandela, in the midst of a 17-day African tour in his effort to win support for the anti-apartheid movement, had in fact been invited to Ethiopia last month, said OAU spokesman Mr Ibrahim Dagash.

But his decision appeared ad hoc.

Mr Mandela has received invitations to visit dozens of countries since his release from prison four weeks ago.

By interrupting his schedule to address ambassadors accredited to the OAU, which is headquartered in Ethiopia's capital, Mr Mandela found a way to thank the entire continent for its support of him and his organisation.

His speech to the ambassadors was scheduled for this morning, following a meeting with OAU officials Then he was to fly back to Tanzania to visit a number of ANC guerilla-training camps before leaving on Sunday for Sweden, where ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo is recuperating from a stroke.

Diplomats said Ethiopia's Soviet-backed government, pressured by recent military defeats in a civil war and a new famine in the north of the country, was anxious for Mr Mandela's support to bolster its shaky position

Although the Tanzanian government has never officially acknowledged them, there are at least six ANC camps housing between 3 000 and 4 000 guerillas in the country Some of the first black South Africans to take up arms against white rule were trained in the camps nearly 30 years ago.

Mr Mandela flew to Addis Ababa from Zanzibar, the semi-autonomous island off Tanzania's east coast, where he spoke at a public rally and laid a wreath on the tomb of Abeid Amani Karume, Zanzibar's first president. At the rally, Mr Mandela, looking tired, spoke of the "supreme importance" of African unity. — Sapa-AP, UPI

OAU calls for anti-apartheid groups to unite

Cape Times 26/2/90

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ADDIS ABABA — Africa's foreign ministers ended a five-day meeting on Saturday night by adopting a series of resolutions which supported anti-apartheid efforts in South Africa and condemned Israel's handling of the Palestine question.

In their resolution on South Africa, the ministers called on feuding liberation movements to close ranks to eliminate the last vestiges of apartheid.

The ministers of the 50-member OAU welcomed Pretoria's decisions to release ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and legalise several banned anti-apartheid groups

"Nonetheless, these measures were partial and inadequate in terms of creating the necessary climate conducive to negotiations," the resolution said It also called for economic sanctions to continue

They expressed a preference for a negotiated settlement with the government, but said the armed struggle against apartheid should continue if that proved impossible.

The ministers also condemned Britain for its decision to lift voluntary sanctions against new investment in South Africa

Israel was condemned, along with Chile, Turkey, Taiwan and a number of unnamed Western countries, for what the ministers called continued collaboration with South Africa in military and nuclear fields — Sapa-Reuter-AP

Blinkered OAU ministers

ADDIS ABABA - Africa's foreign ministers ended a five-day meeting at the weekend by adopting a series of resolutions that ignored most of the continent's internal problems. Sowetan 26/2/90

As usual the resolutions approved by the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, supported anti-apartheid efforts in South Africa and condemned Israel's handling of the Palestine question.

The ministers also condemned Britain for its decision to lift voluntary sanctions against new investment in South Africa following the release from jail of Mr Nelson Mandela (230)

But the ministers did not address civil wars in Ethiopia Sudan Angola, Mozambique and Liberia or conflicts between Senegal and Mauritania or Chad and Libya - Sapa-AP

1990s Africa's last chance, OAU told

Cape Times 22/2/90

ADDIS ABABA — The 1990s are Africa's last chance to shape up economically, the continent's top economist warned the Organization of African Unity here. He said dramatic change in Eastern Europe was certain to alter the world's political map, and Africa should prepare a clear place for itself on that map

The executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, Mr Adebayo Adedeji, said African nations needed to repudiate externally inspired economic experiments and set a clear agenda for economic growth.

Critics of "structural adjustment" have said the emphasis on debt reduction through hard-currency exports tends to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, particularly in African states — UPI

Appeal to OAU to overrule Mobutu

Urgent ANC bid to block Zaire summit

B/DAY 22/2/90

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CHARLENE SMITH

THE ANC has urgently appealed to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to prevent this weekend's planned summit between President F W de Klerk and five African leaders in Zaire, the ANC said in a statement issued in Lusaka yesterday.

Senior members of the ANC yesterday contacted the OAU which is meeting in Addis Ababa for a ruling on the matter

In the statement the ANC said the national executive committee was very disturbed at the news of the Zaire meeting

The meeting, which was hailed by SA government sources as an important diplomatic breakthrough, will see presidents Hissen Habre of Chad, Maj Gen Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda, Pierre Buyoya of Burundi and Gen Andre Kolingba of the Central African Republic meeting De Klerk at a summit hosted by Zairean president Mobutu Sese Seko

However, the Chadian Embassy in France last night denied Chad had received an invitation to the summit

The meeting would be the first time African heads of state have initiated a multi-lateral meeting with an SA head of state However, the ANC said the OAU had a well-known policy to "isolate the apartheid regime"

It said the ANC's negotiation document, the Harare Declaration, which had been endorsed by the UN and OAU, reaffirmed this position

"The steps taken by President Mobutu Sese Seko are premature The African states concerned have not consulted the ANC, Nelson Mandela or other leaders Their action is contrary to positions publically stated by all our leaders", the statement said

ANC officials in Lusaka seemed confident that the OAU would rule against the summit which apparently does not have the backing of key African leaders, including some of the Frontline presidents

The ANC is concerned that euphoria about De Klerk's unbanning of organisations and release of Mandela has led to a more amenable disposition towards SA by African leaders and some Western leaders, who are reconsidering the political and economic isolation of SA.

The ANC has repeatedly stated it is concerned that this isolation should continue until a new apartheid free constitution for a unitary SA has been negotiated, a senior ANC official said

Although the ANC has said it may be prepared to consider the lifting of cultural and sports boycotts if positive moves continue to be made by government, it wants to control this momentum and ensure that Western and African leaders "do not jump the gun", one official said

The Saturday summit is expected to deal with economic co-operation between SA and other countries in the region

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the SA government is moving ahead with plans for the summit at the town of Goma, despite moves by the ANC to block the the meeting

A spokesman for the State President's office in Cape Town did not wish to comment on whether the Africa trip would go ahead and referred all inquiries to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the meeting was still on course and arrange-

☐ To Page 2

ANC bid

B/Day 22/2/90 230

☐ From Page 1

ments were being finalised for the one-day summit

☐ Meanwhile, Sapa-AP reports from Luanda that Angolan government sources said yesterday a visit to Luanda by Foreign Minister Pik Botha originally expected today had been postponed for a week.

Sources at the Angolan Foreign Ministry, who requested customary anonymity, said they had been informed of the postponement by a telex from SA's Department of Foreign Affairs

Botha's aide at the Foreign Affairs Department Pieter Swanepoel also denied the minister would make the trip today.

The Luanda sources originally said Botha would arrive today for talks with his Angolan counterpart Pedro de Castro van Dunem, as bitter fighting continued between government troops and Unita rebels around the strategic Mavinga airstrip in southeastern Angola.

Botha was also to have met President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, the sources said

They added the ministers would try to set a possible date for a meeting of Angolan, Cuban and SA officials here to discuss the military situation around Mavinga — Sapa-AP.

● Comment: Page 10

Cape Times 21/2/90

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OAU summit: Call for African economic unity

ADDIS ABABA — Africa's foreign ministers were told yesterday they must unify their continent economically to meet the challenge of a changing Europe

Mr Salim Ahmed Salim, secretary general of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), said Africa would have to face the future with less aid and external development partners.

Addressing the 51st session of the OAU's Council of Ministers in Addis Ababa, the Tanzanian noted "The rapid changes in Eastern Europe have drastically altered the political thinking and strategic considerations of the West"

"The need for our economic unity is made all the more urgent in the face of the shift of priority by the West to Eastern Europe and the corresponding further contraction of concessionary resource flows to Africa," he added.

"We should be ready for a new political world map and we should be prepared to fit into that new map, not as a residual component but as a full and essential part of it," he said

● Mr Salim said the OAU, now more than ever, should urge continued international pressure on South Africa

He said the release of Mr Nelson Mandela had not fundamentally affected apartheid and stronger pressure must be exerted for the dismantling of the apartheid system and creating the appropriate atmosphere for dialogue. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI

OAU forum to take stock

ADDIS ABABA - African foreign ministers have been urged by Ethiopia's leader to assess the possible effects of changes in Eastern Europe on the continent's economy and politics

President Mengistu Haile Mariam also said the ministers should evaluate the meaning to Africa of the relaxation of tension between the Soviet Union and United States Sowetan 21/2/90

Worried

Ethiopian vice-president Fisseha Desta read Mengistu's statement at the opening session on Monday of the Organisation of African Unity foreign ministers' five-day conference (230)

Various African leaders have expressed concern that Western nations would abandon the continent and divert aid they previously gave Africans to Eastern Europe, where orthodox communism is collapsing

Another item on the agenda is the political changes in South Africa

OAU plan to keep up the pressure

Sowetan 19/2/90

230

ADDIS ABABA - Ways of keeping up pressure against apartheid in South Africa will be high on the agenda at a meeting of Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Foreign Ministers this week.

Ministers will want to ensure the stand against apartheid is not eroded amid optimism generated by the release of black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela and other reforms introduced by President F W de Klerk, OAU sources said yesterday

The Ministers annual six-day meeting, which begins today would also discuss Namibian independence, Africa's 230-billion dollar debt, the effects on Africa of changes in Eastern Europe and OAU budget matters, the sources said

Ministers, while recognising the bold steps taken by De Klerk will devise a strategy to ensure that support for the campaign against apartheid is not eroded and the premise for international political pressure and economic sanctions is not undermined, said one African diplomat who declined to be named

He said Ministers of the 49-member group would attempt to forge a common stance against apartheid

They would appeal to countries arguing for a relaxation of sanctions to support the African stand until South Africa had a non-racial society with a one man one vote electoral system he said

The Ministers, meeting at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, were also expected to pass a resolution welcoming the stand taken by US President George Bush and by the European Community to keep sanctions going OAU sources said

OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim sharply criticised British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on Friday for wanting to lift sanctions

Ministers were expected to discuss their concern over a visit two months ago by South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha to Hungary and over the disturbing signals countries like Hungary were sending out regarding ties with South Africa, the sources said

The Ministers are expected to invite Namibia to join the OAU when it becomes independent next month the sources said - Sapa-Reuter

Africa's economies face black future

As Africa emerges badly battered from a traumatic decade, **ALISTAIR MATHERSON of The Observer** looks at its economic prospects for the 1990s.

Star 12/1/90

African states enter the Nineties battling with the daunting spectre of crippling debt — an ever-growing sum which 10 years ago was well below R8 billion but is now nearing an unmanageable R1 250 billion.

To the Africans' credit, no country has seriously tried to repudiate their debts. The level-headed executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), Professor Adebayo Adededji, has issued, and will continue to issue, repeated warnings that outright repudiation will not only cause havoc to international financial markets but will render these same markets unable to provide further funds for Africa's future economic growth

Africa's economic plight has been somewhat alleviated by some Western nations writing off their debts or renegotiating more lenient terms of repayment, but where Africa is concerned, the nation which could have given the most help in this area — the United States — is opposed to writing off loans on principle

While overseas advisers believe that most African finance ministers are eager to follow their advice, two sectors are taboo for discussion One is military expenditure, which in many African states has taken a hefty bite out of national expenditures at the cost of health, education and social services.

The other is Africa's alarmingly high population growth rate, estimated at more than 3 percent.

Harsher regime

As the decade progressed, the bitter medicine dispensed by the World Bank in the form of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was seen by African governments as one of the greatest barriers to their development.

Those, like Zambia and Sudan, which withdrew their subsidies on staple foods found near-revolts on their hands Alarmed over public hostility, Zambia opted for a "go-it-alone" policy in 1987 without further World Bank aid

In the Sudan, the SAP saw the end of the Numeiry regime, but successive civilian administrations fared no better, resulting in yet another — and harsher — military regime

The high hopes generated by the launching of the Lagos Plan of Action at the start of the 1980s, aimed at accelerating sustainable development, has virtually fizzled out

The brainchild of the ECA, this bold plan was to have been implemented by the Organisation of African Unity.

Encouraging

But the body is in no position to act forcefully because of its precarious financial position owing to the failure by most members to pay their dues. The OAU finds it easier to frame high-sounding resolutions against apartheid.

One encouraging development gives hope for the future This is the formation of several regional economic groupings to stimulate inter-African trade Foremost is the Preferential Trade Area for east and southern Africa now embracing 18 countries

These groupings are already breaking the old trade patterns by which African territories were linked to the metropolitan states in Europe which once ruled them. Today, for instance, Kenya has built up a substantial trade with Zimbabwe and when vital routes such as the Trans-African Highway are completed, east-west commerce across the continent is likely to follow

African economists have already warned of the adverse effect which single-market Europe will have on the continent's economy once it comes into being in 1992 This prospect is now one of the strongest incentives for African countries to band together to meet the challenge It is also seen in impending mergers between African airlines

What will all this mean for the ordinary people in Africa's towns and villages? In 1980 there were 17 African states classed as "least developed" Now that number has grown to 28, with many having living conditions which have scarcely improved since the 1960s.

Drawing a bleak picture of Africa's immediate future, OAU secretary-general Dr Salim Ahmed Salim of Tanzania said in his New Year message for 1990 that the 1980s had been a lost decade for Africans and offered no prospect of significant progress in the next

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230

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Drawing a bleak picture of Africa's immediate future, OAU secretary-general Dr Salim Ahmed Salim of Tanzania said in his New Year message for 1990 that the 1980s had been a lost decade for Africans and offered no prospect of significant progress in the next.

In spite of Africa s attempts to get out of its economic mess, the continent is still struggling Now a new drive towards industrialisation is being planned for 1990

Africa is all set to try again

Star 2/1/90

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NAIROBI - Africa, battling to turn a long cherished dream into reality, plans a fresh drive in the 1990s towards industrialisation

As independence began to sweep Africa from 1957 most governments pinned their hopes for future prosperity on industrialisation

But that goal has proved elusive on a continent mired in poverty and whose people the World Bank says, are almost as poor now as they were 30 years ago

Disappointed with initial efforts to realise their dream African leaders declared the 1980s a decade of industrial development, making this top priority after food self-sufficiency

Yet as other parts of the world advanced to the threshold of a new technological age, Africa suffered severe setbacks

' De-industrialisation has proceeded on an unprecedented scale," declared Adebayo Adedeji, executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa as the 1980s drew to a close

"The political will to industrialise has yet to be matched by concerted measures to mobilise local and international financial resources for the industrial sector," said a 1989 review by the Organisation of African Unity, the ECA and the UN Industrial Development Organisation

Undeterred, African leaders at their final summit of the 1980s last July declared the 1990s a Second Industrial Development Decade as they try to revive economies sapped by crushing foreign debt, depressed world prices for vital commodity exports, rapid population growth, drought and civil strife

FOCUS

"The meagre resources available to most African countries originally meant for development programmes such as the (1980s industrial) Decade have had to be diverted to emergency measures for economic survival said the OAU ECA-UNIDO report

It said investment in manufacturing was running below one fifth of total investment and, illustrating the challenge ahead quoted estimates indicating that some R360 billion in new investment is needed for priority" projects alone

This excludes resources needed to rehabilitate existing plant and finance technical aid, for which it gave no estimate

The World Bank in a report published in November agreed that economic setbacks had undermined Africa s industrial ambitions, but said it had become increasingly evident that earlier efforts focused on state led creation of capacity without regard to cost or markets

"The result was highly inefficient industrialisation heavily subsidised by consumers and taxpayers " it added

Although manufacturing grew 11 percent a year from 1980 to 1986 in China and India and five percent in other low income economies it was virtually stagnant in sub-Saharan Africa where its share of domestic product - at one tenth - was barely higher than in 1965

The report said some countries which it did not name, were using less than three-tenths of installed industrial capacity

It proposed steps to develop an "enabling environment ' in order to attract foreign and local investors reducing the state s dominant role in favour of the private sector and market forces and thus encouraging competition and productivity

It also said industry's future would depend heavily on raising farm output and incomes

Raising incomes in agriculture, on which three-quarters of Africans rely for a livelihood would increase demand for manufactured goods and the availability of affordable consumer goods would give farmers an incentive to produce more

"With sound policies there is no good reason why the rate of (industrial) growth should not recover in the 1990s and rise gradually toward 8 0 percent a year during the next two decades the report said

This compares with what Adedeji calls ' an historical 3 0 percent below the current 3 3 percent growth in Africa s population

Special

The ECA, in a blueprint for development unveiled last July, noted disadvantages facing Africa included weak infrastructure, thin markets, inadequate transport and communications

So far, only a few African countries have been able to go beyond mere assembly and light industries it said

Weak industry furthermore reinforced the dependence of manufacturers on imported capital skilled manpower technology spare parts and raw materials

It said special importance should be paid to regional and sub regional integration of development efforts in transport energy research and agriculture

Diversified and integrated production would ease pressures on state coffers as governments pooled resources to establish multi-country ventures

Priorities, it said included production of intermediate and capital goods, notably iron and steel, machine tools, fertilisers chemicals and pharmaceuticals building materials as well as farm, transport and construction equipment - Sapa Reuter

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thloloe Sub-editing headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku All of 61 Commando Road Industria West Johannesburg

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'DOUBLE STANDARDS' WILL NOT SILENCE BCM

C/Press 3/3/91

C/Press 3/3/91

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GOMOLEMO MOKAE of Azapo's education secretanat takes a look at what he calls "apartheid among anti-apartheiders" – international organisations like the United Nations and Non-Aligned Movement.

IN their arrogance towards natives of Africa, the East and West been presumptuous enough to tell us which liberation movement to support even while supporting our cause

Organisations like the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement have also determined which African liberation movements are "authentic"

This shows gross disregard for African nations' right to determine their liberators.

Swapo in Namibia, Frelimo in Mozambique, Fapla in Angola, the ANC in occupied Azania and Zapu in Zimbabwe have been annointed the "five authenics" with the UN rubber-stamping the decision

It came as no surprise that the supposedly independent Organisation for African Unity followed suit

As the concept of a multi-party state gains ground in Zambia, Tanzania and Kenya thanks to the frantic efforts of the UN, OAU and the Western media, the concept of a one-party state is being supported by the same forces in occupied Azania

Whether this is being done unwittingly or not, this article aims to highlight these double standards

These international organisations have chosen the ANC as their own "blue-eyed boy" from the liberation movements of Azania

The PAC, on the other hand, has reluctantly been recognised as "authentic"

Unfortunately the same cannot be said about the movement I belong to – the Black Consciousness Movement.

Though the BCM literally "carried" the struggle for a decade after the banning of the ANC and PAC, its immortal contribution to the Azanian cause is being ignored

Though sanctions, sporting and cultural isolation campaigns and the impetus for the historic student rebellion of 1976 are largely attributable to the BCM inside the country, it remains "the black sheep" of liberation movements

Even the glory due to the BCM's founding father, Bantu Steve Biko, has been eclipsed

Other leaders receive praise for their contribution They may have been jailed, but were spared the fate of BCM leaders like Biko, Onkgopotse Tiro, Mapetla Mohapi and Mthuli ka Shezi

It would appear that those who advocate a multi-party state in other African countries and a one-party state in Azania are afflicted with "selective amnesia"

In their eyes the internal flag-bearer of BCM – the Azanian People's Organisation – and its structures like Imbeleko, the Azanian Students' Convention and the Community Health Awareness Project, do not exist

But the external Black Consciousness Movement of Azania has suffered the most at the hands of those with "selective amnesia"

Its armed wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army, has had to become self-reliant as the UN and OAU have refused them aid because they do not recognise the organisation as authentic

They refuse to accept that the BCM has as much right to exist as the ANC and PAC

One would think they'd leave it to us to determine who is authentic

This "apartheid" practised by the UN, OAU and the western media has led to the internecine violence of the late 80s

Believing that theirs is the only authentic organisation, some groups have tried to liquidate their rivals, notably the BCM

Despite not receiving military aid from either the West or East, the BCM has survived

A former editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* – who is now a foreign correspondent and holds brief for the ANC – told an American audience at the height of violence between Azapo and the UDF that Azapo was dead

"If Azapo is dead," asked an impassioned black American journalist, "why are there reports of battles between Azapo and the UDF in the Eastern Cape, Soweto, Natal and Northern Transvaal?"

The propagandist was dumbfounded

A noted activist with ANC leanings once addressed a London audience also claiming Azapo was dead

As he left the hall, he met Azanian exiles selling Azapo's publication *Frank Talk*

"Oh that looks like a good mag How do I subscribe?" he asked

"It will be easy for you, the magazine is from back home!" retorted the exile

Many have yet to learn that BC burns in the hearts of many Azanians

It will not be stilled by neo-apartheid or "selective amnesia"

Star 14/3/91

Strike turns Algiers into ghost town

ALGIERS — The Algerian capital resembled a ghost town yesterday as a 48-hour general strike called by the country's largest trade union entered its second day

Traffic in the normally choked streets was at a minimum and crowded neighbourhoods appeared deserted Police reported no incidents of violence

Officials of the General Union of Algerian Workers said 90 percent of its members were obeying the strike to protest against government-imposed price rises in basic goods.

The union is objecting to price increases ordered by Premier Mouloud Hamrouche's government in line with economic reforms ordered by the International Monetary Fund — Sapa-AP.

Moi blocks attempt to form opposition party

NAIROBI — Kenya yesterday declined to register an opposition political party launched by a former vice-president in defiance of the country's one-party constitution

Jaramogi Oginga Odinga (80) handed official application documents to government officials a month after announcing the launching of his National Democratic Party (NDP)

"I have summarily refused to register the proposed political party because such registration would be in contravention of section 2A of the constitution," Kenya's Registrar-General Joseph King'arui told Mr Odinga

Mr Odinga, a staunch opponent of President Daniel arap Moi after serving as vice-president in the early 1960s under the late Jomo Kenyatta, said the NDP favoured an open and fair system of government based on an independent judiciary.

Daniel arap Moi opposed to change

President Moi has ruled a multiparty state, saying new parties would simply divide the country on tribal lines and create chaos. — Sapa-Reuter

Debt crushing Africa — OAU head

Star 14/3/91 (230)

STRASBOURG — Africa's $202 billion (R525 billion) foreign debt burden would cause turmoil across the continent unless it was speedily relieved, predicted President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, chairman of the Organisation of African Unity

In an address to the European Parliament in Strasbourg yesterday, Mr Museveni said the debt amounted to three times Africa's exports and almost equalled its total output.

He said that three problems additional to debt had held Africa back — the cross-currents of the East-West conflict on the continent, too much reliance on commodities and raw materials, and fragmented markets which had stifled intra-African trade.

Mr Museveni also called on the EC not to lift sanctions against South Africa until apartheid had been replaced by a one man, one vote system. — Financial Times News Service

Africa's other giant is waiting

Star 25/3/91 (230)

African states, impatient to begin dealing with South Africa, are treating the De Klerk reforms as the key to the side door, writes GERALD L'LANGE of The Star Africa Service. The former Nigerian head of state, General Olusegun Obasanjo (right), sees both nations working closer together in the future once apartheid has been eliminated.

THE NIGERIAN attracted little attention as he sat in the visitors' gallery at the formal opening of the current session of the SA Parliament in Cape Town last month

Not many members knew who he was But those who did were keenly aware of the significance of the presence of a representative of Africa's other giant

As much as any other recent development, the informal visit by the Nigerian representative — and the group of Nigerian journalists who accompanied him — demonstrated Africa's growing fascination with the emerging new South Africa.

So far this year, representatives of at least 15 African governments have visited SA They include two different delegations from Nigeria and representatives of Gabon, Zaire, Rwanda, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Guinea Bissau, Togo, Senegal, Ghana and the Congo as well as a delegation from the African Development Bank

All of their countries are members of the Organisation of African Unity and most of them officially maintain the economic, sporting and cultural sanctions it has imposed on Pretoria in tandem with the United Nations

Unofficially they probably all do business with SA, contributing to the explosion of African trade with SA that has almost reached R10 billion a year and is growing

Like many other African countries, they are looking forward to the abolition of apartheid so that they can deal freely and openly.

The De Klerk reforms have given a measure of unofficial respectability to the once furtive exchanges, so much so that sanctions have become increasingly irrelevant

But not entirely so The sporting and cultural boycotts still hurt And the trade would flow much more smoothly and would grow faster if it could be directed through open and official channels With communications in Africa as bad as they are, informal channels tend to be inefficient

Pretoria thus has a strong incentive to seek formal relations with African states, even if it is only at the level of a trade commission or an interests office It is looking to African countries to disregard the OAU and establish open links with SA, as Madagascar did last year.

There is a good chance that several states will take the plunge this year, say South African diplomats, especially if the De Klerk reform programme keeps on track.

Kenya has taken an important step in that direction by allowing SAA to land at Nairobi and South African citizens to visit the country But it is still reluctant to go all the way Other countries being eyed by Pretoria are thought to include Morocco, Egypt, Gabon, Senegal, Congo and Cameroon

The big catch would be Nigeria, the giant of black Africa both in terms of population (at 110 million the largest) and economy (one of the largest with a gross domestic product of R72 billion in 1988)

Politicians in Nigeria are said to envisage a post-apartheid situation in which SA would dominate a southern and eastern economic bloc and Nigeria a western equivalent, with close co-operation between the two groups

"I do not see any obstacles to Nigeria and South Africa working together in international organisations and even becoming close to each other after apartheid's abolition," ex-Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo said recently.

General Obasanjo's visit to South Africa in July 1990 is understood to have been made at the behest of President Ibrahim Babangida The general's scouting expedition has been followed by the visit this year by the other Nigerian politicians and the journalists

A Nigerian newspaper, the Guardian, recently quoted unidentified African diplomats (who would logically be Nigerian) as saying that at the OAU summit in June in the Nigerian capital of Abuja, Nigeria may call for developing contacts with South Africa

The report does not spell out what kind of contacts are envisaged But a proposal for even the most tentative contacts, coming from Nigeria, would have an enormous political impact and, if firmly proposed, would be hard for OAU member-states to resist.

It would be one of the most dramatic salutes to the De Klerk reforms that has yet been given Assuming the intention is there, whether it is actually made will probably depend on whether Mr de Klerk is seen to be maintaining the momentum of the reforms between now and June

As long as the ANC and PAC keep calling for sanctions to be maintained, the OAU is likely to maintain formal support for this stand But recent developments suggest the formal policy might then be bypassed by informal dealings with SA to an extent that would make the formal stance largely irrelevant

The opening of informal "interests" offices that would in reality function as trade and consular offices would suit Pretoria's purposes very well, even if not as well as full diplomatic recognition

Foreign Affairs would then be hard-pressed to find the funds and staff for offices in addition to those in Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zaire, Swaziland, Lesotho, Ivory Coast, Mauritius, Comoros and, soon, Madagascar □

SA at next OAU meeting in Uganda

Star 27/3/91 (230)

CAPE TOWN — South Africa will be represented at the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) conference in Uganda during May and will also take part in future Southern African Development Conference decisions

This was revealed last night by the ANC's foreign policymaker, Thabo Mbeki, on the third day of the economic initiatives conference — Sapa

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Consumer body wants VAT cut

B/Day 4/4/91 230

BEVERLY HUCKLESBY

THE National Black Consumers Union (NBCU) has called on government to reduce the rate of VAT and to possibly exempt staple food items from the indirect tax system

NBCU president Nonia Ramphomane said at a media conference yesterday if government wished to uplift the poor then it should heed the con-

been dropped, liberating more cash into the industry

"This means that all businesses will be in a position to sell us their wares at reduced costs as soon as VAT is introduced

"The government must now show

World Bank recolonising Africa, say economists

South 4/4-10/4/91.

(230)

LEADING African economists, including officials of the Economic Commission of Africa (ECA) and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), have criticised World Bank policies, calling them "recolonialisation of the continent".

They accused the industrialised countries of extending and tightening their control of the world economy in general and the national economies of the developing countries, including the African countries through the World Bank and the IMF, and increasingly through an overpowering new GATT agreement The unanimously endorsed statement pointed out to the following·

- Although the World Bank agreed that development strategies for Africa should be based on the need for human-centred development and regional cooperation, this was not reflected in the bank's programmes;
- The participants criticised specially the Bank's Long Term Perspective Study (LTPS), whereas Africa's own long term plans were opposed by the World Bank, stating these were less informed and have failed disastrously;
- African governments should reject World Bank policies to secure their independence and sovereignty in choosing their own development path.

Despite a range of debt initiatives over the past few years, the total stock of Africa's debt has continued to rise and annual debt servicing costs have eased only marginally, according to recent World Bank and Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) figures

The World Bank's "World Debt Tables 1990-91" projected sub-Saharan Africa's debt at R403bn in 1990, an increase of more than nine percent over the R368bn of the previous year.

The ECA estimated that debt for all of Africa had risen to R678bn in 1990, 4,6 percent higher than the year before. — *THIRD WORLD ECONOMICS*

Tax rates repel foreign investment, experts say

(230) LIZ ROUSE (60) B/Day 4/4/91.

SA WILL struggle to attract investment from foreign companies as long as corporate tax rates remain close to 50%, says a tax expert

Accounting and business advisory firm Price Waterhouse's national tax director Chris Frame believes that significant foreign investment from the private sector cannot be attracted by a base company tax rate of 48%.

In the UK, the corporate tax rate has fallen to just above 30% and many other countries have also reduced their rates greatly in the past few years, he says Relatively high personal tax rates, exacerbated by the creeping effects of fiscal drag, and the introduction of VAT will also be major influences on potential foreign investors

Frame predicts that VAT will escalate at fairly regular intervals after its introduction on September 30 at 12% Around the world, VAT is charged at between 15% and 20%, so there is a lot of scope for SA's rate to increase to fall in line with other countries, saying that GST, which kicked off in SA at 4%, has crept up to 13%

Waiting for the first tree to fall

(230) W/Mail 5/4-11/4/91.

African states are displaying a two-pronged strategy towards South Africa. while OAU policy is to wait until a new government is in place, many countries — like the Ivory Coast — feel the time is right to come south

By MARK GEVISSER

TELL the Ghanaians you're from South Africa, and you'll immediately be greeted with cries of "Mandela! Mandela!" Tell people from Ivory Coast the same thing and you'll be met with "De Klerk! De Klerk!"

Popular attitudes in these two neighbouring West African countries perhaps best sum up African responses towards the restive giant in the south: "We didn't necessarily plan it this way," says Olu Otunla, the Nigerian High Commissioner to Ghana, "but Africa seems to be adopting a two-pronged strategy towards South Africa. some countries, like Ghana and Nigeria, are egging on the African National Congress, while others, like Ivory Coast and Gabon, are prodding De Klerk and the government."

While Ghana and Nigeria refuse to have anything to do with South Africa until a democratic government is in place, Ivory Coast is already rewarding De Klerk by encouraging trade and hinting that diplomatic relations are round the corner "These two approaches work together like a carrot-and-stick policy," says Otunla

Call it a carrot-and-stick policy or call it schizophrenia. In Burkina Faso, slogans like "Shame to apartheid!" are painted in official red all over the walls, but Grapetiser is freely available in the stores along Nelson Mandela Boulevard, the main drag of Burkina's capital, Ouagadougou In Ghana, a government representative warns that there will be dire consequences for any Ghanaian national who does business with the oppressive racist regime, and then pulls you aside after the "official" interview to ask about job opportunities down south

There are already an estimated 4 000 Ghanaians in South Africa, even though Ghanaian passports forbid their holders to enter the country they get jobs in the "independent" homelands and then slip over the nonexistent borders when their contracts expire.

There is, of course, nothing new to African doubletalk when it comes to South Africa: South Africa has been trading with many African countries for years, and there is open acknowledgement throughout this ravaged continent that, reviled as apartheid is, South Africa is a resource — of food, of jobs and of technology — that just cannot be ignored.

And something has happened, almost concurrently with the unbanning of the African National Congress, that is pushing African countries even closer to reconciliation with South Africa Socialist Eastern Europe has collapsed, leaving many states without aid from either East or West. the former will no longer fund Marxist experiments in the Third World, and the latter has turned its gaze — and money — eastwards. There is a scramble away from Africa now, as aid organisations in Western Europe and North America pump billions into Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary

At present, Malawi is the only African nation that has full diplomatic ties with South Africa, but talks between the Department of Foreign Affairs and other Organisation of African Unity (OAU) states are beginning to reach a frenzied pitch. "Many of us feel the time is right," said a Senegalese diplomat,"but we are just waiting for the first tree to fall."

That tree seems to be Ivory Coast. While the only South Africans one meets in Ghana are black exiled ANC members studying at university, the South Africans one meets in Ivory Coast seem to be white representatives of the government. South Africans do not need a visa to visit the country, there is an SAA office (direct flights from Jan Smuts to Abidjan started this week), an official South African trade representative with more than 40 Ivorian clients — and Colin Paterson

As South Africa's representative in Mozambique, Paterson was critical in brokering the Nkomati Accord — the thin edge of the wedge of African relations with South Africa. He is now the government's troubleshooter in the west, an ambassador in all but name, with all the diplomatic trappings — black Mercedes, consular home in the plush Cocody neighbourhood of Abidjan — but not the immunity "My brief is to look for areas of possible co-operation in the future," he says

At the request of Ivory Coast, he has already set up a game park project. a Parks Board official from the Kruger National Park, Johan van Graan, is responsible for developing the 5 000ha Abokoua Mekro Park near the capital of Yamassoukro, where President Felix Houphouet-Boigny has created a personal Versailles in the bush — complete with the world's largest cathedral — that makes Mmabatho and Bisho look like dusty platteland dorps.

Already, the South African Parks Board has delivered six elephants and two rhinos to the Ivory Coast Paterson also hopes to stimulate a tourist trade between the two countries

Ivory Coast does have much to offer the South African tourist. a magnificent coastline, a rich culture of craft and dance, and Abidjan — "the Paris of West Africa"— where you can sit at a sidewalk cafe, sipping an espresso and munching on a baguette amidst the skyscrapers, or nip over the lagoon into Treichville and encounter Africa at its most vibrant — and squalid.

"Very few South African tourists come here at present," says Paterson, "and those who do usually jump off the aeroplane straight into the Club Med bus " But those South African tourists and businessmen who do come to Ivory Coast, he says, find an infrastructure much like that at home five-star hotels, excellent highways and facilities. "Imagine what Sol Kerzner could do here!"

The major problem is that import duty and taxation prohibit extensive trade and marketing "But my job here is to identify problems like that and find ways of overcoming them " And it appears that Houphouet-Boigny's government, in severe financial crisis, has seen the good of encouraging foreign trade and is beginning to rationalise the system

It is clear that Paterson's unspoken mission is to lay the ground for full diplomatic relations between South Africa and the Ivory Coast. Houphouet-Boigny is on very cordial terms with President FW de Klerk and the South African president's visit to the Ivory Coast last year has made him something of a hero in most Ivorians' eyes.

But while its West African neighbours wait for the Ivory Coast tree to "fall" so that they can follow suit, Houphouet-Boigny, who is already unpopular with more radical neighbours like Ghana and Burkina Faso, is being very cautious not to upset the forest For the moment, at least, he seems to be following official OAU policy —of no ties with South Africa until a new government is in place— in word if not in deed

And while many countries are eager to re-establish links with South Africa, there is fear of a second wave of colonisation from the rich, white south

"We are independent countries," says Ghana's Minister of Trade and Tourism, Huudu Yahaya, "and, particularly given our history, we have created mechanisms that protect us from foreign exploitation. If South Africa comes west, it will be on our terms "

Scramble for Africa ... These are the countries (not including the frontline states) that South Africa has had contact with in its quest to reopen diplomatic ties Morocco, Sao Tome e Principe, Egypt, Cape Verde, Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Comores, Ghana, Togo, Nigeria, Cameroon, Gabon, Congo, Zaire, Rwanda, Kenya, Madagascar

Africa puzzled over SA stance

Sowetan 25/4/91.

WITH the partial lifting of sanctions against South Africa by the European Community, other African states seem to be in a dilemma

Organisation of African Unity members, in particular the Frontline States, have been in the forefront of the sanctions campaign.

The latest European move on sanctions may have negative effects on African states.

Many observers are asking whether African states have any option except to partially lift their own sanctions.

Sanctions

Because the South African economy can easily prosper without any substantial trade with African states, the maintenance of sanctions will harm their economies more than that of South Africa

Commenting on the European move, Zimbabwe foreign minister Nathan Shamuyarira said he was consulting his colleagues in the Frontline States and the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa and would later issue a joint statement

Zimbabwe, one of the most outspoken African countries against South Africa has called repeatedly on the maintenance of punitive sanctions but because of its geographical position has remained the leading South African trade partner in Africa

About 70 percent of Zimbabwe's trade goes through South African ports

OAU on UN post

(230)

LAGOS — Organisation of African Unity (OAU) secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim this week expressed support for an African candidate for the post of UN secretary-general.

Salim said Africa had people with the right credentials to succeed Peruvian Javier Perez de Cuellar, the News Agency of Nigeria reported.

Salim, a Tanzanian who made an unsuccessful bid for the top UN post in the 1980s, said he hoped African countries would rally behind one candidate.

Nigeria's military government is believed to be keen to propose either the country's former military head of state Olusegun Obasanjo or retired General Joseph Garba. B/Day 8/5/91

But Nobel literature prize winner Wole Soyinka of Nigeria has urged the government not to select a former soldier. — Reuter.

Now Africa opens its arms

S/Times 12/5/91 (230)

AFRICA, for so long forbidden territory, is laying out the welcome mat for South African officials, businessmen and tourists.

Reaping the benefits of the dismantling of apartheid, Foreign Affairs officials have in the past year criss-crossed the continent and been allowed into no fewer than 21 countries outside southern Africa

Remarkably, no official was refused a visa to enter countries which do not have formal diplomatic relations with South Africa

IT'S 'WELCOME BACK' AS SOUTH AFRICA KNOCKS ON DIPLOMATIC DOORS

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Political Correspondent

Welcomed

In return, official delegations from African countries have been passing through Jan Smuts Airport at a whirlwind rate.

A total of 21 official visits from 12 African countries have taken place in the first three months of this year

Foreign Affairs deputy director general for Africa, Rusty Evans, who has spearheaded the drive into Africa, said that he and his officials were warmly received by cabinet ministers and senior counterparts in almost every country they visited

South Africa now has 17 heads of mission in African countries and Mr Evans said he and his officials were concentrating on developing links with major countries such as Egypt and Nigeria

"There is great interest on the part of African countries to normalise relations with South Africa," he said

"If they have not taken the plunge in terms of raising our representation to diplomatic levels then there is no doubt that circumstances within South Africa and recognition of steps taken have brought about a situation where many African countries see major advantages in becoming closer and exploring some form of co-operation"

Following a meeting between Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida and President De Klerk at the Namibian independence celebrations, relations with that country have flourished

President Babangida sent an emissary to attend the opening of Parliament in February and since then there have been continuing exchanges

Senior

The improvement in relations was reflected by President Babangida's statement last month that "We would be fully prepared to promote and undertake initiatives at the forthcoming OAU summit to lift sanctions on South Africa if the remaining apartheid laws are abrogated by May 1991"

Nigeria is hosting the OAU summit which will take place from June 3-5

Just three weeks ago Mr Evans visited Egypt at the request of Foreign Minister Boutros Ghali

Three days later the Egyptian government announced that South African tourists were welcome to visit the country

Relations with Kenya have also been accorded high priority. It is understood that a very senior Kenyan politician is now in South Africa and has held meetings with President De Klerk and senior cabinet ministers

An agreement in terms of which South Africans are issued with visas on arrival in Nairobi has been concluded.

Mr Evans and his officials have also jetted in and out of Libreville in Gabon.

In a recent interview with Jeune Afrique, Gabon's President Albert Bongo said he had asked that provision be made in this year's budget for the opening of an embassy in South Africa

"From the time that President De Klerk said he would not object to being a minister in a government under Nelson Mandela, one could conclude that this country is experiencing its revolution One must encourage them," he said

Countries visited by South African officials include Madagascar, Mauritius, the Comores, Seychelles, Kenya, Rwanda, Zaire, Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome, Sudan, Togo, Ivory Coast, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, Mali, Morocco, Egypt and Nigeria

Building on these links, South African business delegations have travelled to numerous previously hostile countries, including Nigeria, Gabon, Congo-Brazzaville and Ghana

Official delegations from Zaire, Togo, Cape Verde, Rwanda, Central African Republic, Nigeria, Comores, Mauritius, Madagascar, Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Morocco and Kenya have visited South Africa

South African tourists, until now restricted to the Frontline states or the Indian Ocean islands for African holidays, can set their sights much further abroad

Zaire, Madagascar and the Ivory Coast no longer require visas for visits of up to 14 days Kenya issues visas to South African tourists on arrival

Mauritius does not require a visa for visits up to six months, while both Egypt and Morocco are prepared to give South Africans visas through the normal channels

Trade

Gabon, Senegal, Mali, Togo and the Cameroon have also relaxed visa requirements Until recently countries such as Senegal would not issue visas except in exceptional circumstances, such as the first meeting with the ANC by a South African delegation led by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert

Both Kenya and Ghana have removed restrictions on their citizens travelling to South Africa, and Benin is understood to be contemplating doing the same

In southern Africa, the most important region for trade (total trade was up R400-million to R3,2-billion last year) there has been a virtual non-stop to-and-froing of official delegations

Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels visited Mozambique in July and October last year On the same day in October the then deputy Public Enterprises Minister Piet Welgemoed was also in Maputo

Then deputy Trade and Industry Minister Theo Alant visited Mozambique in July and Foreign Minister Pik Botha followed four months later in November

In between there were numerous visits by senior Foreign Affairs officials to Maputo and by their counterparts to Cape Town and Pretoria The Mozambican Deputy Minister of Posts and Telecommunications visited South Africa in February The Minister of Transport is expected to pay a visit soon

Relations with Zimbabwe remain cool, but there was an important breakthrough in August last year when ranking officials of both governments met in Harare

Busy

Airlines travelling between Lusaka and Johannesburg have also been busy and not just with returning ANC officials

Mr Botha paid two private visits to Zambia last year while the first official South African Foreign Affairs delegation was received in Lusaka in April this year

Businessmen from both countries have been exploring trade possibilities

INTO AFRICA ... the shaded countries indicate South Africa's growing network of diplomatic contacts

Graphic: FIONA KRISCH

Divisions in UN ranks over US threat to 'punish' Iraq

NEW YORK — UN diplomats have given a mixed reaction to statements by President George Bush that the US would oppose easing sanctions against Iraq until President Saddam Hussein was ousted.

"Saddam Hussein himself is the single greatest obstacle to any hope for the future of the people of Iraq," Secretary of State James Baker told Congress on Wednesday

He repeated statements made by Bush on Monday that the US intended to continue economic sanctions against a Saddam-led Iraq.

Some nations say the US is correct, but others say it is a violation of the UN resolutions which mandate gradual lifting of sanctions as Iraq complies with conditions, like destruction of weapons and payment of compensation.

Council member Cuba and some Third World nations say the US is trying to impose its will on the international community and interfere in Iraq's internal affairs.

US officials could not clarify whether Washington would use its veto.

Britain alone among the five permanent Security Council members with veto power has unequivocally supported Bush France favours a softer approach, with one diplomat saying: "Don't overload the boat or else it will sink."

China and the Soviet Union are likely to view the US position as interference — Sapa-AP.

OAU likely to focus on economics

B/Day 24/5/91 (230)

LAGOS — Regional political issues are likely to take second place to pressing economic problems at top-level meetings of the OAU opening in Nigeria on Monday, Nigerian experts said

They said major topics would be increased economic co-operation and self-reliance in Africa, which is saddled with an estimated total foreign debt of $260bn

This represents a significant shift away from politics, which traditionally has held sway at OAU meetings since the early '60s

"In view of the changes taking place in the world we hope this OAU meeting will be a major event in terms of shifting the focus from political to economic issues," said director-general of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria, Oladapo Fafowora

"During the past two years there has clearly been a demand for political change in Africa but the underlying factors are the desire for economic change," said Fafowora, a former Nigerian ambassador to the UN

"People on the continent are now much worse off, there has been a sharp decline in living standards"

Significant

But the agendas for the June 3-5 OAU summit, and a meeting of the OAU's council of ministers starting in the central city of Abuja on Monday are also likely to include SA and upheavals in countries such as Ethiopia and Liberia

Fafowora said the summit should give particular attention to the single European market after 1992 and its likely consequences for Africa

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said earlier this month that African nations, which hope to create a common market, would take a significant step towards economic unity at the Abuja meeting

Fafowora said the lifting of economic and trade sanctions on SA was likely to be discussed

"Maybe three or four African nations will push for the removal of sanctions at the OAU summit but the vast majority will resist such a move," he said

"I don't see any major African country pressing for the removal of sanctions The mood (on SA) is one of cautious optimism," he added — Sapa-Reuter

Maseru quiet after riots

MASERU — Lesotho's capital city was quiet yesterday after the ruling military council's imposition of a dusk-to-dawn curfew throughout the country on Wednesday

This followed violence in Maseru after a woman was reportedly beaten to death on Monday in a Pepco shop for allegedly stealing a T-shirt valued at less than R4.

Military Council chairman Col Phisoane Ramaema said on radio the people who murdered the woman would soon appear in court B/Day 24/5/91

Pepco issued a statement saying it was against company policy for anybody to beat up a thief Culprits should be taken to the police If it was true that employees killed the woman, the company would try to compensate her family

An unconfirmed report said a Chinese person was killed by a rampaging mob, while a Lesotho citizen was fatally shot by police at Lekhaloaneng

□ AP-DJ reports that the IMF yesterday approved a $24,1m loan to Lesotho to support the country's three-year economic reform programme — Sapa

OAU to seek unity on SA

B/Day 27/5/91

ABUJA — African nations will seek a common policy on SA sanctions during Organisation of African Unity (OAU) meetings starting in Nigeria today (230)

On Friday OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim told the 20-member Liberation Committee that from today foreign ministers would re-examine Africa's position on SA to forge a united front

This would be followed by a summit of heads of state from June 3 to 5

ANC representative Stanley Mabusala urged committee members to support sanctions — Sapa-Reuter

PAC leader in Swazi talks

(230) Star 27/5/91

MBABANE — Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu is in Swaziland for talks with its leaders before an Organisation of African Unity summit in Nigeria next week

He said he hoped to have talks with King Mswati and expected to meet Prime Minister Obed Dlamini today, before leaving for Nigeria tomorrow. The OAU summit begins on June 3.

30 1991

Africa calls for sanctions on SA to stay

(230)

By Barney Mthombothi
Star Africa Service Star 30/5/91

ABUJA (Nigeria) — African foreign ministers meeting here yesterday urged the international community to maintain sanctions on Pretoria

Relaxing or scrapping punitive measures at this stage would prolong the struggle against apartheid, they said

The Ministers are meeting in preparation for the Organisation of African Unity summit next week

They made the boycott call after being addressed behind closed doors by ANC director of information Thabo Mbeki and PAC foreign affairs spokesman Gorah Ibrahim They are both believed to have called for sanctions to be maintained

African countries were urged at the meeting to reassess their attitude towards South Africa in the light of President de Klerk's reform initiatives

OAU secretary-general Dr Salim Ahmed Salim of Tanzania said the organisation would have to "reseize the initiative and dictate the pace of change" or risk being left out of the equation

"We should reassess the situation (in South Africa) and see whether, indeed, we need a review of policy and whether the necessity of sanctions has waned or not," Dr Salim said.

"To remain ambivalent in our words and deeds will only give solace and credence to the detractors of Africa's freedom We should not be seen to be oblivious to change and possibly miss an opportunity for constructive involvement in the evolutionary process now under way in South Africa," he said.

He welcomed measures taken thus far to dismantle apartheid, including the signing by the South African Government and the ANC of the Pretoria and Groote Schuur minutes which he said laid the foundation of a society committed to unity, equality and democracy

The Ministers yesterday began discussing behind closed doors Dr Salim's report on southern Africa

The report will form the basis of decisions to be taken by next week's summit on the situation in South Africa

OAU urges rethink on SA

(230) Sowetan 30/5/91

ABUJA - The secretary-general of the Organisation for African Unity yesterday urged African countries to reassess their attitude towards South Africa in the light of State President FW de Klerk's reforms

Dr Salim Ahmed Salim of Tanzania also asked the countries to decide whether punitive measures such as sanctions were still necessary

Addressing African foreign ministers yesterday in Abuja, Nigeria's future capital, Salim said the organisation would have to "reseize the initiative and dictate the pace of change" or risk being left out of the equation

African foreign ministers are holding a week-long meeting in preparation for the 27th summit of OAU heads of state which begins here on Monday

South Africa is expected to be high on the agenda

The OAU liberation committee is to table a report on Southern Africa which is expected to reflect the organisation's current thinking on developments in South Africa

"We should reassess the situation and see whether, indeed, we need a review of policy and whether the necessity of sanctions has waned or not," Salim said

The formation of the OAU

(230) JUNE 29 – JUL 5 1990
~~GTHP~~ NEW NATION LEARNING NATION

Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia invited the leaders of 32 independent African states to a conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May 1963 to discuss the question of unity amongst African countries. On May 25 1963 the charter of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was signed. The date is commemorated today as African Liberation Day We shall examine the reasons for the OAU, its aims, principles, organs, successes and failures.

Presidents Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe listen to Zambian President and Frontline States chairperson Kenneth Kaunda at a press conference.

Reasons behind the formation of the OAU

Colonial powers had partitioned and divided the African continent and its people. In post-colonial Africa, unity was regarded as a weapon to be used against colonialism and imperial forces. The Pan-Africanist ideology which supported the concept of a United States of Africa was popular among African leaders as it expressed their outrage at the ill-treatment of black people worldwide

After World War 2 all Pan-Africanist Congresses were to be held within Africa itself. In 1958 Kwame Nkrumah convened the All-African People's Conference in Accra, Ghana, to promote unity and understanding among African people, to accelerate the decolonisation movement, to fight for human rights and to develop the feeling of one community within Africa. After independence African countries became members of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) and it was hoped that the African bloc would remain non-aligned i.e. not automatically support the capitalist west or the socialist east but make its own decisions.

Regional co-operation and unity was in evidence prior to 1963. The Casablanca bloc had been formed in 1961 and supported the concept of a United States of Africa and also took a militant stand against colonialism. Members of the Casablanca bloc were Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco and representatives from Libya and Algeria. A second bloc emerged under the leadership of President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast. They did not support the militant stance of the Casablanca Bloc but did favour African unity. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania formed economic links with Kenya and Uganda.

The OAU charter of 1963 clearly set out the purposes and aims of such an organisation:

* to promote the unity and solidarity of the African and Malagasy states
* to co-ordinate and intensify their collaboration and efforts to achieve a better life for the people's of Africa
* to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence.
* to eradicate all forms of colonialism from the continent of Africa and
* to promote international co-operation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights.

The principles of the OAU charter included the equality of all member states, non-interference in the internal affairs of member states, respect for the existing frontiers of member states and the peaceful settlement of conflicts between member states

The main bodies of the OAU are·

The Council of heads of state and leaders meet annually. Each country has one vote and a two-thirds majority is required for a resolution to be passed. The Council of Ministers of Foreigh Affairs meet twice a year and execute the resolutions passed by the Heads of State. The secretariat is based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and is headed by a secretary-general who is responsible for the administration of the OAU. The Commission for Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration settle disputes among African countries There are seven specialised commissions to handle economic, social, educational, health, cultural and defence matters and finally, the African Liberation Committee meet in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, to co-ordinate the activities of independence movements and to allocate financial assistance.

Achievements of the OAU

Unity and co-operation amongst African countries has been successful and efforts have been made to prevent border conflicts or to settle disputes as quickly as possible. Border conflicts are inevitable and within the African continent such conflicts led to wars between Algeria and Morocco, Somalia and Ethiopia, Uganda and Tanzania, Senegal and Guinea and Niger and Dahomey. The OAU managed to intervene and settle all these quarrels.

The Nigerian Civil War (1967-71) was of the utmost concern tot the OAU. Many peace meetings and settlements were arranged by numerous world bodies but no successful end came about. The OAU was the only organisation which viewed it from an African perspective.

The OAU assisted member states militarily. African soldiers were sent to Tanzania to prevent a major crisis when the Tanzania African Rifle Corps mutinied.

As a pressure organisation against colonialism, its success was seen when the British ended the Central African Federation of North and South Rhodesia and Nyasaland The OAU continually objected to and opposed Portugal's control over Angola and Mozambique, Ian Smith's regime of Rhodesia, South Africa's control over Namibia and racism in South Africa Political and economic measures were introduced to eradicate such oppression

As African colonies gained independence they became members of the UNO. By 1970 Africa had 41 votes in the General Assembly of the UNO and as a powerful group succeeded in imposing economic sanctions via the UNO on Rhodesia, placed an arms embargo on Portugal and had resolutions passed within the General Assembly of the UNO condemning South Africa's mandate over Namibia and apartheid. Pressure of OAU members led to the expulsion of Portugal and South Africa from all sports' bodies and meetings and from the International Labour Organisation South Africa was refused participation in the Olympic Games. Although these are successes of the UNO, it is important to state that the OAU exerted pressure at meeting of this world organisation.

One of the major achievements of the OAU has been on the economic front. In 1964 the African Development Bank was established. It has financed many projects in over 40 African countries, for example, it helped to finance the 1 250-mile railway from Zambia and Tanzania, loaned money to Tunisia for irrigation and for water and sewage projects in Uganda.

The OAU also assisted with the issue of refugees In 1964 the OAU in conjunction with the UN High Commission for Refugees set up a special commission to assist refugees, but simultaneously preventing the refugee problem from causing conflict between the countries. In 1976 the UN High Commission estimated that over a million people in Africa had fled their own countries because of political, social or financial problems.

Failures of the OAU

The OAU has had setbacks rather than failures. The road to peaceful solutions or negotiated settlements is a long one and therefore initial setbacks by the organisation could very well be temporary. Both Zimbabwe and Namibia are now independent countries but members of the OAU were often divided as to the action required to end colonial rule. Some countries favoured economic sanctions, others wanted an African army to intervene.

Although countries rejected apartheid in South Africa and aimed to end it; no practical action was taken by member countries of the OAU.

The Ivory Coast, Malawi and Ghana felt that continued "dialogue" with South Africa would bring about changes, while most African countries supported isolation and economic sanctions

Independence also gave rise to problems within a few countries Dissatisfaction with the political party or leader often resulted in coups, for example, Nigeria had three coups (overthrow of government) within ten years of independence.

Debt has also plunged the African continent into poverty and it is financially impossible to cut ties with the former colonial rulers The OAU allocates only small amounts for military equipment to independence movements engaged in the liberation struggle.

On the issue of Human Rights, the OAU has not taken positive action. The regime of Idi Amin of Uganda was synonomous with atrocities but the OAU was unable to intervene.

It is crucial to remember that all international organisations face successes and failures and by its very nature the OAU remains a loose federation of states and does not compel member states to act in a particular way The lack of authoritarianism within the OAU is crucial and it guarantees the sovereign independence of all its members As long as debate among African countries continues, the OAU remains a successful forum

The OAU has achieved very little in 27 years of existence, writes **Barney Mthombothi**

Fiddling while Africa burns

Star 3/6/91. (230)

THE Organisation of African Unity begins yet another summit in Abuja today with very little to show for its 27 years of existence

There is no doubt Africa has degenerated to an alarming extent since the founding of the organisation almost three decades ago, and the enthusiasm and optimism of the 1960s has all but vanished

As the African heads of state take their seats at the luxurious international conference centre in Abuja, Nigeria's future capital, more than 27 million Africans are on the verge of starving to death, civil wars — with thousands of innocent civilians killed or displaced — are raging in more than a dozen countries on the continent and corruption and dictatorships have turned most of these countries into basket cases, deep in debt and surviving on international hand-outs

What drives many Africans to despair is that there is no hope that this summit will offer any solution, let alone confront these burning issues It cannot because there simply won't be any agreement Decisions would lead to a break-up of this loose union

The disagreements of the early 1980s which led to Morocco leaving the organisation still terrify OAU officials

Even South Africa, which for decades has served as a unifying subject at OAU summits, looks likely to be a divisive issue for the first time between those who want to respond to the changes within the country by having closer contact with South Africa and those who say curbs and isolation should remain until the changes are deemed to be irreversible

Countries like Kenya, Gabon, Senegal, Morocco and others have already broken ranks and are aggressively working for closer economic ties with the Republic

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim has pleaded with African foreign ministers for a common response on developments in South Africa

"What we need is unity of action and one voice Whichever course of action we take, it must be a common one, arrived at collectively," he said

Perhaps what most symbolises the parlous state of the OAU is Ethiopia, seat of the organisation's headquarters The country has been embroiled in civil wars for as long as the organisation has existed It can't feed its people and as the OAU prepared for its summit Ethiopian strongman Mengistu Haile Mariam stole out in the middle of the night for a quiet life in Zimbabwe, leaving his beleaguered government to face confident rebel forces just about to capture Addis Ababa

Mengistu's successor was in London this week to negotiate a dignified capitulation to the rebels No such honour was afforded him Rebel forces triumphantly moved into Addis Ababa in his absence and he was bluntly told he was out of a job

The OAU was not even represented at the talks Dr Salim announced in Abuja that he was dispatching an emissary to the talks The man didn't make it to the airport The talks were already over by the time Dr Salim's statement was released and Ethiopia had a new government

Ethiopia is by no means an exception All the countries on the Horn of Africa are in a state of war Siad Barre has been overthrown in Somalia but people are dying from famine and fighting because different rebels control different pockets of the country

Sudan's problems do not look soluble either The Arab north which is in power in Khartoum insists on imposing Muslim sharia law on the African south, which is mostly Christian or animist A suitable mediator has yet to be found

The military government has also alienated international aid agencies by refusing to concede that many people are dying in Sudan as a result of famine

Western governments have also cut off aid to the country because of its support for Saddam Hussein during the Gulf War

In Liberia, many people have fled to neighbouring countries because of the civil war Former president Samuel Doe was captured by rebels and a gruesome movie made of his torture

But stability has now been brought to Liberia, not by the OAU, but by Ecowas (the Economic Community of West African States) which put together a peace-keeping force made up of units from various countries in West Africa and arranged for the installation of an interim government

This has been done despite the objection of countries like Ivory Coast and Burkino Faso (strange bedfellows) which want their favourite rebel Charles Taylor and his National Patriotic Front of Liberia installed in Monrovia

But the Liberian experiment has succeeded so far, with minor hiccups, because the Nigerians are strongly behind it

Charles Taylor has exported the conflict to neighbouring Sierra Leone and again the Nigerians have sent troops to quell it

In Cameroon, the excitement of the World Cup is over and demonstrators want President Paul Biya to resign

In Mali, Moussa Traore was summarily dismissed from power by the army after he had ordered soldiers to shoot and kill demonstrators

But there are also rays of hope elsewhere in Africa A ceasefire has finally been signed in Angola In Mozambique, Frelimo and Renamo are talking and there is hope for a lasting agreement

The past year has also seen peaceful transitions in a number of counties Military strongman Mathieu Kerekou of Benin lost in free and fair elections to Nicephore Soglo, a former World Bank technocrat

In Sao Tome, long-serving Manuel Pinto da Costa was defeated by Miguel Trovoada Nigeria, which takes over the chairmanship of the OAU at this summit, is also edging towards civilian rule

Others, though, still need to be convinced In Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda is ambivalent In Kenya and Malawi, Moi and Banda are hostile to any notion of multiparty democracy

These are problems confronting the continent which should be the responsibility of the OAU But it has been left to outsiders to tackle them Former colonial powers or the superpowers are mediating in conflicts and aid agencies are feeding the hungry.

One thing that has excited OAU officials in Abuja this week is the signing next week of a treaty creating the African Economic Community Colonialism as a subject at OAU summits, they say, has lost its fizz It's time, in the word of Ibrahim Babangida, the next OAU chairman, for economic emancipation

Observers, however, say the problem lies in the organisation's composition The majority of member-states are dictatorships which cling religiously to the organisation's credo of non-interference in the internal affairs of members The only solution, they say, lies in the closure of the OAU and the creation of a new organisation along the lines of the European Community, which would put democratic values at the core of its existence

Dr Salim and General Babangida have both spoken about the need for Africa to move towards multiparty democracy

Nigeria is moving towards this direction itself and there are those who are hoping that this populous nation will use its undoubted influence to nudge the continent along the same path

One commentator bewailing the disunity of African countries and their inability to agree on any contentious issue remarked that OAU has come to mean Organisation Against Unity

Abuja in the local dialect means unity, solidarity Many would hope that the OAU would at last find it in Abuja '91 — Star Africa Service □

ANC, PAC leaders off to OAU summit

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has flown to Nigeria to attend the OAU summit where he is expected to call for the maintenance of sanctions against SA.

Sapa reports PAC president Clarence Makwetu will also attend the summit.

An ANC spokesman said Mandela left SA on Friday for Lagos, for the three-day OAU meeting which takes place in the federal capital Abuja from today.

He was to meet ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki in Abuja

Mandela had been expected to attend a Frontline states' meeting before the summit, where the question of sanctions was also expected to feature prominently

TIM COHEN reports ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad said Mandela would also brief the summit on the state of the transition process in SA.

On Saturday African foreign ministers in Abuja decided to urge the continuation of international sanctions.

Their resolution said sanctions should be maintained until SA had a new constitution and had set a date for free elections, Sapa, Reuter reports

They also accused the SA government of orchestrating the violence in SA townships.

Their resolution condemned OAU countries with diplomatic ties with SA.

B/Day 31/6/91 (230)

Lifting of sanctions strongly condemned

Star 3/6/91

Tough OAU stand on SA

(230) (280)

By Barney Mthombothi
Star Africa Service

ABUJA (Nigeria) — African heads of state are expected to take a surprisingly hardline attitude towards South Africa at the Organisation of African Unity annual summit which begins in Abuja this morning

A leaked draft resolution on South Africa prepared for the OAU summit by foreign ministers late on Saturday calls for the maintenance of sanctions against Pretoria and strongly condemns the establishment of diplomatic and other ties

It also condemns the South African Government for "orchestrating, co-ordinating and abetting" what it calls the destructive wave of violence engulfing the country, particularly the black townships around Johannesburg

The OAU calls on those countries which have lifted or relaxed sanctions and other forms of pressure against SA to reconsider their positions.

The vehemence of the language used in the draft resolution which, unlike other resolutions was not released to the media, has surprised some observers There is acknowledgement in the resolution of the changes that have already taken place in South Africa

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim told journalists on Friday the organisation needed to take a more balanced approach on South Africa There is no evidence of this in the resolution Policy measures announced by President de Klerk, it says, are a direct result of internal and international pressure, namely the armed struggle, sanctions and political isolation

Condemned

The resolution also calls on African countries to maintain their common position on South Africa, but stops short of censuring those that have established ties with the country

The migration of some Eastern Europeans to SA is condemned, as is the growing military and nuclear co-operation between Pretoria and Israel and Taiwan

The Government is accused of bad faith for its unwillingness to fully implement its undertakings under the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, including the release of political prisoners and arrangements for the safe return of exiles

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and PAC president Clarence Makwetu held meetings last night with Frontline states to discuss developments within the country

An ANC spokesman said Mr Mandela would ask the OAU to help end the violence in the townships.

"Mandela is going to talk about violence in South Africa, its escalation and how the heads of state can put their heads together to end it," the spokesman on foreign affairs said yesterday

He said Mr Mandela would address heads of state and government today after the formal opening of the annual summit

Mr Mandela's speech at the summit — the second he has attended since his release from prison — would underline how factional fighting was undermining the black struggle for political power, he added

● More reports — Pages 5 and 10

UN chief on OAU agenda

Star 3/6/91 (230)

By Barney Mthombothi

ABUJA (Nigeria) — Apart from South Africa, another subject provoking agitated discussion among delegates to the Organisation of African Unity summit, which begins today, is the choice of a successor to Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar as secretary-general of the United Nations

Dr de Cuellar has indicated that he will not seek re-election at the end of his term, and Africa is pushing hard for one of its own to succeed him

Former Nigerian military leader General Olusegun Obasanjo is the front-runner at this stage.

Two other prominent figures who want the job are Zimbabwean Finance Minister Dr Bernard Chidzero and Senegalese President Abdul Diouf

OAU Secretary-General Dr Salim Ahmed Salim is believed to want the job, but is unlikely to have his name put forward unless he gets an assurance that the US and British will not again thwart his ambition.

Dr Salim failed to get the job 10 years ago because the two powers objected to his candidacy

The Africans did not want Dr Kurt Waldheim, and Dr Perez de Cuellar was elected as the compromise candidate.

General Obasanjo has been a frequent visitor to South Africa in recent times.

ARG 3/6/91

ANC-PAC reach sanctions deadlock

(230)

ABUJA (Nigeria) — Southern African leaders meeting in Nigeria before an OAU summit to shape a new policy towards Pretoria reached a deadlock early today over a disagreement between the ANC and the PAC

The southern African presidents — holding the talks on the sidelines of the annual Organisation of African Unity summit opening later today — failed to agree on a common position on anti-apartheid sanctions, delegates said

Relations with Pretoria are widely expected to dominate the three-day summit in Abuja, Nigeria's future capital

One senior delegate said the impasse was because of the widely divergent positions of the ANC and the more radical PAC

"The PAC accuses the ANC of weakening sanctions," said a senior ANC delegate, speaking on condition of anonymity

He said the PAC was totally opposed to the ANC's inclination to accept a partial lifting of sanctions if Pretoria fulfilled certain conditions, including releasing political prisoners

The ANC would have favoured an end to visa restrictions for visitors to South Africa and the lifting of the sporting boycott of the country if such conditions were met, the delegate said

Leaders of the Frontline states — Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Tanzania and Namibia — decided to take a neutral position until the movements resolved their differences, he added

ANC chief spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki declined to go into details of the meeting.

He said there was growing sentiment in the European Community, the former communist bloc and Asia in favour of at least an easing of sanctions

"The question is, how do you keep the rest of the world maintaining the present position?" he said — Sapa-Reuter

● See pages 2 and 11.

Row over SA divides OAU

CT 3/6/91

230

ABUJA, Nigeria. — African heads of state have gathered here for the annual Organisation of African Unity summit opening today amid a growing split over sanctions against South Africa.

An increasing number of African countries, flouting OAU policy on maintaining full sanctions, are collaborating to quash a hardline draft resolution criticising their attitude and urging them to reconsider

The draft was approved yesterday after six days of debate by foreign ministers that saw bitter exchanges between hardliners and delegations from Madagascar, Kenya, Ivory Coast and other countries that since last year have opened links with South Africa

The row in the OAU comes as President F W de Klerk and members of the cabinet prepare to visit an African country, believed to be Kenya, this ~~week~~ weekend for two days

The hardline resolution by African foreign ministers came on Saturday night It calls for sanctions to be maintained and accuses the South African government of orchestrating the violence in the townships

Mr Nelson Mandela, who arrived here late on Saturday along with ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki to attend the summit, is expected to support the hardliners

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu will also be at the summit

Heated debate

The OAU resolution, proposed by Zimbabwe and supported by summit hosts Nigeria, is certain to lead to a heated debate Delegates said many leaders were certain to want the tough wording softened

Moderates on the South Africa issue succeeded, however, in deleting the word "racist" from each reference to the Pretoria regime, delegates said

Senegal and Madagascar were two OAU members who argued in favour of a "realistic" approach

The resolution was adopted after a confidential report by OAU secretary-general Mr Salim Ahmed Salim on the "sharply increasing" economic ties between South Africa and OAU members

The Foreign Minister of Madagascar, Mr Jean Bemananjara, claimed that a majority of African countries now have undisclosed dealings with South Africa

He accused them of hypocrisy in passing the resolution draft, according to conference sources

Ivory Coast's President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, who rarely attends OAU summits, was expected to speak this week in favour of reconsidering South African links

Many delegations are waiting to see the position of Nigeria, which takes over the OAU chairmanship this week from Uganda

In April, Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida said his country would support the lifting of sanctions once the remaining apartheid laws had been repealed

The OAU is also meeting against a backdrop of civil wars, pro-democracy protests and deepening economic problems across the continent

It is not known how many leaders will be at Abuja, Nigeria's future capital where construction work is still in progress, because of domestic strife in countries such as Ethiopia, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Zaire

Common market

OAU members, feeling isolated in a world dominated increasingly by powerful economic blocs following East-West detente, are likely to take a significant step towards economic unity today by signing a treaty to establish an African common market

The summit will also announce its candidate for the post of secretary-general of the UN. Africa is expected to provide the successor to Mr Javier Perez de Cueller when he retires at the end of the year — Sapa-Reuter, Daily Telegraph

Wraps on FW trip to Africa

CT 3/6/91 (230)

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and members of his cabinet are to visit a major African country, believed to be Kenya, for two days next weekend.

Foreign Affairs and government officials declined to disclose Mr De Klerk's destination, for fear that pressure would be brought to bear on the host country by the OAU at its meeting in Nigeria this week.

A senior Kenyan politician visited South Africa last month, and South Africa and Kenya have agreed to allow SA Airways landing rights at Nairobi.

South African tourists were also now being allowed to enter Kenya.

Egypt too far

Other possible destinations include Egypt and Nigeria. Sources said they did not think Mr De Klerk would visit Nigeria so soon after the OAU summit this week, and one source said Egypt was too far for the short trip.

It is understood that Mr De Klerk will be accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Trade and Industry Minister Mr Org Marais, Agriculture Minister Dr Kraai van Niekerk and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Mr George Bartlett.

Given the composition of the delegation accompanying Mr De Klerk, it is expected that major trade deals are expected to be struck.

Disaster faces broke Ethiopia

Sowetan 4/6/91 (230)

ADDIS ABABA - Ethiopia's provisional leader says its former Marxist rulers have left it bankrupt - a grim message for millions of its citizens facing starvation from famine

"The outgoing government left the country bankrupt," new interim leader Mr Meles Zenawi said in a television and radio broadcast on Sunday night.

"The coffers are empty, the country has nothing to sustain it, even for a few days," he said in his first public speech in Addis Ababa since rebels of his Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front captured the capital last Tuesday

Meles (36) spoke as fears grew of a famine disaster in eastern areas with reports that fighting was preventing food aid from moving

More than seven million people are threatened with starvation this year because of drought and civil war in the impoverished country

Appeal

Meles appealed for peace to allow his interim government to restore order and cautioned people against following "anti-peace elements" - a reference to anti-EPRDF demonstrations last week - *Sapa-Reuter.*

OAU divided over ties with S Africa

Sowetan 4/6/91. (230)

ABUJA (Nigeria) - Black African leaders who have castigated South Africa for the past 30 years as a racist enclave will try to shape a new policy in tune with the times at a summit which opened yesterday.

Relations with Pretoria will dominate the three-day Organisation of African Unity summit in Abuja, Nigeria's future capital, delegates said

Presidents of Southern Africa's "frontline states" and black nationalist leader Mr Nelson Mandela met until the early hours yesterday to hammer out a resolution

The 51-member OAU is divided between the expanding camp of pragmatists who want to make peace with wealthy South Africa and radicals who say economic sanctions must stay until the whole edifice of apartheid has been dismantled

"It's a crucial summit," a senior Nigerian official said, noting the rise of the anti-sanctions lobby in the United States and the European Community which has already relaxed its restrictions on trade and other links with South Africa

"Let's face it, once the Americans and the Europeans lift their measures any talk of African sanctions will be academic," he said

Violence

Mandela, *de facto* leader of the African National Congress since his release from prison last year, briefed the presidents of Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Tanzania and Namibia on the wave of violence in South Africa and political developments.

Many of the 27 presidents who had arrived in Abuja by Sunday night already have official links with Pretoria, usually in the shape of trade missions

The ties were condemned in a hardline resolution adopted by foreign ministers on Saturday which accused President FW de Klerk's government of stirring up black-on-black violence

Several ministers said privately they hoped the summit would adopt what they called a more realistic resolution acknowledging De Klerk's reform moves but demanding faster progress towards majority rule

Apart from South Africa, the agenda includes the signing of a treaty creating an African Economic Community and a campaign to extract compensation from European countries who for centuries shipped slaves from Africa to the Americas.

Upheaval

These topics should ensure that there is little, if any, public debate on the civil wars and political upheaval spreading like a rash through the continent.

No fewer than nine OAU presidents have fallen from power since last year's summit, with six being toppled by rebellions or coups.

The trend shows no sign of stopping as last week's overthrow of Ethiopia's Mengistu Haile Mariam underlined

Representatives of the new rulers in Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, arrived on Sunday to take their country's seat at the summit table as chaos reigned at home

Summit

Liberia's interim president, Amos Sawyer, also flew in for his first summit But Africa's oldest republic is effectively partitioned with rebel leader Charles Taylor controlling most of the country after a brutal 18-month civil war.

There was no sign of Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi who, according to Nigerian Press reports, had threatened to swamp Abuja's already overcrowded hotels with a 700-strong delegation. - *Sapa-Reuter*

NELSON MANDELA

Kenya lobbies for links at OAU (230)

ANC stance on sanctions startles PAC

B/Day 4/6/91.

TIM COHEN

DISSENSION between the PAC and the ANC on sanctions sparked "wide differences" between African countries at the OAU annual summit which began in Nigeria yesterday.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said yesterday that members of the PAC delegation at the summit were startled at the ANC "somersault" on sanctions at a pre-summit meeting.

News agency reports have indicated that the ANC will propose a partial lifting of sanctions This is likely to include the end of SA's sports isolation and the restoration of visa rights to SA citizens if Pretoria frees all political prisoners and satisfies other ANC demands.

Differences of opinion between African nations on sanctions also surfaced in the run-up to the summit, with some coming out in favour of full trade links with SA.

Alexander said it was unfortunate the ANC had decided to spring its new policy on the OAU without prior discussion.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu would address the OAU today, and his speech would include a plan for dealing with countries that did not heed the sanctions call.

Southern African leaders who held talks yesterday on the sidelines of the OAU summit to try to shape a new policy on SA deadlocked over disagreement between the PAC and the ANC, Reuter reports.

The leaders of Frontline states failed to agree on a common position on sanctions, Sapa-Reuter quoted delegates as saying. Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe heads the pro-sanctions drive, while he is opposed most strongly by Madagascar and Kenyan delegates.

Reports said the ANC favoured dropping sporting barriers and relaxing visa demands for South Africans if government met certain demands.

But Alexander said that the ANC's apparent about-turn also related to economic sanctions. He declined to provide details.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela would spend three days in the Soviet Union from Sunday, the ANC said yesterday. After the OAU summit ended tomorrow, he would visit France.

But in any case, the majority of OAU members supported the draft resolution prepared by foreign ministers prior to the meeting which, in line with the PAC position, calls for sanctions to be maintained until SA had a new constitution and a date had been set for elections.

But the vehemence of the language of the draft resolution, which also condemns

☐ To Page 2

Sanctions

B/Day 4/6/91. (230) (4/7)

☐ From Page 1

the SA government for "orchestrating, coordinating and abetting" the violence in SA, reportedly surprised some observers

The ANC's head of information and publicity, Pallo Jordan, denied yesterday that there was any change in the organisation's position of sanctions but added that "at this point in time these differences should not be aired through the Press"

However, some senior ANC members are known to support a phased lifting of sanctions, in order to maintain control over the issue and to ensure that Pretoria is not prematurely rewarded for reforms

Sapa-Reuter reports ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela as saying after the meeting of Frontline leaders that the ANC still wanted full economic and political sanctions maintained

Sources who attended Mandela's meeting with the southern African leaders and host President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria were quoted as saying there was a strong lobby to relax Africa's sanctions

These leaders fear that the international community is poised to normalise relations with SA and that Africa risks being stuck with an unenforceable policy

"The trouble is that neither Mandela nor the OAU wants to be seen as the author of a resolution relaxing sanctions," one delegate said

The OAU is divided between pragmatists who want to make peace with a wealthy SA and radicals who say sanctions must stay until apartheid goes

ARGUS 4/6/91

Hardliners force OAU chief to stifle SA offer

But new chairman pleads for an end to violence

BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI
Argus Africa News Service

ABUJA (Nigeria) — An offer to send a team of African foreign ministers to South Africa to promote change was excised at the last minute from the keynote speech to the Organisation of African Unity summit by the new chairman, General Ibrahim Babangida, President of Nigeria.

The excision is thought to have been made under pressure from hardliners who objected to the conciliatory tone of General Babangida's speech, which contrasted with the line taken by his predecessor, President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda

The fact the new OAU leader was prepared to make the offer in the first place is seen as indicative of the conciliatory attitude he will bring to his new function

He said the OAU was ready to convene a meeting "of all shades of political interest in South Africa" to help achieve unity

General Babangida appealed to South Africans of all colours to forget the bitterness of the past and co-operate to build a free and democratic society

"I call on President De Klerk — whose courage is not in doubt — and his government to remove the remaining apartheid legislation and to allow majority rule in South Africa

"He should check the excesses of his security forces He should build bridges across the colour line so mutual confidence will grow

"In this endeavour black South Africa should organise to meet the challenges of a new South Africa

"I call on Chief Buthelezi, Mr Clarence Makwetu and Mr Nelson Mandela to join hands to forge a united front to protect the helpless masses," he said

"The OAU is ready to convene a meeting of all shades of political interest to facilitate their pulling together as one people with one destiny The world expects us to give leadership We shall give it"

General Babangida said the OAU would respond appropriately to the repeal of core legislation in South Africa

He said the organisation would have to "come to terms with the realities of today"

"The reality of our situation is that Mr Mandela and other black South African leaders live inside South Africa We should now take the struggle to the doorstep of the racist regime

"Our organisation should engage all leaders of South Africa in the forward march towards the total elimination of apartheid"

General Babangida said the violence in the country was threatening the emergence of a democratic society "The violence must stop All South Africans should set aside the bitterness of yesteryears and build a new non-racial society," he said

General Babangida's conciliatory speech was in stark contrast to an earlier address to the summit by his predecessor of Uganda

In contrast, President Museveni said President De Klerk's reforms were peripheral

"The core of the problem is and has always been that Africans don't have the vote Everything else is irrelevant," he said

The scrapping of petty apartheid was not the issue The lifting of sanctions should be linked to how far the government had gone in satisfying the issue of the vote

"I'm not interested in lying next to a white man on a beach or in going with him to the same toilet"

President Museveni appealed to black leaders in South Africa to deal with the question of white fears "imaginatively"

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said the summit should listen to liberation movements on how to approach the question of sanctions against South Africa

"We stand to be guided by the joint approach of the ANC and PAC," he said

MR Nelson Mandela and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda discuss South Africa at a meeting in Abuja, Nigeria, of six Southern Africa states prior to a three-day OAU summit.

Nigeria offer African foreign ministers for SA?

CT 4/6/91 (230) (226)

ABUJA, Nigeria. — Nigeria's leader yesterday proposed that African foreign ministers visit South Africa to help the Organisation of African Unity decide whether to lift sanctions against the country.

This radical suggestion, which came as a surprise to Africa watchers, was made by General Ibrahim Babangida at the opening of the annual summit of the 51-nation organisation

It appeared to be an attempt to put off a decision on the issue and underlined how divided African leaders have become on South Africa for the first time in the 27-year history of their organisation

"The time has come for the battle to be taken to the doorsteps of South Africa," General Babangida, who was also elected as the new chairman of the OAU, said

He suggested that a delegation of foreign ministers go to South Africa to assess whether the organisation should sustain an economic blockade to keep up the pressure on Pretoria or lift sanctions to signal support for political reforms

"This is not a clarion call to lift all sanctions against South Africa," General Babangida said "We shall carefully assess every stage in the evolution of South Africa to a democratic and non-racial society before reaching a definitive decision"

While the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said last night that the OAU seemed to show "a new spirit" and that a delegation would be welcome in South Africa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, later dismissed out of hand a visit to investigate sanctions

South Africa was no longer interested in investigations by outsiders, Mr Botha said

He warned that Africa was being marginalised in world affairs because it was unable to deal with issues such as efficient government and multi-party democracy

Zimbabwe, for example, had supported the continuation of sanctions at the OAU on the very day it had proposed the extension of the preferential trade agreement with South Africa

"My African brothers will have to learn that the days of deceit are over

"The events in Eastern and Central Europe have also had an effect in Africa

"My African brothers will have to understand that they are regarded as being marginalised in the world

"We as South Africans must deal with our problems as South Africans"

In his call, General Babangida also demanded that leaders of South Africa's rival black organisations "join hands to forge a united front to protect the helpless masses"

His threat is not without substance The government of this powerful West African nation has threatened to cut aid to organisations like the ANC unless black-on-black violence stops

Nigeria leads a minority of African countries, including Kenya and Madagascar, which want to follow the European Economic Community in lifting all sanctions to signal support for Mr De Klerk's reforms Mr De Klerk is due to visit Kenya this weekend.

● In Johannesburg yesterday, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander claimed that the PAC delegation at the summit were startled at the ANC "somersault" and their behind-the-scenes call for a phased lifting of sanctions against South Africa

The ANC apparently favoured the lifting of the sports isolation of South Africa and the restoration of visa rights to South African citizens if Pretoria frees all political prisoners and satisfies other ANC demands

Reuters quoted sources who attended Mr Nelson Mandela's meeting with the Southern African leaders and their host President Babangida, as saying there was a strong lobby to relax Africa's sanctions

They fear that the international community is poised to normalise relations with South Africa and that Africa risks being stuck with an unenforceable policy

LIBYANS WALK OUT

ABUJA, Nigeria. — Libya walked out of the Organisation of African Unity summit yesterday in a protest against Nigeria, which is hosting the meeting

The Libyan Foreign Minister, Mr Ibrahim Mohamed Beshari, said his delegation would leave immediately

Mr Beshari, who headed the Libyan delegation in the absence of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, said Libya was protesting against Nigeria's intervention in other countries such as Liberia. — Sapa-Reuter

New chairman at odds with hardliners

Victory for OAU hawks

Star 4/6/91 (230)

By Barney Mthombothi
Star Africa Service

ABUJA (Nigeria) — An offer to send a team of African Foreign Ministers to South Africa to help promote change was dropped at the last minute yesterday from the keynote speech of the new chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, Nigerian President Babangida

The dropping of the offer is thought to have been made under pressure from hardliners who objected to the conciliatory tone of General Babangida's speech, which contrasted sharply with the hardline note taken by his predecessor, President Museveni of Uganda

The fact that the new OAU leader was prepared to make the offer in the first place is seen as indicative of the conciliatory attitude that he will bring to his office

In his address to the summit, he said the OAU was ready to convene a meeting "of all shades of political interest in South Africa" to help achieve this unity

General Babangida also appealed to South Africans of all colours to forget the bitterness of the past.

"I call on President de Klerk — whose courage is not in doubt — and his government, to remove the remaining apartheid legislation and to allow majority rule in South Africa

"This organisation stands ready to convene a meeting of all shades of political interest in SA to facilitate their pulling together as one people with one destiny The world expect us to give leadership We shall give it"

General Babangida said the OAU would respond appropriately to the repeal of core legislation in SA He said the organisation would have to "come to terms with the realities of today".

Earlier, President Museveni told the summit President de Klerk's reforms had so far been peripheral and therefore irrelevant

"The core of the problem is and has always been that Africans don't have the vote Everything else is irrelevant," he said.

"The core of the problem is power (which) comes from either the ballot or the gun In South Africa we have chosen the ballot," he said

"The lifting of sanctions should be linked to how far the Government had gone in satisfying this crucial issue I'm not interested in lying next to a white man on a beach or in going with him to the same toilet," he said

President Museveni, however, appealed to black leaders in South Africa to deal with the question of white fears "imaginatively"

● **Keep up pressure, OAU told — Page 2.**

Pik in overture to OAU summit leaders

B/Day 5/6/91

TIM COHEN (230)

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha yesterday sent a conciliatory message to African leaders at the OAU summit in Nigeria, saying "well-wishers" and "bridge-builders" were welcome in SA

Reacting to reports that a proposal was made that a committee of certain OAU member states might want to visit SA, Botha said government's door was open

SA would welcome well-wishers who came to SA in good faith, "particularly if they came from countries of stature

"As long as they understand that such visits do not imply the SA government is being dictated to, it is fine"

Sapa-Reuter reports from Abuja that Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida told the OAU summit he would consider meeting President F W de Klerk if it would help bring majority rule to SA

"The situation is very fluid If the need arises we are not opposed to this provided it can lead to one man, one vote," he said

In his acceptance speech as OAU chairman on Monday, Babangida deleted a paragraph in the circulated text which proposed sending a fact-finding team of African foreign ministers to SA

Yesterday Babangida tried to deflect journalists' questions on the deletion, but later asked Nigerian Foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu to respond "We felt it would have been an overkill if we made such a proposal at the time," Nwachukwu said.

Sanctions must be retained, says OAU

(230)

ARGUS 5/6/91

From BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI
Argus Africa News Service

ABUJA (Nigeria) — The Organisation of African Unity will today reaffirm its commitment to international sanctions against South Africa until apartheid has been abolished

However, the organisation will give its chairman, President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, in consultation with the frontline states and the liberation movements, a mandate to review the situation

General Babandiga will have to take into account concrete steps by the South African government to remove all obstacles to negotiations as stipulated in the Harare Declaration

These conditions are contained in a document called the Abuja Declaration on South Africa to be endorsed and released by African leaders at the end of their summit tonight

Argus Africa News Service was able to get a leaked copy of the document late last night It was hammered out between the ANC and the PAC at a meeting with frontline states foreign ministers yesterday

It brings to an end wranglings between the ANC and PAC which have persisted throughout the Abuja meeting on how to handle the sanctions dilemma

The PAC wants sanctions to remain and the ANC seems to think they may have to go and is seeking a way to lift them progressively

African leaders this week appealed to the two movements to find a "joint approach" which the OAU could support

The declaration acknowledges that there have been "positive developments" in South Africa However, it complains that the conditions set out by the United Nations and the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes have not been fully carried out The OAU says it is gravely concerned at the "current organised and orchestrated violence" It calls on the South African government to protect lives and property of all

"In these circumstances all sanctions must remain in place," it declares

Democracy the only answer, Africa told

230

Star 5/6/91

The OAU's new head has a hard message for Africa's leaders. BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI of The Star's Africa Service reports from Abuja.

AFRICAN summits over the years have become boring and tedious affairs, with long self-congratulatory speeches unrelated to reality.

But the speech this week by new OAU chairman, Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, has set tongues wagging by its forthright and unambiguous call for democracy on the continent

It is seen as one of the bluntest speeches delivered on an OAU podium in years — and all aimed at his "brother heads of state and government"

Undiluted by diplomatic language, he told his colleagues to heed the cry for multiparty democracy sweeping through the continent

Many of the African leaders who sat listening to him in stony silence have never subjected themselves to anything like an election

Others have left back home people incarcerated behind bars whose only crime has been to call for something milder than what the leaders were hearing from their chairman

General Babangida's message was blunt and simple there is no alternative to democracy Practically all the continent's problems can be traced to the lack of it

"The clamour for democratisation and party pluralism is on the ascendancy in Africa," he said

"As leaders, we must accept and comply with the wishes of those whom we represent

"No amount of force can forever stifle the right of the governed to decide at free elections the fate of any government. The free choice of leaders by the governed is the essence of representative government"

General Babangida said most of Africa's woes, from civil wars, coups and even corruption, could be traced to a lack of democracy

The irony is that General Babangida himself came to power in a military coup in 1986

He is, however, committed to returning the country to civilian rule next year

General Babangida urged African countries to move with the times

"The Cold War has ended, Eastern Europe is democratic and there is talk of a new world order Is Africa going to be left behind again?" he asked

"The ravages of civil unrest across our continent the intolerable flow of millions of our humanity turned into refugees from their own lands constitute a permanent rebuke of our political judgment and will"

General Babangida said African countries had fought and "recovered" their sovereignty from colonial powers, but African leaders had failed to reinvest that sovereignty in their people

Forthright . . OAU chairman Ibrahim Babangida.

"Through ideological and nationalistic posturings, and the naked manipulation of ethnic differences, African leadership has tended to narrow the base of power

"The result has been the personification of power and the mystification of the process of leadership and governance to the exclusion of millions of their fellow citizens

"That yet-elusive stability dictates new modes of social relationships which cannot be found in dictatorships, either of the civil or the uniformed brand," the OAU chief said

"The only viable alternative is a sincere embrace of the democratic option

"Let us take the resolve now and commit ourselves to the dismantling of all apparatus of unrepresentative power, setting a date before the end of this century for its achievement

"The cost of maintaining structures of dictatorship, including the energy dissipated and the blood expended in warding off challenges to the monopoly of power all over our continent, makes it imperative that democracy is not only an attractive option but a rational and inevitable one.

"This is one act of our internal reparations which leadership on the continent can no longer evade" □

Sanctions: OAU to compromise

230

Star 5/6/91

Barney Mthombothi
Star Africa Service

ABUJA (Nigeria) — African leaders will today agree that sanctions against South Africa be maintained and that the situation be reviewed "if and when it warrants it".

This is a compromise position hammered out between the ANC and PAC at a meeting with Foreign Ministers of the Frontline states at the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit in Abuja, northern Nigeria, yesterday

A document agreed to at the meeting, and which was shown to The Star Africa Service, says all sanctions should remain in place, and puts the onus on the South African Government to make the necessary changes before international pressure could be lifted

OAU chairman General Babangida of Nigeria will be given a mandate to review the situation, in consultation with the Frontline states and the liberation movements, if and when it warrants it.

It is not specified when this reassessment should take place. The document will be approved by heads of state today, the last day of the summit

Yesterday's decision has effectively killed off an ANC plan circulated among some delegates at the summit which argues for a three-stage phased lifting of sanctions

According to this plan the lifting of sanctions would have been tied to certain specific reform measures taken by the Government.

This caused friction between the ANC and PAC delegations at the conference.

President Kaunda of Zambia told the summit on Monday the OAU "stands to be guided by the joint approach of the ANC and PAC" on how to deal with the South African situation.

London paper slates Kenyan govt

CITS 16/9/91

Own Correspondent

LONDON — African leaders at the OAU summit in Nigeria should seek to establish democracy in their own countries rather than waste time debating about sanctions against South Africa, The Times of London said yesterday

In a hard-hitting editorial questioning the provision of British aid to undemocratic African states like Kenya, the newspaper said South Africa was at least attempting to move towards multi-party democracy

"If the OAU could escape from its timewarp, African leaders need not waste this week's summit quarelling over South African sanctions or seeking to turn back the clock in Eritrea They would be thinking hard about political pluralism

"South Africa is relevant only as an example of an African state struggling to find a path away from dictatorship towards multiparty or multigroup democracy

"Finding such a path is as important for Africa as was the collapse of communism for Eastern Europe."

The Times said black Africa's leaders could "no longer sermonise about one-man one-vote south of the Limpopo, without inviting the exasperated retort, 'What about you?'

"Even international bodies and aid agencies, after years of de facto support for state plunder in Africa, are taking up the same refrain"

Noting British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd's insistence last year that repressive, wasteful and corrupt governments "should not expect us to support their folly with aid resources", The Times said "no government in Africa has set its face more firmly against the 'pluralism, public accountability and respect for the rule of law' for which Mr Hurd called, than Kenya"

The editorial suggested that Britain suspend aid to Kenya

ANC fails in OAU sanctions appeal

CT 5/6/91 (230)

ABUJA, Nigeria — In another blow for Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC has failed in its bid to convince African leaders that the time had come to agree on an easing of economic sanctions and ending the sports boycott.

The PAC has instead claimed victory at the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit here in persuading African heads of state to reject ANC proposals on a lifting of sports and cultural sanctions in exchange for concessions by the South African government on its security laws

The final draft of a resolution hammered out by the frontline states, the ANC and PAC, to be presented for final approval to the OAU summit before it ends later today, said sanctions should continue until apartheid has been completely eradicated

One minor concession is a clause stating that the new OAU chairman, Nigeria's president Mr Ibrahim Babangida, may review the situation during the year and report back to the frontline states if political circumstances fundamentally change in South Africa

There was no immediate comment available from Mr Mandela, who is attending the conference and has been warmly received by all leaders

IAN HOBBS reports that in London last night political sources expressed disappointment which he said was likely to be shared by nearly all European Community governments — and a number of African countries which agree with the ANC that the time had come significantly to ease economic, sports and cultural bans

But the view in Europe appears to leave more room for manoeuvre in the final draft today and the debate will continue at a high level when key Commonwealth heads of state meet in London next week.

A meeting of the International Olympic Committee executive in Manchester next week is also expected to endorse calls for the sports boycott to be lifted as soon as President F W de Klerk's promise to eliminate remaining apartheid legislation has been fulfilled

OAU chief 'would meet FW'

ABUJA, Nigeria. — Nigerian President and OAU leader Mr Ibrahim Babangida said yesterday that he would consider a meeting with South African President F W de Klerk, if it would help bring majority rule to South Africa.

"The situation is very fluid. If the need arises we are not opposed to this, provided it can lead to one-man-one-vote," Mr Babangida told a news conference during an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit

In a speech circulated on Monday, Mr Babangida deleted a paragraph which proposed sending a fact-finding team of African foreign ministers to South Africa.

● The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday that the South African government was following an "open-door" policy regarding a possible visit to the Republic by an OAU delegation

As long as visitors understood that they could not dictate to the South African government, "that is fine", he said.

● Western diplomats confirmed yesterday that Mr De Klerk would spend Saturday and Sunday as the guest of Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi — Sapa-Reuter

SOWETAN Wednes

OAU gets tough with South Africa

Sowetan 5/6/91

(230)

By BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI

ABUJA (Nigeria) - An offer to send a team of African foreign ministers to South Africa to help promote change was excised at the last minute from the keynote speech to the Organisation of African Unity summit yesterday by the new chairman, Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida.

The excision is thought to have been made under pressure from hardliners who objected to the conciliatory tone of Babangida's speech, which contrasted sharply with the hardline tone taken by his outgoing predecessor, President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda

The fact that the new OAU leader was prepared to make the offer in the first place is seen as indicative of the conciliatory attitude that he will bring to his new function.

Forget bitterness

He said the OAU was ready to convene a meeting "of all shades of political interest in South Africa" to help achieve this unity

Babangida also appealed to South Africans of all colours to forget the bitterness of the past and co-operate to build a free and democratic society

"I call on President FW de Klerk - whose courage is not in doubt - and his government, to remove the remaining apartheid legislation and to allow majority rule in South Africa.

"He should check the excesses of his security forces. He should build bridges across the colour line so that mutual confidence will grow.

Join hands

"In this endeavour black South Africa should organise itself to meet the challenges of a new South Africa. I also call on Chief Buthelezi, Clarence Makwetu and Nelson Mandela to join hands to forge a united front to protect the helpless masses.

"This organisation stands ready to convene a meeting of all shades of political interest in South Africa to facilitate their pulling together as one people with one destiny The world expects us to give leadership We shall give it"

Babangida said the OAU would respond appropriately to the repeal of core legislation in South Africa He said the organisation would have to "come to terms with the realities of today"

"The reality of our situation is that Nelson Mandela and other black South African leaders live inside South Africa We should now take the struggle to the doorstep of the racist regime.

Democratic society

"Our organisation should engage all leaders of South Africa in the forward march towards the total elimination of apartheid"

The violence in the country was threatening the emergence of a democratic society

"The violence must stop. All South Africans should set aside the bitterness of yesteryears and build a new non-racial society."

Babangida's conciliatory speech was in stark contrast to an earlier address to the summit by his predecessor Museveni

Museveni said De Klerk's reforms had so far been peripheral and therefore irrelevant

Ballot or gun

"The core of the problem is and has always been that Africans don't have the vote. Everything else is irrelevant The core of the problem is power. And power comes from either the ballot or the gun. In South Africa we have chosen the ballot."

The scrapping of petty apartheid was not the issue. The lifting of sanctions should be linked to how far the Government had gone in satisfying this crucial issue

"I'm not interested in lying next to a white man on a beach or in going with him to the same toilet," he said

Museveni, however, appealed to black leaders in South Africa to deal with the question of white fears "imaginatively"

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said the summit should listen to liberation movements on how to approach the question of sanctions against South Africa

IBRAHIM BABANGIDA

BCMA thumbs up for sanctions stance by OAU

230

Sowetan 5/6/91.

By MATHATHA TSEDU

THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania has applauded the decision by the OAU Council of Ministers to recommend that sanctions against South Africa be continued.

In a statement released by the BCMA media liaison officer, Mr Gilbert Mokoena, the organisation called on the heads of state attending the summit in Abuja, Nigeria, to accept and ratify the Ministers' call

Struggle

The statement said it had taken the struggling masses of black South Africans a long time to gather support for the isolation of the regime in the areas of arms, finance, trade, tourism, sports and culture

"These measures were taken in order to help remove the oppression, exploitation and discrimination suffered by black people in Azania All those conditions still exist.

"The settler colonialist leader, (President FW) De Klerk, must not be allowed to wriggle out of the noose of isolation until colonial oppression is abolished.

Difficult

"If De Klerk is reprieved on the basis of the hope that he has said he will do certain things, and released certain prisoners that he should not have held in the first place, it will be very hard to reimpose sanctions if he reverts to old-style oppression without cosmetics," the statement added

The recommendation by the Ministers' council is to be discussed by the summit.

Divided

The BCMA, which is recognised by the OAU, is not attending the summit The ANC and PAC are represented by deputy president Nelson Mandela and president Clarence Makwetu, respectively

The OAU is said to be divided over the issue with some countries, including Ivory Coast, Malawi and Zaire, in favour of lifting sanctions.

While European governments are lifting sanctions, "it is the African people and governments who must help us to defend the gains that we made in the international arena", said the BCMA

Africa hopes to lead world body

South 6/6 – 12/6/91

230

Africa, the largest group of member countries of the United Nations, has never produced a secretary-general of that body But now an international lobby campaign is underway to have an African candidate succeed Javier Perez de Cuellar at the end of the year **KINGSLEY MOGHALU** reports

DEFT diplomatic footwork, designed to install an African as the next secretary-general of the United Nations, is extending to important capitals around the world

The second five-year term of the incumbent, Javier Perez de Cuellar of Peru, expires at the end of the year, and there is no shortage of African candidates to take his place.

Among those who have been considered by ad hoc search committees are Joseph Garba of Nigeria, former president of the UN General Assembly, Ghanaian Kenneth Dadzie, secretary-general of the UN Conference on Trade and Development Bernard Chidzero, Zimbabwe's finance minister, Senegalese president Abdou Diouf, Tanzania s Salim Ahmed Salim, the current secretary general, of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) James Jonah, the Sierra Leonean undersecretary general of the UN and Olara Otunnu, Uganda's former foreign minister who now heads the International Peace Academy in New York

For now, the top African contender appears to be retired general Olusegun Obasanjo, a former Nigerian head of state who has won the endorsement of Nigeria s government

Although the decision to back him has not yet been announced publicly, the government of President Ibrahim Babangida has begun an international lobby campaign on his behalf

Persuade

Nigeria hopes to persuade African heads of state attending the OAU summit this month to unanimously accept Obasanjo as "Africa's candidate"

Although the UN Charter does not require a geographical rotation of the secretary-general's position, many believe Africa is due for a turn at running the world body The past five UN chiefs have come from Europe, Asia and Latin America

Africa, with the largest group of member countries, has never produced a secretary-general "If we miss this time," says Ibrahim Gambari, Nigeria's ambassador to the UN, "Africa will not have another opportunity this century to fight for the UN post"

Perez de Cuellar has said he would prefer an African to succeed him If the five permanent members to the Security Council refuse to agree to an African, De Cuellar argues, "Africa will feel excluded

Why is Africa vying for what Tryve Lie, the first UN secretary-general, called "the most impossible job on earth", when its citizens are struggling daily against poverty and war?

Racist myths

The reason, analysts here say, include a belief that an African secretary-general can make a success of global assignments and in the process, raise the continent's international profile and help shatter racist myths of black inferiority

Gabriel Olusanya, former head of Nigeria's Institute of International Affairs, says that although the position has been traditionally administrative and not a strong decision-making one, "an African secretary-general can influence decisions where Africa is unfairly treated"

Others believe that holding such a powerfully symbolic international position will give the continent greater confidence to push its diplomatic and economic interests Greater international co-operation for solutions to Africa's economic crisis is one of those aims Another, according to diplomats here, is a permanent seat for Africa on the Security Council

"A continent that accounts for roughly a third of the UN's membership ought to be represented in the most powerful chamber on a permanent basis" Gambari argues

Strong leadership

Germany and Japan are also seeking permanent seats in the council

With the wane of the cold war and with the UN's image enhanced following the Gulf crisis, and after such successes as supervising Namibia's independence process, there is a pervasive feeling that strong leadership could help the UN fulfill its original mission of maintaining world order

Africa's trumpet blowers say the continent has many leaders of international stature on whom the cap would fit

With these goals heading Africa's agenda, Obasanjo is hardly a surprise choice A military general who voluntarily handed over power to a democratically elected government, the widely admired leader has chalked up an impressive international resumé since leaving office in 1979

He has served on several international commissions on security and development issues In 1988 he founded the Africa Leadership Forum, a respected think-tank that trains future African leaders and proposes strategies for the continent's development.

PEREZ DE CUELLAR An African successor?

In the long run, much is riding on the decision of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council A veto by one of the five will defeat any candidate

In 1981, Tanzania's Salim, a popular choice of many UN members, was a candidate for the secretary-general ship against the incumbent, Kurt Waldheim of Austria, who was seeking an unprecedented third term

Salim lost, due to a United States veto China then vetoed Waldheim, leading to the emergence of Perez de Cuellar, a dark horse

Many diplomats here believe it is unlikely the White House under George Bush will follow Ronald Reagan's 1981 example and veto an African frontrunner — *AFRICA NEWS*

OAU opts to keep sanctions

230

CT 6/6/91

ABUJA, Nigeria — Organisation of African Unity leaders declared support for continued economic sanctions against South Africa yesterday, while a splinter group of moderates insisted they would trade with the Republic

Led by Kenya and Madagascar, the moderates said they would restore trade and transport ties as a signal of support for President FW de Klerk's political reforms

Most of the OAU's 51 member states voted to maintain sanctions to ensure Mr De Klerk kept promises to abolish all racist legislation and move toward democracy

Despite this public stance, black Africa's open and illicit trade with South Africa has increased "by leaps and bounds" to R10 billion a year, according to a report of the organization published this week.

The sanctions issue divided African leaders on the question of South Africa for the first time in the OAU's 27-year history

But they expressed unity yesterday on the need for political and economic reforms on the continent, which is dominated by dictators, soldiers and unwieldly centralized economies

While the South African question had dominated previous summits, leaders focused this year on issues closer to home — the continent's $270 billion (R675bn) debt which is greater than its economic output, the need for economic integration and structural adjustmnent programs, and fears that European unification next year will jeopardise Africa's trade, investment and aid.

New OAU chairman President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria said his priorities would be economic development and integration of sharply diverse economic and social patterns on the continent, ranging from Marxist dictatorships to constitutional monarchies

Observers say it is a Herculean task. Africa's total trade is less than that of Belgium, and only two percent of that flows between member states

Most African trade is firmly rooted with former European colonial powers, all members of the European common market. — Sapa-Reuter

African leaders relax stance on sanctions

ABUJA — African leaders yesterday took a major step towards restoring links with SA in a declaration spelling out a more relaxed policy on sanctions (230)

The declaration, adopted at an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit, said the OAU would commit itself to review its sanctions policy if conditions were met.

"Should the SA government adopt measures which lead to positive, profound and irreversible change towards the abolition of apartheid, we commit ourselves to review the question of sanctions with a view to readmitting SA into the international

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Sanctions

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community," it said

The declaration was obtained ahead of the closing session of the three-day summit, which was also expected to name at least one African contender for the post of UN secretary-general

SA sanctions have dominated the summit Most of the declaration on SA was devised on the summit's fringes by the Frontline states, the ANC and the PAC

Its adoption was seen as a victory for moderates in the OAU

The paragraph pledging to review sanctions if the OAU's conditions were met was inserted by heads of state and government, conference sources said

The declaration indicated that any decision on easing sanctions would not have to be put to a special OAU summit Such a decision was left to new OAU chairman Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, acting in concert with the OAU's special committee on southern Africa, and SA nationalist movements

ANC chief spokesman Thabo Mbeki said he expected Babangida to call such a meeting within weeks

In the OAU's most open gesture to President F W de Klerk's government, the declaration acknowledged there had been positive developments in SA "However, the preconditions set out in the Harare Declaration and the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes have not been fully met"

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday told a closed session of the summit he believed obstacles to peaceful negotiations would be removed soon, conference sources said Mandela later left for Paris to meet French President Francois Mitterrand, ANC officials said.

Mbeki told reporters the OAU standing committee on southern Africa could be convened as early as July if Pretoria pushed through promised reforms this month "Obviously, among the things it (the committee) will address is the issue of sanctions," Mbeki said, indicating that the ANC wanted a linkage between specific reforms and the easing of sanctions

Mandela, in the closed session, said he expected De Klerk to take action on township violence

Mbeki said measures to stop the violence should include removing troops from townships, a code of conduct for security forces, a ban on carrying dangerous weapons in public and the closing of men-only hostels — Sapa-Reuter

Africa seeks solutions for ills in economic community

Star 6/6/91 (230)

LAGOS — Africa, feeling marginalised in a world dominated by powerful economic blocs, this week began a long and difficult journey towards a common market in the world's poorest continent.

African leaders signed a treaty on Monday establishing an African Economic Community at the start of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit in Nigeria's future capital Abuja.

The treaty laid down a framework for a common market within the next 34 years and is seen as crucial to efforts to reverse the decline of African economies in an unfavourable international economic environment.

The community aims to mobilise and co-ordinate largely untapped human and material resources to strengthen the continent's bargaining position in the world.

"To arrest nose-diving economic growth and terms of trade, and rising poverty, we have to act together. on external debts and other depressing economic matters which we have faced...as individual countries all these years with diminishing success," Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said at the signing ceremony

Crippled by low productivity, mass poverty and an estimated $270 billion debt, Africa must solve grave economic problems from the inside and unite to press for changes in the world economic order, African leaders said in Abuja.

Africans fear that as Europe and other Western blocs become more protectionist or divert resources to Eastern Europe, their continent will become even more marginalised.

Measures by industrialised nations to reward Poland for leading changes in Eastern Europe, and Egypt with huge debt write-offs for supporting allied forces in the Gulf War have driven home stark realities to African nations.

"It's not enough to be poor to get aid, you must also be politically relevant," said a delegate at the OAU meeting

With the Soviet Union, former benefactor of some African nations, now clamouring to join the queue for Western aid, African nations fear they will be pushed to the back.

Barber Conable, president of the World Bank, told the summit on Tuesday "If governance is not seen to improve in Africa, if development is not seen to be taking hold, then 'Afro-pessimism' may indeed set in and Africa's great needs may be set aside"

Plagued by numerous regional conflicts, Africa also needs political stability to pursue its economic goals

"We must link strategies and processes of economic development with those of conflict resolution and pursue them in tandem," OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim said in Abuja.

Business analysts say that, although an African Economic Community looks good on paper, failed attempts to harness Africa's resources within regions show that wider integration may be difficult.

African countries mainly export primary products and import processed and manufactured goods, and face difficulties shifting trade from industrialised nations, mostly former colonial rulers.

The OAU's new chairman, Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, said well planned development strategies adopted by African leaders in the past had been poorly implemented.

Building an African community is probably the most challenging task African leaders have given themselves since independence three decades ago.

"It will involve the setting up of complex structures, moving from sub-regional economic integration groupings and harmonising their work," UN Secretary General Perez de Cueller told the OAU summit.

To share the OAU's headquarters, the community will need substantial funds for its work, not always easy to squeeze out of cash-strapped African states.

Mr Salim told OAU member-states on Tuesday that only 25 percent of their total contributions to the secretariat's 1990-91 budget, which ended last week, had been paid, with $52,3 million still owing — Sapa-Reuter

"Participation bond rate better than average."

Long haggle to pick best candidate

Star 6/6/91 (230)

ABUJA (Nigeria) — The OAU summit's closing ceremony did not take place as planned last night because African leaders could not agree on an African candidate for the secretary-generalship of the United Nations.

The ceremony will now take place this morning as leaders spent until late last night arguing about the best candidate.

Javier Perez de Cuellar's term ends at the end of this year and African leaders are determined to have an African succeed him.

Addressing the OAU summit this week Mr de Cuellar threw his weight behind an African candidate. He said it was about time the continent was given a chance to occupy the post.

By last night four candidates remained. They are the former Nigerian military leader-turned-statesman, General Olusegun Obasanjo; Zimbabwean Finance Minister, Bernard Chidzero, James Jonah, a Sierra Leonean, who is a UN Under Secretary-General, and Ghana's Kenneth Dadzie, head of the UN Conference on Trade and Development.

Clause on sanctions 'smuggled' into draft

Star 6/6/91 (230)

ABUJA (Nigeria) — A sentence "smuggled" at the last moment into a resolution on South Africa at the OAU summit yesterday has taken the country closer to international acceptance

The Abuja Declaration on South Africa was adopted by African heads of states yesterday, the last day of the summit

The key sentence which was mysteriously inserted into the declaration reads "Should the South African Government adopt measures which lead to positive, profound and irreversible change towards the abolition of apartheid, we commit ourselves to review the question of sanctions with a view to readmitting South Africa into the international community"

This sentence was absent in the draft declaration agreed to by the ANC, PAC and Foreign Ministers of the Frontline states on Tuesday, of which The Star's Africa Service has a copy

Tuesday's draft resolution gave the OAU chairman a freer hand to review developments

Reports by Barney Mthombothi Star Africa Service

within South Africa and make recommendations, a marked departure from the original sanctions package which has always required that a democratic government be installed first before they could be lifted

The inclusion of the new sentence yesterday has further weakened the package and it now seems possible for the Government to satisfy the conditions before the end of this year

The draft declaration on Tuesday brought to an end wranglings which had gone on throughout the summit between the ANC and PAC on how to handle sanctions The ANC had circulated a plan on how to lift sanctions progressively which the PAC bitterly opposed

But yesterday's developments triggered accusations of bad faith The PAC reacted angrily to the amendment last night and vowed to fight it

PAC spokesman Ahmed Gora Ebrahim said the sentence came to his delegation's attention for the first time when President Kaunda of Zambia read the document for adoption by the summit yesterday

He said the sentence was "smuggled" into the resolution without them being consulted PAC sources have blamed the ANC and President Kaunda, and possibly Nigeria, for the addition

Nigerian president Babangida, the new OAU chairman is known to take a softer line towards South Africa

A few months ago he was reported as saying his country would be the first to lift sanctions should all pillars of apartheid be removed The statement was later "clarified" after a hostile reaction

In an interview with The Star's Africa Service, Mr Ebrahim said the PAC was surprised that a paragraph was "smuggled" into the declaration without consultation "This paragraph was never discussed by the Frontline states' drafting committee

"We were given this document minutes before it was read out by President Kaunda for adoption in the summit He said on inquiry they found that most of the Frontline states had also not been consulted"

ANC spokesmen were not available for comment at the time of going to press

The Argus,

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ARGUS 6/6/91

Softer line in OAU sanctions resolution

From BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI
Argus Africa News Service

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Nigerian President Babangida, the new OAU chairman, is known to take a softer line towards South Africa

UN top job: Hunt for African candidate goes on

Argus Africa News Service

ABUJA (Nigeria) — African leaders at the Organisation of African Unity summit here could not agree on an African candidate for secretary-general of the United Nations, delaying the closing ceremony planned for last night

Leaders spent the afternoon and last night arguing about which candidate to recommend for the job The closing ceremony will now take place today — but many leaders have already left for home

UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar's term ends this year and African leaders are determined to have an African succeed him

Addressing the OAU summit this week Dr De Cuellar threw his weight behind an African candidate He said it was about time the continent was given a chance to occupy the post

By last night the candidates had been whittled down to four They are the former Nigerian military leader-turned-international statesman General Olusegun Obasanjo, Zimbabwean finance minister Mr Bernard Chidzero, Mr James Jonah of Sierra Leone, who is a UN under-secretary-general, and Ghana's Dr Kenneth Dadzie, head of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad)

The Nigerian government, which has just assumed the OAU chairmanship, is determined to have its former head of state, General Olusegun Obasanjo, elected But others caution that his military background and the fact that he came to power in a military coup is unsuitable for the job

Other African countries feel that Nigerians are getting all the top jobs allocated to Africa in international agencies and that it is about time they were given a chance

Africa prepares to welcome SA back

WMail 7/6-13/6/91 (230)

The doors back to Africa could be opened within weeks if Pretoria acts swiftly to meet conditions set by the Organisation of African Unity this week.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

SOUTH Africa could be welcomed back into the African fold by the end of this month — if the government acts swiftly to release political prisoners and indemnify exiles and if a planned conference on violence is held, leading to binding agreements on all parties.

The Abuja declaration of the Organization of African Unity this week brought South Africa a major step closer towards ending its decades-long isolation from the continent.

The declaration issued on Wednesday night, far from reiterating a hard-line stance, opened the way for a review of sanctions once Pretoria abolishes the "pillars of apartheid" legislation, meets the terms of the Harare Declaration and the Pretoria and Groote Schuur minutes and once there is a peace agreement by all parties to end the violence in the townships.

A committee comprising the frontline states, the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and Nigeria's President Babangida, chairman of the OAU, will meet at the end of the month to review progress on these issues.

Yusuf Saloojee, of the ANC's Department of International Affairs, says the ball is now firmly in the government's court. "It will have to move forward for the sanctions to be lifted."

The first sanctions to go officially could include air links and the sports, cultural and academic boycotts. Africa would then become South Africa's gateway back into the international community.

The Abuja declaration was drafted as a compromise between the ANC — which argued for flexibly tying specific concessions by the government to the lifting of sanctions — and the PAC — which wanted all sanctions in place until there is a democratic government in South Africa.

Church leaders and businessmen were locked in discussions this week over a second multi-party conference on violence which is likely to be held before the end of the month

The township violence is a new obstacle to constitutional negotiations, and agreement on this issue could emerge as the crucial factor opening the way to negotiations and the first phased lifting of sanctions

For that, both the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party will have to be prepared to attend a peace conference convened by neutral parties — the church and the private sector — a demand made by the ANC when it rejected the government's own violence conference last month.

With the Land Acts and Group Areas Act off the statute books, only the Population Registration Act is left to fall in the next few days before the government meets the international demand for the elimination of apartheid laws.

Through the working groups set up by the Pretoria Minute, the government and the ANC still need to resolve the cases of remaining political prisoners, many of whom are on hunger strike, and returning exiles.

Underlining the fact that links with Africa will continue irrespective of the official OAU stance, President FW de Klerk flies off to Kenya this weekend with the ministers of commerce and energy in tow — an indication that the meeting will be far from a handshaking photo-session.

Trade with Africa is rising dramatically. It was up 27 percent between 1988 and 1989 and a further 16 percent last year. South Africa's trade with the rest of the continent in 1990 was worth R10-billion.

According to the Department of Foreign Affairs, the only African states that South Africa did not trade with last year were the tiny nations of Djibouti and Equatorial Guinea.

And even states which strongly supported the OAU declaration were simultaneously opening doors to South Africa. Zambia, for instance, this week invited South African businessmen to participate in a trade fair.

Zimbabwe, regarded as one of the hawkish states, last week asked South Africa to renew a preferential trade agreement between the two countries.

The frontline states have long claimed that for the sake of their own survival they are condemned to trade with South Africa, but now other African states are starting to use the same argument.

"Africa is in dire straits. There is a growing recognition that something drastic needs to be done and that South Africa — as the major economic power in the southern part of the continent — can play a major role," says Rusty Evans, deputy director general of the Africa branch of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

He believes that "tremendous progress" was made in Abuja in terms of preparing for a dialogue between South Africa and the OAU.

Pro-sanctions Harare seeks new SA trade pact

B/Day 7/6/91

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — There was an embarrassed silence yesterday from Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe's government over SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha's claim that it is asking for "most favoured nation" status in a renewed trade pact with Pretoria

Botha said in a BBC interview monitored here yesterday that on the same day Mugabe put his militant resolution on sanctions before the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit in Abuja, Zimbabwe approached Pretoria to renegotiate the 1964 trade agreement inherited from Ian Smith's Rhodesian government

Confirming that the approach was made by the Zimbabwean Industry and Commerce Ministry on May 30, business sources in Harare said Zimbabwean industrialists were anxious to see the 1964 agreement updated

Some tariff rebated scales had been rendered unrealistic by inflation, and new commodities needed to be included

Trade between Zimbabwe and SA last year topped R1bn with SA remaining by far the most profitable market for Zimbabwean exports, although Britain and Germany edged it into third place as a source of imports

SA recently streamlined visa procedures for Zimbabwean businessmen in a goodwill gesture towards Zimbabwe's economic liberalisation drive Nevertheless black-market "shoppers" yesterday maintained the customary 200m queue for visas on the pavement outside the SA trade mission in Harare

Observers here are dismayed that Mugabe chose to take the lead at Abuja in putting pressure on countries such as Madagascar, Kenya and Zambia, which are on the point of opening SA missions, when Zimbabwe itself has a long established and obviously thriving SA presence

Export

Written requests for comment on Botha's remarks were made to Mugabe's office, to the Zimbabwean Foreign Affairs Ministry, and to the Industry and Commerce Ministry There was no response

The 1964 trade agreement, repromulgated word for word in a Zimbabwean government notice in 1982, specifically uses the term "most favoured nation" in referring to tariff rates the two countries will apply to a schedule of each other's exports

Zimbabwean textiles are a particularly important export directed at the SA market.

Mugabe's militant resolution on continued isolation of SA was, in the event, toned down by his Nigerian hosts

(230)

OAU to fight for peace in SA

Star 7/6/91

Star Africa Service

ABUJA (Nigeria) — President Ibrahim Babangida has promised to use his term of office as OAU chairman to vigorously pursue the achievement of a peaceful settlement in South Africa.

In his closing remarks at the OAU summit in Abuja, President Babangida also called for the end to the violence in the country, which he said was threatening future negotiations.

The summit had decided that sanctions against South Africa should stay, he said. However, the OAU had also given him a mandate to review the situation depending on movement on key issues by the South African Government.

"Africa is now engaged in the final onslaught against apartheid," he said

The Abuja Declaration on South Africa adopted by the summit has given President Babangida more power than any of his predecessors had to influence the situation.

He does not have to wait for a decision from another summit to act on sanctions — he simply has to act in consultation with the Frontline states and the liberation movements if he feels the situation needs to be reviewed.

BLEEDING: Zaire President Mobutu Seseko confronts a battered Zairean security man who was involved in a brawl with Nigerian guards when he tried to enter the OAU conference hall without identity

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ARGUS 7/6/91

Bloody brawl as OAU heads arrive

From BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI
Argus Africa News Service

ABUJA (Nigeria) — A Zairean security agent was injured during a noisy brawl with his Nigerian counterparts minutes before heads of states arrived for the closing ceremony of the Organisation of African Unity summit here

The man, who carried a gun, apparently tried to enter the hall without identification Nigerian security agents stopped him and an altercation and brawl ensued, during which the man was gashed on the forehead

He continued arguing noisily with the Nigerians while blood streamed down his face

Then Zaire's President Mobutu Seseko arrived with his entourage and the injured man was taken to a clinic next door

Nigerian Minister of the Information Chief Alex Akinyele said the man had hit his head against the wall

He said the security of all the heads of state was Nigeria's responsibility and no one could enter the hall without identification

The man was later seen leaving the clinic with cotton wool on his forehead He appeared to be drunk

The ceremony began an hour later than scheduled

FW's Kenya visit 'will have spinoff'

230 CT 8/6/91

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W De Klerk's high-profile visit to Kenya which starts today is likely to spur a number of African states to consider closer economic and diplomatic links with South Africa

The deputy director general of Foreign Affairs and head of the Africa section, Mr Rusty Evans, said on the eve of the two-day trip that the decision by one of Pretoria's most implacable OAU foes to roll out the red carpet for the high-powered South Africa delegation was likely to have a powerful demonstration effect for other countries on the continent

"Kenya is a power plug Its decision to take the initiative like this is likely to influence attitudes in other African countries, both big and small," he said

Mr Evans said the trip was particularly noteworthy given President Daniel Arap Moi's rigorous enforcement of anti-South African resolutions in the past

In Kenya, the visit has this week been accorded splash treatment by Kenya's major newspapers, with both The Standard and Nation announcing the visit with front-page banner headlines

During his visit to Kenya in October last year, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela urged Nairobi to hold firm on sanctions but regular SAA flights were instituted later in the year following the personal intervention of Mr Pik Botha

FW in Africa

Cabinet ministers accompanying Mr De Klerk are the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr Org Marais, the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr George Bartlett, and the Minister of Agriculture, Dr Kraai van Niekerk

Mr Evans said the trip was also being arranged with a view "to getting President F W de Klerk into Africa — getting involved with the African people themselves"

The Kenya visit takes place at a time when Mr Pik Botha believes a number of key players in the OAU are undergoing a major rethink in their relations with Pretoria

The African "heavyweights" he believes are anxious to review their relations with Pretoria include Kenya, Nigeria, Egypt, Zaire, Angola, Madagascar, Senegal, the Ivory Coast "and others"

Apart from holding talks with senior politicians and business leaders while in Kenya, the South African party's schedule will include a visit to a Dutch Reformed Church and a trip to Mount Kilamanjaro

Mr De Klerk, who returns to South Africa tomorrow night, will visit Swaziland on Monday

SA URGED TO HEED AFRICA'S PROBLEMS

OAU paves the way

230

ARGUS 8/6/91

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

NEW opportunities — including a prospect of further diplomatic breakthroughs — are being opened for South Africa in the continent of Africa.

This is how some Africa specialists see the outcome of this week's important Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit in Abuja, Nigeria, where a softer line towards South Africa was adopted on the sanctions issue.

The move by African leaders, together with President De Klerk's trip to Kenya this weekend with a high-powered delegation including four Cabinet ministers, are interpreted as significant steps forward for South Africa in its Africa diplomacy.

However, a note of caution on South Africa's approach to the OAU has come from Professor Peter Vale, head of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape.

He says there is a need for more sensitivity to the problems of Africa at a time when the continent is "in a state of trauma"

The South African government, instead of proclaiming a victory and "crowing" about it as Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his people had been doing, should be showing a deeper sensitivity to Africa's trauma

"I don't think we are helping towards solving Africa's problems. We should be equally traumatised and should be entering into the debate on the future of the OAU and of Africa," Professor Vale told Weekend Argus

Part of the continent's trauma is that it faces an uncertain future and the OAU itself can fracture and split completely

Professor Vale believes the end of apartheid terminates "one of the lives of the OAU" A new challenge, in which South Africa can play an important role from within the OAU, will be to redirect the continent's course into the next century

For most South Africans, however, the final reconciliation with the continent is likely to be "a powerful but painful experience".

One of the problems for South Africa is Africa's expectations of this country. Possibly the most serious one, according to Professor Vale, is that South Africa is in a position to offer some form of immediate relief at a time when the continent faces a shrinkage in international aid.

But South Africa's assets are limited, as its own Budget had shown. Forty years of ideologically driven policies have "all but wasted South Africa's own margins"

In a recent article published in Idasa's journal *Democracy in Action*, Professor Vale envisaged a possible early admission of South Africa to membership of the OAU.

He wrote then "It is easy to predict the banner headlines the day that South Africa finally joins the Organisation for African Unity. It is also easy to foresee that, all things being equal, the day is not far off"

Dr Erich Leistner, director of the Pretoria-based Africa Institute, told Weekend Argus this week the stand taken by the OAU on the sanctions issue was "very encouraging"

It was significant that despite apparent pressures from South Africa's ANC and PAC, the OAU leadership added to their final communique a distinctly softer line in its statement on sanctions It committed itself to reviewing the sanctions issue in the event of South African government measures for "positive, profound and irreversible change towards the abolition of apartheid".

Even more significant was a reference in the OAU statement to reviewing sanctions "with a view to readmitting South Africa to the international community".

Dr Leistner said there were signs that African states were beginning to see South Africa's reforms as being "irreversible", which could augur well for an early end to sanctions

It was important that there were signs of closer relations and co-operation between South Africa and Nigeria — two of the strongest regional powers in Africa

Nigeria was a dynamic country and was in a strong position to influence other African states, especially in its region This could open more doors for South Africa

Once sanctions were lifted, further diplomatic breakthroughs for South Africa in the continent of Africa could be expected

However, Dr Leistner says he is "a little sceptical" about the extent of such breakthroughs in the light of the fact that the World Bank and "almost everybody else" had virtually written off the continent

"South Africa, with its own enormous needs, is hardly in a position to save the continent of Africa"

He believes South Africa should rather concentrate its efforts on southern Africa.

Some observers at the OAU summit interpreted this week's events as "the handing of an olive branch to South Africa on sanctions"

Reuter reports that the summit's communique, saying there had been some positive developments in South Africa, was the 51-member OAU's "most open gesture to the reformist government of President De Klerk"

The South African parliament voted this week to repeal two key laws — the Group Areas and Land Acts — which were among the last pillars of the apartheid policy and racial segregation

tlers in Kenya

Pieter de Wet, a Du
Church missionary who
last Afrikaans-languag
doret in 1967, flew to Ken
president.

Said Mr De Wet: "The
doret were a very plo
whole."

The Kenyan Afrikar
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this week

Mandela and Bop-TV top the pops at OAU summit

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT

by DAWN BARKHUIZEN
in Abuja, Nigeria

S/Times 9/6/91

IT WAS not only sanctions that put South Africa in the limelight at the 27th OAU summit this week — Nelson Mandela and Bop TV were also there

Delegates from the 51 nations and international pressmen developed a total fixation with the ANC deputy president, sometimes ignoring heads of state to follow doggedly in his footsteps.

He so mesmerised the short-circuit TV cameramen filming heads of state arriving at the opening ceremony that for a full five minutes delegates inside the grand summit hall were treated to a lingering close-up of Mr Mandela's face

Not even the people's hot favourite, Ghana's Jerry Rawlings, in jackboots and military fatigues, or Yasser Arafat, who did not move without a posse of bodyguards, were able to steal the limelight On his departure from the Hilton Hotel, Mr Mandela received the same treatment as other heads of state — the band stationed permanently at the front door rose to play the national anthem

While Mr Mandela was the name on everyone's lips, there seemed to be little interest in the whereabouts of his wife, who was in Paris

Next to Mr Mandela the other biggest interest in SA was Bop-TV. The TV service is broadcast throughout Africa by satellite and more than one African ambassador, when introduced to me, observed. "Ah, yes, Bop-TV" Indeed, all delegates spent much of their leisure time in their hotel rooms — watching Bop-TV

Not everybody at the OAU conference was given the Mandela treatment. Delegates and even ambassadors from the 51 nations were turfed out of hotel rooms to make way for the record number of heads of state who turned out to sign the Africa Economic Community Charter

EVICTED

Police were called in to physically evict occupants refusing to budge from their rooms to make way for angry VIPs and foreign journalists who spent the first night in the lobbies of Abuja's three hotels In one case, four European newsmen shared a bed when a heavy bribe failed to secure accommodation

The accreditation procedure for the congress was even more chaotic and was marked by fist fights, stampedes and long, unmoving queues Police were again called in to eject desperate delegates bent on forcing their way into a jam-packed accreditation hall.

There were also scuffles between police and bodyguards who barged through entrances reserved for heads of state. No doubt one of Mr Arafat's strong-arm men still has a lump on his head after being bashed with a security guard's metal detector

But despite the chaos, it would be unfair to say that the Nigerian government did not go all out to make the conference a grand affair. Fleets of brand-new stretch limousines, complete with cavalcades of BMW motorbikes, constantly buzzed heads of state through the city, while other transport also ran like clockwork — even when there were minor delays Officials were so genuinely pleasant that it was impossible to lose one's cool

But, at the end of the day, the issues supposedly central to this summit — Africa's starving millions, the R720-billion debt and the seven million refugees were somehow lost in the cloud of splendour.

Chamber, which was
stituted in April
Mr Delbore

GALLONGOS OPEN AFRICA

S/Times 9/6/91

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN
in ABUJA, NIGERIA
and MIKE ROBERTSON
in NAIROBI, KENYA

(230)

THE 51-nation Organisation of African Unity is poised to drop sport, cultural, air-link and tourism sanctions against South Africa.

Visible steps to end violence and the scrapping of apartheid legislation could see this happen soon after June 30, according to ANC international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki

While African leaders voted this week to maintain all sanctions, behind closed doors they gave the green light for some sanctions to be lifted once the South African government complies with certain conditions, sources said The thaw in attitudes to South Africa coincided with President FW de Klerk's arrival in Kenya to a warm welcome from President Daniel arap Moi and his entire cabinet

The historic Kenyan visit is one of the most important steps yet towards South Africa's re-acceptance on the continent

The new mood of reconciliation was apparent at the OAU conference in Abuja, Nigeria, this week

Conditions set by the organisation for the lifting of "first phase" cultural, sporting and tourism sanctions against South Africa include.

- The release of political prisoners,
- The ending of political trials;
- The indemnification of exiles,
- The repeal of repressive security legislation

None of these conditions are regarded as insurmountable

Timing

The OAU position is in line with the stand taken by the ANC at the OAU summit

A similar package aimed at lifting sanctions in a phased way — beginning with culture and sport and ending with the arms embargo — is expected to be put forward by Australia, Canada and India at the Commonwealth meeting in Harare in September

The dispute over sanctions at the OAU summit revolved around timing, Mr Mbeki disclosed in an interview

"Basically it was a matter of when the OAU should make any announcement that it might want to make — should it be now or should they wait four weeks?"

There was also strong opposition from the PAC, which was adamant that all sanctions should remain until a democratic constitution was in place Supporting its stand was President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe

Backing the ANC were frontline countries feeling the side-effects of the economic squeeze on South Africa — Zambia, Swaziland, Lesotho and Mozambique Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida indicated his readiness to meet President De Klerk "if it would help the situation"

PAC international affairs chief Gora Ibrahim accused Mr Mbeki of trying to "smuggle through a

□ To Page 2

□ From Page 1

sanctions-lifting package" without a mandate from the ANC

Mr Mbeki, however, said that while the ANC had voted to maintain sanctions last December, a decision had been taken to prepare for the eventuality of substantial change and to canvass the international community on its attitude to lifting sport, cultural and trade sanctions.

He said "Nobody is suggesting that all sanctions must be lifted, but we need to handle the matter recognising any action and concrete change that might take place.

"As of now, insufficient change has taken place to merit any alteration, but there will be change in future.

Response

"Sanctions have been an important weapon throughout the process and there must be response to change We do not want to be left with an empty shell"

The final decision is a major departure from the OAU's blanket ban on ties with South Africa

The OAU voted to maintain sanctions, but left the door wide open for a change in stance by pledging to review sanctions when the government adopted measures that would "lead to positive, profound and irreversible change towards the abolition of apartheid"

In Nairobi yesterday, meanwhile, the South African flag flew for the first time in decades as President De Klerk and his entourage were accorded a red-carpet welcome at Nairobi's Jomo Kenyatta airport.

Buoyant

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett, Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk and Trade and Industry Minister Org Marais are accompanying the president on the two-day visit.

South African Foreign Affairs officials were in a buoyant mood after the three-hour meeting between Mr De Klerk and the Kenyan leader One predicted that within months of the scrapping of the last apartheid laws, South Africa would have an office in Nairobi.

Another described the meeting as an "absolute success" and said the Kenyan president was "a partner with a full appreciation of what is happening in South Africa"

At a press conference after the meeting, President De Klerk said South Africa could no longer be considered isolated in Africa He hoped that the recent OAU meeting was the last at which South Africa would not be present.

Way to Africa is open

CT 10/4/91 (230)

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

NAIROBI. — Economic sanctions by all the powerful nations of Africa will effectively be a dead letter by the end of this month, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha predicted last night.

Mr Botha was speaking on the implications of the path-breaking visit by President F W de Klerk to Kenya, which he said would lead to a more than tenfold increase in the current R25 million in annual exports from South Africa to the economic powerhouse of East Africa

Visits to Nigeria and Egypt are now imminent as South Africa aggressively markets its "Africa first" development model to save the continent from continuing economic decline

The notion is based on a proposal whereby regional powers like South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria and Egypt could serve as the engines for integrated regional development while increasing co-operation within the continent as a whole

'Breakthrough'

In a clear reference to the burgeoning new outreach programme, President De Klerk said while standing on the equator at the foot of Mount Kenya yesterday "The equator is no longer the dividing line in Africa for South Africa"

And Mr Botha told the Cape Times on the the aircraft returning the presidential entourage to South Africa last night that the "breakthrough" achieved in Kenya would pave the way for a blossoming of trade and other relations across the continent

"I say that sanctions in Africa are gone as far as the important countries are concerned — they will not hurt us any more"

The relaxation of the OAU stand on sanctions against South Africa at its Obuja summit comes amid growing signs that the frontline states will soften their stand on South Africa even if Zimbabwe continues with its hardline pro-sanctions rhetoric

Senior members of the South African delegation to Nairobi said their Kenyan counterparts were shocked at

the nature of the preferential trade status enjoyed by Zimbabwe which has for years been in the forefront of calls for continued sanctions against Pretoria

The change in attitude by Kenya towards South Africa following the talks was characterised by one member of government as being "like a dam wall bursting — all the old arguments have become insignificant"

Another said "Africa is opening What remains is Nigeria and Egypt"

Mr Botha said last night that Kenya and other African countries would no longer judge the South African government by the colour of its skin but on its economic policies — "and here we are way ahead of the ANC"

Except Libya

He said the explosion of interest in Africa in strengthening contacts with South Africa meant that the foreign affairs staff might have to be increased and its training adapted to make it more "Africa-oriented"

South Africa was now trading directly or indirectly with every African country except Libya, he noted

In the past a number of African countries had been loath to trade openly with South Africa because they believed this would amount "to trading with an apartheid regime which was oppressing its brothers

"That is now falling away," he said

"Perhaps foreign affairs will become the first government department to introduce safari suits as official dress," he quipped

FW INVITES ARAB MOI TO VISIT

See PAGE 3

The OAU faces a dilemma on sanctions, writes **Barney Mthombothi** from Lagos

SA – Africa's new hot potato

. Star 11/6/91.

230

NIGERIAN president Ibrahim Babangida, in his concluding remarks at the Organisation of African Unity summit last week, used phrases like unique, historic, epoch-making, the beginning of a new reawakening

"We charted a new direction for Africa," added the new OAU chairman

Stirring words indeed A shade exaggerated perhaps, but for South Africa, the OAU summit held in Abuja, some 800 km north of Lagos, could indeed turn out to be a watershed

The decision taken at the summit on South Africa has, for the first time, opened the prospect of direct dialogue between the OAU and Pretoria

The OAU has, since its birth, wrestled with the South African problem It has not made much headway but what it says on the situation has carried some respect around the world

It has been said, with some justification, that SA's road to international acceptability goes through Africa

At OAU summits, South Africa was a unifying issue All the member countries agreed it had to be isolated

This is no longer the case

Lurking in the background at this year's summit was the image of more and more African countries making their way to Pretoria in defiance of OAU decisions Pik Botha's diary these days is very crowded

The secretary-general of the OAU, Salim Ahmed Salim, complained bitterly that this kind of behaviour by the organisation's member states was an embarrassment and the OAU's voice on South Africa was losing its credibility as a result

Nelson Mandela made the same point, warning against what he called a "headlong rush" to do deals with Pretoria

But none of these countries spoke out in public in defence of their actions The watchword seems to be sit tightly on the fence and keep your mouth shut

Only Madagascar stood up to face its critics, albeit behind closed doors It earned a lot of scorn — and some respect, too — for its courage

President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya made a long speech to the conference, and then went home to entertain Mr de Klerk, who was visiting Nairobi

Ready to move Ibrahim Babangida

Two days before Mr Moi's speech, in which he uttered nary a word on SA, his foreign minister had gone along with a tough resolution calling for sanctions, including the arms struggle, against South Africa

The differences of opinion were also reflected at the top Outgoing chairman Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, brushed aside changes in South Africa as irrelevant The issue, he said, was the vote, power Everything else was peripheral

He was immediately followed to the podium by General Babangida, who said Mr de Klerk was a man of courage

For Africa, South Africa is no longer a safe subject It has become, like so many other issues on the continent, a hot potato

The foreign ministers' tough resolution on South Africa, for instance, was not part of its general resolutions It was treated separately and its contents were never made public

But there are no secrets at such gatherings People talk, and they leak information And throughout all this, when the foreign ministers were marshalling the old clichés, there were whispers in the corridors of the existence of an unsigned document by the ANC calling for a progressive lifting of sanctions

The document didn't win any converts but it was used quite effectively as a bargaining chip at a meeting of Frontline foreign ministers to significantly water down the sanctions position on South Africa Whereas the Harare Declaration, which has also been endorsed by the UN, said a democratic government had to be in place before sanctions could be lifted, the Abuja Declaration gave the OAU chairman a free hand to review the situation, taking into account developments within South Africa

Ironically, it was President Museveni who complained that the OAU chairmanship was a toothless position The chairman had no power to decisively influence events on the continent, he said

The Abuja Declaration has given General Babangida the power to act And he seems determined to use it

Those who know him say he won't hesitate to come to South Africa if that would help

General Babangida is also keen to send a team of foreign ministers to South Africa to assess the situation One thing he kept repeating was that the township violence would have to stop — and he didn't even seek to blame it on the SA security forces

If the OAU drastically changes course on sanctions it is likely to be accused of betraying its stand against apartheid But failure to move could lead to more African countries doing deals with Pretoria regardless of what the OAU says That would heap more embarrassment on the organisation It could also cut the OAU out of the equation at a time when it is keen to be seen to be involved in conflict resolution

The desertion of the anti-sanctions fold by some African countries can be traced to several reasons

President de Klerk seems to have convinced some of these countries that he means business

Another reason is simply that the world has moved since 1989 Eastern Europe is free and is looking for friends and markets It's a question of getting to South Africa before the Eastern Europeans

Also, some African countries are of the view that it is about time black people in South Africa got their act together There is a feeling that black Africa has stood by them through difficult times and now, when there is a ray of hope, black people start a quarrel among themselves

The next stop for the sanctions debate is Harare in October at the Commonwealth summit But things could happen before then The OAU chairman could convene the ad-hoc committee of the organisation if the situation warrants it This is a 14-nation standing committee of the OAU which meets between summits and has the power to make decisions on behalf of the OAU

Nigeria, Algeria and the Frontline states are members of the committee — Star Africa Service □

SA checks reports of Zairean envoy

TIM COHEN (230)

THE Foreign Affairs Department said yesterday it was "making inquiries" about a report that Zaire was establishing diplomatic relations with SA and had appointed an army general as ambassador

A spokesman said the department had not been contacted officially and inquiries were being made

Sapa-AP reported yesterday from Kinshasa that although no official announcement had been made, diplomats had identified the new ambassador as a Gen Bolozi

Foreign Affairs has had an office in Kinshasa for about a year It has no diplomatic standing Zaire is not represented in SA

If links are established at ambassadorial level, it will be only the second African country in which SA has an ambassador

Foreign Affairs officials feel it is more likely that a trade mission will be established first SA has offices in 17 other countries in Africa B/Day 13/6/91

Zaire has long traded openly with SA despite an OAU ban and President Mobutu Sese Seko was the first African leader to receive President F W de Klerk

At the OAU summit this month moderates called for economic sanctions to be lifted They were outvoted by a majority who said sanctions should be retained, but the door should be left open to ease them if De Klerk continued with reforms

Moderates, including Kenya and Madagascar, said they planned to trade openly and build diplomatic ties and air links

Our destiny lies in Africa

14/6/91 ARGUS (230)

COMMENTARY BY
TOS WENTZEL

PRESIDENT De Klerk's message to Africa has been straightforward: The countries of what is fast becoming a forgotten continent must stand together and co-operate more closely in order to survive.

On his visits to Kenya and Swaziland he spoke against the background of the emergence of a unified European Community next year and recent changes in eastern and central Europe.

He put it beforehand in a message to 35 Organisation of African Unity heads of state, speaking of "dramatic changes in the international environment, of shifts in economic patterns and in power balances which provide both challenges and opportunities for our continent."

In that message he also said numerous African leaders had acknowledged to him that they accepted the irreversibility of the process of change in this country, and that they looked forward to South Africa playing a meaningful role in African affairs.

It was in that message that Mr De Klerk also said: "it is primarily in Africa that our destiny lies."

Some may describe this as a political cliche, but it is a fact that the attention of South Africa's rulers were for so long fixed on Europe that ties with Africa, even when this was still possible, were neglected.

The few ties we had — South Africa still had diplomatic ties with Egypt, for instance, up to the 60s — were destroyed by apartheid.

It is only recently that it has dawned on the government that South Africa's way to re-acceptance into the international world might go through Africa.

Now Mr De Klerk has told the African leaders:

"We share Africa's dream, its aspirations and its disappointments. We believe we have a contribution to make, with special reference to our own Southern African region, in the search for peaceful solutions to conflicts, towards economic and technological development and co-operation in a multitude of fields affecting our progress.

"We believe the time has arrived for Africa to note the developments that have occurred in South Africa, and to respond in a way calculated to encourage the transition to a new South Africa and to promote co-operation between us."

What has been called South Africa's "Africa first" development model is based on the concept of economic regions in the continent in which countries like South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria and Egypt can play a leading role. The emphasis is also on increased co-operation within the continent.

According to Mr Pik Botha, economic sanctions against South Africa in Africa will be a dead letter by the end of the month. All the major apartheid measures will then have been scrapped

Although Nigeria reacted cautiously to the suggestion, it seems that Mr De Klerk may go there on a visit in the near future. Egypt is another country he may go to.

South African envoys have been very active recently on trips throughout Africa. A training programme for black diplomats is being started.

One African country, Zaire, appears so keen to have diplomatic relations with South Africa that it announced the name of its ambassador without it having been cleared with Foreign Affairs.

In Kenya Mr De Klerk made bold to say that he hoped the recent OAU meeting was the last one to be held without South Africa.

WHILE NOT exactly complacent about the polarisation in politics, Mr De Klerk again showed that he was a wily politician when he dealt with the matter in Parliament this week.

He said the polarisation was not always as serious as it might appear in the future.

It was necessary to distinguish between propaganda, posturing and political positioning on the one hand, and fundamental polarisation on the other.

He was positive in his approach to the ANC, saying that the government was not interested in disorganising it, but that it rather wanted the organisation to get its house in order and to become a well-organised political party.

OAU fiddles as Africa is falling apart

(230)

Star 15/6/91

THE 27th OAU summit has just ended in Abuja, Nigeria. Questions are being asked whether an organisation that cannot attend to the problems of the continent has any right to exist. BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI reports.

A BOOKLET distributed by the Nigerian government with details of African countries and their leaders at the OAU summit had King Moshoeshoe II as Lesotho's head of state.

Perhaps Lesotho is a long way from Abuja, but that minor error neatly illustrates how pre-occupied many African leaders are with the instability of their regimes

Governments are toppling like nine-pins as coups and calls for multi-party democracy sweep the continent

Two governments — Ethiopia and Algeria — fell as their leaders wined and dined in Abuja And in Lesotho there was an attempted coup

The OAU has decided that next year's summit will be held in Togo, West Africa But few people expect President Gnassingbe Eyadema to be around in a year's time. He went home to find his capital, Lome, paralysed by anti-government strikes

Two months ago his army killed more than three dozen political activists and dumped their bodies in a lake

Journalists in Abuja for the summit spent their spare time speculating on who will still be in power by the time next year's summit comes around

President Kaunda wasn't given much of a chance He faces a confident Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) in elections in October

Paul Biya of Cameroon could be another casualty He left his country in turmoil to attend the summit Many people were surprised to see him

Omar Bongo, president of neighbouring Gabon, survived serious unrest last year But his position is still far from secure Last weekend he returned from Abuja to sack his entire Cabinet in an attempt to knit together some form of coalition government

President Abdou Kiouf of Senegal didn't attend and no one could blame him It is understood his interest to succeed Dr Perez De Cuellar as UN Secretary-General is largely propelled by a desire to escape his problems at home

Coup

General Omar Hassan El-Bashir has survived coup attempts almost every two months since he overthrew the civilian government in Sudan in 1989 His luck can't last forever

The Maghreb countries are convulsed by Islamic fundamentalism which is close to taking over power in Algeria, and is threatening the regimes in Tunisia, Morocco and Egypt

But what worried most African leaders as they headed for home after a week of good food and comfort was not the survival of a few potentates, but the continued good health of the OAU

Part of the problem is the organisation itself One of its most important canons is the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a member state Idi Amin, for instance, was not only allowed to loot and murder in Uganda, he was afforded an aura of international respectability by being elected the organisation's chairman

When the Ethiopian regime collapsed during the summit, the rebels were immediately accorded the status of a government and were driven around in the limousine set aside for the regime

No questions were asked and no assurances sought The Foreign Minister of the fallen government, who had been attended the summit from the beginning, was stripped of his diplomatic status and told to find his way home

The New Nigerian newspaper said as the summit began "Leaders like Amin, Mobutu Sese Seko, Eyadema, Daniel arap Moi and other African leaders wine and dine rebels, and shake their blood-stained hands, without taking them up on the atrocities they commit against their people"

The paper said "this criminal silence" was understandable, as very few African leaders assume office through democratic means The leaders thus feel threatened when one of them is about to be swept from power by the means many of them adopted to obtain power in the first place

"The OAU has thus been reduced to a club of tyrants who are prepared to employ every trick in the book to stay in power," said the New Nigerian

What is surprising is that a paper owned by the Nigerian government made such an attack on African leaders while they were meeting in Nigeria

A treaty establishing an African Economic Community (AEC) was signed at Abuja Some influential voices are now saying that if the OAU cannot be saved, it would have to be scrapped altogether and replaced by the AEC as the only continental body

But all hopes are pinned on Nigeria to resuscitate the organisation General Babangida hands over power to a civilian government next year. He'd love to leave the international stage with showers of praise for saving the OAU from itself — Africa News Service

Bribes and brawls in the battle for a bed

ORGANISATION of African Unity summits are notoriously chaotic but the sheer pandemonium that swamped last week's 1991 meeting in Abuja, Nigeria, stunned even the most seasoned camp followers.

The signing of the historic Africa Economic Community charter was largely to blame Instead of 20-odd heads of state turning out for the annual summit, a record 34 unexpectedly arrived — complete with entourages that numbered several hundred

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN who has just returned from what she described as a five-day rugby scrum

Behind the scenes at the OAU summit

S/Times 16/6/91

(230)

In one fell swoop, what might have been a relatively ordered affair turned into a five-day long rugby scrum that did not end until the last delegate staggered on to a flight out of Lagos

Zimbabwean premier Robert Mugabe, for instance, is said to have arrived not only with a posse of bodyguards, but also with his private chef, his own pantry (he does not eat hotel fare) and his own exercise bike (he is a fitness fanatic)

Behind the scenes frantic organisers went down on their knees to give thanks when Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi did not appear His 700-strong entourage, complete with camels (he has a penchant for fresh camel milk), is legend

Barracks

The only way in which increasingly hysterical organisers were able to accommodate the seemingly endless stream of leaders was to sling ambassadors, foreign ministers and top officials out of their rooms

Well-known politicians confessed to spending the night in the lobbies of Hilton and Sheraton hotels Others spent long hours shuffling up and down hotel corridors being shunted from room to room and at least one high commissioner ended up in the local police barracks

Over at the less swanky Agura Hotel the press corps did not fare much better

It was jam-packed and journalists found themselves doubling, tripling and quadrupling up in rooms with complete strangers

Had it not been for a minor miracle and the fact that I was one of the few women present (and one clearly close to tears), I too would certainly have spent my first night on the red vinyl seats in the foyer

But Nigerians are very particular about "looking after the ladies" and, after moving heaven and earth to find accommodation, an official located three rooms in a somewhat dubious establishment out of town

Judging by the number of women languishing on the pavement outside, I am certain that the Rendezvous Guest House was appropriately named But at least the sheets were clean and the door locked

I didn't care that great jets of water shot across the bathroom ceiling pretending to be a shower or that the airconditioning screamed as if it was in its death throes

Nor did I care when the proprietor, who had neon dollar signs flashing in his eyes, hiked the price to an outrageous $55 At least I had a bed

The fracas did not end there

Police

Early the next day an official instructed me to return to the Agura Hotel where I was promised a room

Eighteen hours later, I was among the journalists still perched on their suitcases in the same hotel foyer

It was only after the police were called to eject certain individuals and wads of dollar bills had been slipped (quite brazenly) under the counter, that we got rooms

If the accommodation situation was chaotic, the accreditation process was sheer anarchy

Hundreds of delegates, observers and foreign and local pressmen *all* crammed into one small room to have their pictures taken and to obtain ID tags

The snarl-up started when the photographer, after snapping about 10 frames, stopped to rush across the room to type out name tags

Fist fights broke out when people tried to jump queues and police were called in to stop the hordes outside from surging into what was already bedlam It was seven hours before I pushed my way out

When the summit started on time we were stunned

All the headphones and translating devices in the very grand conference centre worked perfectly

The shuttle buses to the hotels ran like clockwork

All the motorcades arrived to carry all the heads of state to and from the Hilton

Doctors were on hand around the clock for those who reacted to the change in food and water

Intense debate on the South African issue stretched the conference out to four days instead of the usual three — and as a result hundreds of delegates missed flights home

To the horror of all present, the wave of chaos that had swamped Abuja rolled into Lagos, Nigeria's former capital and site of the international airport

Slum

It was not only delegates who were filling up the city — large groups of refugees from Somalia and Ethiopia had started filtering into town

Unlike Abuja, Nigeria's new capital which is picturesque and rural, Lagos is not a city in which one would want to get stuck Seven million people live in what is mostly a slum Traffic jams defy description

The only international telephone line is at the Hilton Visitors are warned against walking in the streets

It was after this fleeting picture of the city that I headed for the airport My reaction on arrival was one of pure panic

There were queues everywhere, hundreds of people were sleeping on the floor, women in saris squatted in small groups, clutching sacks and boxes

Seven hours later the more determined passengers in my group had fought their way through customs and were jockeying for position beside an empty aeroplane

Hostile

Too many tickets had been issued and it was clear we would not all get on But it didn't really seem to matter because the crew had not showed up

When the pilot finally arrived — seven hours late — he calmed an increasingly hostile mob in typical Nigerian style, with charm and easy friendliness

Flying Air Nigeria can be described as tantamount to flying in a Transkei bus so it was not without a sense of relief that we tumbled off in Nairobi

But like it or not, I did feel some sense of loss at leaving Nigeria, the degree of genuine friendliness was a lesson from which we could all learn

OAU violated sanctions, says its secretary

DAR ES SALAAM. — The Organization of African Unity, once seen as united against South Africa, has an unkept secret: Many of its members states are doing business with the white-led nation.

Mr Salim A Salim, the organization's secretary-general, was quoted yesterday as saying more than half of the OAU's 51 members nations have violated sanctions by establishing open or secret commercial ties with South Africa.

Mr Salim, a Tanzanian, expressed his disapproval on Tuesday at a meeting with local journalists.

"This is not good. It makes our tasks at the OAU headquarters very difficult," Mr Salim said.

"How do I explain this to the outside world?"

Mr Salim said the OAU's members must maintain a unified stand on relations with South Africa, including when to establish ties.

"It is not good to agree on one position to get together and do the exact opposite individually," Mr Salim said.

He said the OAU summit in Nigeria early this month formed a committee to look into the issue of future relations with South Africa.

The OAU and its members have long supported a policy, if not the practice, of maintaining diplomatic, commercial and sports sanctions against South Africa because of its apartheid policy of racial segregation.

However, President F W de Klerk has been gradually dismantling apartheid and has persuaded several African states to establish ties with his government. — Sapa-AP

President De Klerk: Reaching into Africa

Argus 7/6/91

THE PRESIDENCY

COMMENTARY BY TOS WENTZEL

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PRESIDENT De Klerk's visits to Kenya this weekend, and to Swaziland afterwards, illustrate the growing divisions in the rest of Africa about what the approach to South Africa should be

African leaders like President Arab Moi of Kenya have become tired of the dithering in the Organisation of African Unity and have decided to openly have contact with South Africa

General Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, not only the biggest country in Africa but for long also one of the South African government's most vociferous opponents, has made no secret of the fact that he intends to meet Mr De Klerk The idea was not opposed at the OAU conference

Zambia is making overtures for closer trade links with South Africa and is expected that South Africa will soon have a fulltime trade office in Lusaka

Zimbabwe, while pushing for the maintenance of sanctions has at the same time asked for a preferential trade agreement with South Africa to be renewed. The trade between the two countries is substantial

There are indications that Egypt will soon have open contact with South Africa Mr de Klerk and President Hosni Mubarak met in Windhoek last year

The Kenyan approach is businesslike and discussions on commercial and energy affairs and agriculture will be high on the agenda This is why Ministers dealing with these matters will be accompanying Mr De Klerk In Kenya there is increasing awareness of not only trade possibilities but also of South African know-how and technical co-operation

A senior Kenyan Minister recently visited South Africa and Mr Pik Botha was there last December There are now regular SAA flights between Johannesburg and Nairobi

Although the Abuja declaration had the OAU leaders declaring support for continued economic sanctions, it had one key sentence which left the door open for contact — to the horror of the PAC who was there canvassing for a hardline approach while the ANC had a plan for the progressive lifting of sanctions

The key sentence said that if the South Africa government adopted measures which led to "positive, profound and irreversible change towards the abolition of apartheid" the question of sanctions with a view to readmitting South Africa to the international community would be reviewed

Group Areas and Land Act will have gone by the end of the month along with most of the Population Registration Act It therefore seems as if there could be such a review soon

A message Mr De Klerk sent to 35 OAU heads of state before the Abuja conference may well have had an influence

It apparently contained a stirring call to the rest of Africa to recognise that significant progress in moving towards a full and just democracy is being made in South Africa

He maintained that South Africa's interest lay primarily in where it could play a significant role

He believed that it could especially make a contribution in its own Southern African region in areas including economic and technological development and co-operation

The time had arrived for the rest of Africa to take note of developments in South Africa and to respond in a way calculated to encourage the transition to a new South Africa and to promote cooperation.

South Africa did not seek to dominate but could, especially as far as technological development was concerned, assist other countries in Africa

He also let drop that he plans to call an all-party conference to plan for negotiations in the second half of the year

He apparently gave details of the plan to release political prisoners and mentioned the government's concern about the violence and plans to deal with it He also pointed out that he was committed to remove the last pillars of apartheid by the end of the month.

MR De Klerk had a rather simplistic view of history in his television address to commemorate the 30th, anniversary of the republic

His view was that the advent of the republic had for the first time led to whites becoming unified in a South African nation with one undivided loyalty

Those whites who opposed the republic did so not because they had a loyalty to England, but because they valued they valued membership of the Commonwealth and feared increasing international isolation — and they were proved right

On the other hand Mr De Klerk accepted the harsh reality that, 30 years after South Africa became a republic, millions of its citizens do not enjoy the rights citizenship usually brings with it.

He conceded that efforts to grant everybody freedom and full self-determination by means of ethnic and territorial separation had not succeeded

His greatest concern remains the violence

Had it not been for this, he said, new investments would have been streaming into the country and this would have helped to end unemployment, poverty and other backlogs

The violence was also delaying a multi-party conference to plan constitutional negotiations

One of Mr De Klerk's hopes is that the recent conference on violence and intimidation had laid the foundation for follow-up actions in which all may become involved, also those who did not attend this first conference

WHEN 22 women and a baby visited Mr De Klerk in Tuynhuys last week he again demonstrated his ability to listen.

They were a delegation of the ANC Women's League and they spent five and a half hours there discussing issues such as the violence and the plight of prisoners on hunger strike.

At one stage there was a threat of a sit-in but Mr De Klerk allowed more than sufficient time for discussions

In the end no agreement could be reached and the meeting ended in deadlock

The women said they had given Mr De Klerk a tough time but the league president Mrs Gertrude Shope said that the meeting had nonetheless been a major breakthrough

It was the first time such a meeting had taken place and the delegation had been given a fair hearing.

Mr De Klerk expressed some disappointment because the ANC leadership had not apparently informed all its formations about the agreement between itself and the government on the release of political prisoners

The ANC delegation in turn said it appeared as if the two sides lived in two different worlds

Mr De Klerk said it had been an "open and frank" discussion which could contribute to dispel some perceptions which had been clouding the debate on many serious issues

Durban conference must end embarrassing situation, writes **Barney Mthombothi**

Sanctions ghost haunts ANC

Star 17/6/91 (230)

PROBABLY the most difficult item on the agenda for delegates at the ANC national conference in Durban next month will be the subject of sanctions

The erosion of international sanctions, especially the defection by African countries, means the matter cannot be deferred any longer Next year may be too late There may no longer be any sanctions to talk about.

There are at the moment conflicting signals coming out of the organisation on this issue The ANC is publicly committed to the continued application of international sanctions, but to some senior members of the organisation, sanctions are looking increasingly like a tiger that has to be dismounted, and very quickly too

A face-saving formula to lift them has to be found The plan circulated by Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's head of international relations, to some African countries at the OAU summit last week, is an attempt to find such a formula.

The weakness of the Mbeki position is that it does not seem to enjoy grassroots support in the ANC It was shot down from the floor at the ANC consultative meeting in December

It didn't get any support from the OAU either, but an increasing number of African leaders are coming over to the view that the argument over sanctions is becoming futile and that the time being wasted on it could be better spent attending to the innumerable problems facing this country

The OAU summit decided sanctions should remain, but gave a mandate to the chairman, General Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, to review the situation in consultation with the frontline states

Although the ending of violence has now been included as one of the conditions to be satisfied before the process of lifting sanctions could begin, many summit delegates thought the goalposts have not been moved — they have in fact been widened.

Thabo Mbeki . . his plan does not seem to have grassroots approval

General Babangida's main hurdle may turn out to be Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, who is not convinced sanctions should go Mr Mugabe told a recent meeting of the Frontline states that Zimbabwe would argue for the retention of sanctions at the Commonwealth conference in Harare in October

But the Commonwealth seems to be backing the three-step strategy advocated by Mr Mbeki

Chief Emeka Anyaoku, its secretary-general, said this week the organisation could begin lifting sanctions progressively as early as July, when its Committee of Foreign Ministers on South Africa will meet in New Delhi.

The fact that the heads of both the Commonwealth and the OAU are Nigerians means there is more likelihood of the two bodies working together on the issue. Most OAU countries are also members of the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth is, however, different from the OAU in one crucial respect — the presence of Britain, its most influential member Britain has always taken an independent line on South Africa and sanctions

John Major takes the same view as his predecessor, Margaret Thatcher, that encouragement, and not sanctions, has got South Africa where it is today

Britain could be expected to campaign quite vigorously at the Commonwealth summit for sanctions to go

However, the trigger for the lifting of sanctions lies within the country That is why the forthcoming ANC conference is of crucial importance. It will either have to decide sanctions have to go, or, if the decision is to retain them, device a strategy which will stop the current erosion and see to it that the organisation doesn't end up with egg on its face.

Convincing its supporters won't be easy There is a feeling that the ANC leadership has allowed Mr de Klerk and his Government to walk all over it and that it has nothing to show in return for the concessions it has made

Instead, the townships have been plunged into dreadful bloodshed, with the Government seen as either being behind the violence, or doing nothing to stop it

Government behaviour has also not helped the case of those within the ANC arguing for the progressive lifting of sanctions

Some prisoners have had to almost starve themselves to death before they were released in terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria agreements

And the Government has been pretty reluctant to allow the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to get involved in the repatriation of exiles The repatriation exercise has therefore had to depend on the goodwill of countries like Sweden for monies to ferry people home.

ANC delegates will need to be convinced that the Government is not dragging its feet.

Although the OAU at some point in the coming months may want to act on the sanctions issue, it doesn't want to be seen to be out of step with the bulk of black public opinion in this country

President Kaunda said at the OAU summit in Abuja that Africa would be guided by the "joint approach" of the ANC and PAC on the sanctions issue This means that even if the ANC were to agree to the lifting of sanctions at conference it would have to get the PAC to come along too

The PAC maintains that nothing has happened in the country so far to justify the lifting of any embargo — Star Africa Service □

OAU survival under spotlight

Sowetan 18/6/91. (230)

FOCUS

The 27th OAU summit has just ended in Abuja, Nigeria. Questions are being asked whether an organisation that cannot attend to the problems of the continent has any right to exist, writes BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI of *Sowetan* Africa News Service

A BOOKLET distributed by the Nigerian government with details of African countries and their leaders at the OAU summit had King Moshoeshoe II as Lesotho's head of state.

Perhaps Lesotho is very far from Abuja, but that minor error neatly illustrates the preoccupation of many African leaders, namely the instability of their regimes.

Governments are toppling like pins as coups and calls for multiparty democracy sweep the continent like a hurricane.

Two governments - Ethiopia and Algeria - fell as leaders wined and dined in Abuja. The Algerian prime minister and his foreign minister in fact were summarily recalled from the summit as President Chadli Benjedid sacked his entire government in an attempt to soothe the tempers of Islamic fundamentalists who want his regime to go. And in Lesotho itself a coup attempt was put down

The OAU has decided next year's summit will be held in Togo, in West Africa. But few people expect President Gnassingbe Eyadema to be around in a year's time. He went home to find his capital, Lome, paralysed by anti-government strikes

Two months ago his army killed more than three dozen political activists and dumped their bodies into a lake Few people believe the introduction of multi-party democracy, which is what the activists want, will save Eyadema's political career

Journalists in Abuja for the summit spent their spare time speculating on who will or who won't be around at next year's summit President Kaunda wasn't given much of a chance. He faces a confident Movement for Multiparty Democracy in elections in October.

Paul Biya of Cameroon could be another casualty He left his country in turmoil to attend the summit. Many people were surprised to see him.

Leaders in lesser danger have in the past been overthrown while attending OAU summits.

Omar Bongo, the tiny president of neighbouring Gabon, survived serious unrest last year. But his position is still far from secure

Problems

Last weekend he returned from the summit to sack his entire cabinet in an attempt to knit together some form of coalition government.

President Abdou Diouf of Senegal didn't come and no one could blame him. It is understood his ambition to succeed Dr Perez de Cuellar as UN secretary-general is largely propelled by a desire to run away from his problems at home.

And General Omar Hassan el-Bashir has survived coup attempts almost every two months since he overthrew the civilian government in Sudan in 1989 His luck cannot last forever.

The Maghreb countries are convulsed by Islamic fundamentalism which is close to taking over power in Algeria, and is threatening the regimes in Tunisia, Morocco and Egypt.

But what worried African leaders as they headed for home - with their girths enlarged by a few centimetres after a week of good food and comfort - was not the survival of a few potentates, but the continued good health of the OAU itself. Has an organisation that cannot solve the continent's problems any right to exist at all? A newspaper headline put it succinctly Whither OAU?

The leaders left with a call for the introduction of democracy in Africa from General Ibrahim Babangida still ringing in their ears But can the OAU survive the introduction of democracy in Africa? Many people think not

Part of the problem is the OAU itself. One of its most important canons is the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a member state Idi Amin, for instance, was not only allowed to loot and murder in Uganda, he was afforded an aura of international respectability by being elected chairman of the OAU.

When the Ethiopian government collapsed during the summit, the rebels were immediately accorded the status of a government and were chauffeured around in the limousine set aside for the regime. No questions were asked and no assurances sought The foreign minister of the fallen government who's been attending the summit from the very beginning, was stripped of his diplomatic status and told to find his way home

Anybody who walks into power by whatever means automatically becomes a member, with all the attendant appellations

The *New Nigerian* newspaper said as the summit began that leaders like Amin, Mobutu Sese Seko, Eyadema, Daniel arap Moi "and other despots have imposed reigns of terror on their people while fellow African leaders wine and dine them as well as shake their blood-stained hands at OAU summits without taking them up on their atrocities against their people".

The paper said "this criminal silence" was understandable as very few African leaders assume office through democratic means.

The leaders thus feel threatened when one of them is about to be swept out of power as most of them have sustained themselves in power through fascist and other Machiavellian policies, the paper said

"The OAU has thus been reduced to a club of tyrants who are prepared to employ every trick in the book to stay in power," said the *New Nigerian*.

What is surprising is that a paper owned by the Nigerian government could make such an attack on African leaders at a time when they were meeting on Nigerian soil

The OAU has made a call for the establishment of an African Defence Fund, which could be used to finance a collective peacekeeping force on the continent. But that will also flounder on the rocks of the non-interference principle, and also because many African countries will find it difficult to honour their dues The OAU itself is in the red

The fear among member states is that the disappearance of superpower rivalry as well as of apartheid as an issues at OAU summit will further disorient the organisation

SA 'could gain entry to OAU'

CIT 18/6/91

(230)

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA could be admitted to the Organisation for African Unity if the ANC, PAC, Cosatu and Inkatha agreed to this, according to the former Nigerian president, General Olusegin Obasanjo

If these organisations agreed on an interim arrangement, "what is good for them is good for us", he said in an interview in the latest issue of Leadership

He believed South Africa would be welcome in Africa in a matter of months rather than years

● Lonrho chief Mr Tiny Rowland played a key role in brokering the meeting between Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi and President F W de Klerk in Nairobi earlier this month, Africa Confidential claimed in a report yesterday.

It outlined how the SA government had made an offer with Lonrho's help.

OAU to consider scrapping sanctions

B/Day 20/6/91.

LAGOS — African countries are to hold a special meeting on SA to decide whether the repeal of the Population Registration Act this week merits an end to sanctions

OAU chairman and Nigerian president Ibrahim Babangida said yesterday steps were under way to summon leaders from countries belonging to the ad hoc OAU committee on SA. The committee has the power to repeal sanctions without the need to convene a full summit

Own Correspondent

In his remarkably upbeat comments, Babangida commended President F W de Klerk for repealing the Act.

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"We welcome it as another courageous and positive step in the efforts to rid SA of the obnoxious apartheid system," the statement said. "This repeal has by and large expunged apartheid from the statute books." — Daily Telegraph.

OAU 'must strike while sanctions iron is hot'

ARGUS 20/6/91

LAGOS. — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) must move quickly to maintain influence over dealings with South Africa when anti-apartheid sanctions are crumbling elsewhere, diplomatic sources said.

Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, the OAU chairman, has set the wheels in motion for the OAU to review its sanctions policy following the repeal of the Population Registration Act, state radio said yesterday

Mr Babangida, an army general whose career has been notable for swift and decisive action, must take into account public opinion on a continent where opposition to South Africa has been a binding glue for the 51-member OAU, sources said

But time is not on the side of the OAU, with a growing number of African states already trading with Pretoria, the European Community having eased sanctions, and Washington likely to scrap sanctions soon

"It would be dangerous for him to lose time, that is to find himself lagging behind the momentum in South Africa and externally," said Mr George Nene, ANC representative in Lagos

A Western diplomat said "Also, the situation in Africa requires that the countries concerned should not be distracted much longer from essential businesses such as economies and the environment that are affecting millions of people"

State radio quoted Mr Babangida as saying the race act repeal was a positive, courageous step towards ridding South Africa of apartheid

But obstacles remained

This month's OAU summit in the Nigerian city of Abuja called for the maintenance of sanctions but indicated that further decisions would be left to Mr Babangida, the committee on southern Africa, and South African nationalist groups

A Western diplomat said "The only way in which real progress can be made must be an eyeball-to-eyeball meeting between the two protagonists — Babangida and De Klerk"

Nigeria says Mr De Klerk would only receive a positive welcome if he first gave a basic timetable for one-man-one-vote, ended township violence, released all political prisoners, and brought exiles back to South Africa

● Spurred by recent moves by Japan and the European Community to lift or ease their trade embargoes against South Africa, US business leaders said today they wanted economic sanctions against South Africa ended soon before "once again shooting ourselves in the foot"

Mr John Howard, trade policy director of the US Chamber of Commerce, warned that the US would lose trade to Japan and the EC

President Bush is pushing for an end to sanctions from next month but this decision has provoked a fierce response on Capitol Hill Court action to prevent him from lifting sanctions has been threatened by opposing groups led by Senator Ted Kennedy

Lengthy court proceedings would effectively retain sanctions for up to a year

● Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has entered Washington's explosive debate on sanctions, but conceded today that his meetings with leading black members of Congress had failed to change their firm support for sanctions

He told an audience at the conservative Heritage Foundation today that after an afternoon of pleading with black congressmen he had come to the conclusion that until the ANC changed its views on sanctions there was little prospect of black politicians in America changing their minds

Chief Buthelezi, who is to meet President Bush at the White House tomorrow, has made several impassioned public appeals for an end to sanctions, and has made the issue the centrepiece of a high-profile visit to the US

He has appeared on three television shows, has addressed a press conference, and has deliverd speeches to at least two of Washington's leading "think tanks"

Chief Buthelezi has emerged as the most conspicuous South African campaigning in the US on the sanctions issue, and black groups have accused him of doing the work of the South African government — Sapa-Reuter-Argus Foreign Service

Norway to open embassy in SA

OAU chief urges sanctions rethink

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Star 20/6/91

Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida has set the wheels in motion for the Organisation of African Unity to review its sanctions policy on South Africa.

State radio in Lagos reported yesterday that General Babangida, the OAU chairman, planned to convene a meeting of a special committee following the repeal of the Population Registration Act.

The Nigerian leader was quoted as saying the repeal was "another positive and courageous step" towards ridding South Africa of apartheid. However, he warned that some obstacles remained, including the unconditional release of the remaining political prisoners

"The repeal has by and large expunged apartheid from the statute books," the radio quoted General Babangida as saying.

"In recognition of the positive measures undertaken so far by President de Klerk, a process has been set in motion to convene a meeting of the OAU's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa (comprising Frontline states and South African anti-apartheid groups)," he said

"The meeting will review the recent developments for an appropriate response to them on the basis of the Abuja Declaration on Southern Africa"

General Babangida urged Pretoria to begin the "negotiation process with all democratic forces in South Africa to bring about a non-racial, democratic society"

Relaxed

The Abuja Declaration, paving the way for a new and more relaxed attitude towards South Africa, called for the maintenance of sanctions but, for the first time, the OAU acknowledged that Pretoria's isolation was probably ending.

The declaration was adopted at a summit of the 51-member OAU in the Nigerian city of Abuja earlier this month.

It also indicated that any decision on easing sanctions would not have to be put to an OAU summit, but could be left to the OAU chairman or the ad hoc committee

In another development on the diplomatic front, it was reported yesterday that Norway planned to open an embassy in Pretoria this year.

However, Oslo said it was not yet ready to lift sanctions.

"We have begun practical preparations to establish an embassy in South Africa," Foreign Ministry spokesman Bjoern Blokhus said. "We might get the embassy in place during the course of the year"

Mr Blokhus said South Africa's moves to abolish race discrimination had prompted Norway's decision "It is a good development and we want to follow the situation closely by having a (diplomatic) station there"

Norway closed its embassy in 1952 but has a consulate-general in Cape Town South Africa has a consulate-general in Oslo — Sapa-Reuter

OAU to review SA sanctions policy

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Sowetan 20/6/91

LAGOS - Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida has set the wheels in motion for the Organisation of African Unity to review its sanctions policy against South Africa.

Babangida, the OAU chairman, plans to convene a meeting of a special committee following the repeal of the Population Registration Act by South Africa

He said the repeal was a positive and courageous step towards ridding South Africa of apartheid but added that some obstacles remained, including the unconditional release of remaining political prisoners - *Sapa-Reuter.*

Reaching out to Africa

(230) Star 25/6/91

The Government has repeatedly argued that South Africa must develop new links with other African countries. MARK SUZMAN looks at the potential partners

THE State President's recent visit to Kenya has highlighted the Government's intention to break out of international isolation through the continent it once shunned

"We are part of Africa," declared Mrde Klerk in Nairobi, as he set out parts of a tentative blueprint to revitalise the embattled continent

The Government's new plan is apparently to establish four allied regional economic blocs, each led by a regional powerhouse Nigeria in west Africa, Egypt in the north, Kenya in the east and South Africa in the south

Some analysts predict that when South Africa is admitted to the Organisation of African Unity, this economic co-operation could potentially translate into a loose political alliance to co-ordinate African policy

Nevertheless, while in African terms these countries are relatively wealthy, all share legacies of economic problems and political instability which may render such grandiose visions of co-operation untenable

● **Kenya** While Kenya has traditionally been regarded as Africa's paragon of democratic government and sound economic policies, over the past decade President Daniel arap Moi has been prone to adopting increasingly autocratic policies

After an unsuccessful coup in 1982 in which 3 000 people were arrested, the government began to detain and torture dissidents while all opposition parties were banned

Last year a wave of riots throughout the country had to be put down by force, with a number of people killed But President Moi has now entered on a policy of limited reform, although the clampdown on dissidents remains harsh

Economically the country has a relatively small gross domestic product of about R20 billion Although it has enjoyed steady growth averaging almost 5 percent over the past five years, the fact that its population growth is the fastest in the world keeps per capita wealth down Its biggest exports are tea and coffee, while it imports cars and industrial machinery

After President de Klerk's visit, political and economic relations with South Africa are expected to continue to improve While the prospects for direct trade are relatively small, one potential spin-off could be persuading some of the many tourists who travel to Kenya each year to visit South Africa as well

● **Nigeria** This oil-rich country, with 110 million inhabitants, is the most populous nation in Africa, and the only sub-Saharan country with an industrial base comparable to South Africa's

Politically it has oscillated between military and civilian rule, and the last democratic government was overthrown in 1983 The current ruler, Major General Ibrahim Babangida, has promised to restore democracy by 1992

Like South Africa, the country is divided In addition to having three major tribal groups — the Ibo in the west (responsible for the Biafra civil war in 1967 when they tried to secede), the Yoruba in the east and the Hausa in the north — the country is divided along religious lines Most of the north is Muslim while the south is Christian and animist

To combat these rivalries, President Babangida has dismissed all existing parties as being too focused on old ethnic and religious divisions, and has created two new parties based on ideological lines

Although local elections last December suffered from a low turnout, President Babangida remains resolved to hand over power to a civilian government on schedule

Economically, Nigeria's GDP is around R67 billion, most of it based on oil

Graphic GAIL IRWIN

The four allied regional economic blocs

Although the country is burdened by a heavy debt accumulated in the 1970s, recent economic reforms, approved by the International Monetary Fund, have helped boost industrial production and maintain growth rates above 4 percent

The mini-oil boom from the Gulf War has strengthened export revenues Nevertheless, oil still accounts for more than 90 percent of exports and the country is vulnerable to fluctuations in the commodity's price

There are fairly good prospects for increased trade between Nigeria and South Africa, and the posting of a senior South African diplomat to Abidjan in neighbouring Ivory Coast suggests that unofficial links are well advanced

Analysts also suggest that President Babangida would welcome South Africa's recognition of Nigeria as the leader of black Africa — a move that would be a serious snub to Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, who lays claims to the position

● **Egypt** With a population of 50 million people, Egypt is another example of a quasi-democracy with a sizeable, but shaky, economy Lacking the vast oil revenues of other Arab states, the country is largely dependent on foreign aid and ran up a debt of nearly R140 billion over the last decade — more than its total GDP of R100 billion

The Gulf War has both helped and hindered the country' an estimated R10 billion annual revenue from migrant workers in Kuwait and Iraq has been lost, but the United States has forgiven huge chunks of debt as a reward for Egyptian help

Prime Minister Hosni Mubarak has remained in power since the assassination of Anwar Sadat in 1981 He won re-election in 1987, but the results were recently declared null and void by the Supreme Court and new elections are likely to be scheduled soon

South Africa's links with Egypt were first made during the one-leg of peace negotiations over Namibia that took place in Cairo and the country is believed to have allied with Nigeria in calling for a softer line on South Africa at the OAU

Potential trade areas include chemicals, textiles and foodstuffs

According to Richard Cornwell, editor of Africa Insight, South Africa's strategy is to help establish a set of power blocs in Africa that may be able to co-operate on economic and political issues

"While they remain small in absolute terms, Kenya, Egypt and Nigeria all stand out as regional giants," he notes

Mr Cornwell cautions that the constant threat of instability and fundamental economic weaknesses may yet prevent the formation of such a four-cornered axis from becoming an engine for Africa

But if the Government's new initiatives do get off the ground, there is significant potential for economic and political co-operation with benefits for both South Africa and the continent it has been isolated from for so long □

Militants and pragmatists square up over sanctions

South 27/6 3/7/91 230

The international sanctions campaign, a cornerstone of the ANC's attempts to isolate apartheid South Africa, is one of the thorniest issues presently facing the organisation The battle is on between grassroots militants and those who argue for pragmatism. **CHIARA CARTER** reports·

ONGOING changes in the local political scenario have led the international community to review their stand on sanctions, while at home, two of the Congress of South African Trade Union's (Cosatu) most influential affiliates, the National Union of Mineworkers and the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, have called for a review of the movement's position on sanctions

However, there is a strong possibility that the ANC s national conference will fudge the issue, not least because of the strong emotive connotations of the sanctions campaign

At the organisation's consultative conference last December, rank and file militancy and disillusionment with leadership translated into a resounding "no" to moves by the chief of the ANC's Department of International Affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, to redraft sanctions policy on more pragmatic lines.

Signs are that the July conference will be marked by similar militancy and it is unlikely that the ANC leadership will want to risk pushing views that could be interpreted as too moderate

Behind the scenes, however, the ANC leadership appears to favour a pragmatic approach which calls for a phased lifting of sanctions, linking concessions to real change within the country This was apparently the import of a confidential document presented by the ANC to the summit of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) earlier this year

THABO MBEKI: ANC's Department of International Affairs chief

The document, reportedly a revised version of Mbeki's discussion paper tabled at the December conference, argued that this was the only way the ANC could maintain a strategic initiative internationally It proposes three stages for lifting sanctions

First to go would be restrictions on visas, tourism, sport and cultural links This would be linked to the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles, the repeal of repressive laws and an end to the violence in the Witwatersrand and Natal

The second phase, the lifting of economic sanctions, would be linked to the installation of an interim government

The last curbs to go would be the embargoes on arms and oil, which the paper argues should be revoked only after the installation of a democratic government

South African Airways (SAA) is gaining landing rights in some African countries, and the promise of a return to international sports is an immense psychological boost to many, but South Africa remains isolated to a large degree, particularly where it counts — economically

While governments throughout the world have indicated that they want to review measures against South Africa, most are moving cautiously

A spokesperson for the ANC's Department of International Affairs, Mr Yusuf Salojee, points out that the government's chief motivation in pushing for sanctions to be lifted is to get the economy moving

Strategy

Yet, since the European Community lifted the ban on foreign investment there has been no new investment in South Africa

The ANC's phased strategy is likely to form the basis of policy for both the OAU and the Commonwealth, despite pressure from moderate member states to move more quickly to ease the pressure on Pretoria

The first movement from the Commonwealth could come at the meeting of its Committee on SA next month in New Delhi, while the OAU has already mandated its chairperson to examine a possible review of sanctions policy

At the conclusion of its summit earlier this year, the organisation issued its Abuja Declaration, listing

However, a breakaway group of African states, including Kenya and Madagascar, said they would move immediately to restore trade and transport ties with South Africa

Already South Africa's backdoor trade with black Africa is worth about R10 billion a year

The European Economic Community, which last year lifted the ban on new investment in South Africa, this year lifted its boycott on South African steel, coal and gold coins

However, the Danish parliament has effectively vetoed this move by the EEC

Should European countries go ahead with normalising trade, South Africa's steel and coal industries in particular stand to gain substantially

SA coal export to France, for example, could increase tenfold

Another country which has indicated interest in South African raw materials is Japan

Requirements

United States policy, which has remained intact so far, could also be up for review next month

Once the requirements of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 are met, there is little to keep the US from lifting sanctions

However, analysts believe that the Bush administration, which faces presidential elections in less than two years, will not be keen to upset the ANC and leave itself open to accusations of being "soft on racism"

In the face of rumblings from the congressional black caucus, the White House is likely to opt for a position that suspends or modifies some sanctions while retaining others as a means to pressurise Pretoria into accepting an interim government and constituent assembly

Whatever the position adopted by delegates at next week's conference, it is clear that sanctions are crumbling

However, the pace of the change could be dictated by the ANC and its allies, provided they are able to be pragmatic

OAU chief upset over SA contacts

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Star 27/6/91

DAR ES SALAAM — The Organisation of African Unity, once seen as united against South Africa, has an unkept secret many of its members states are doing business with the white-led nation

Secretary-General Salim Salim was quoted yesterday as saying more than half of the OAU's 51 members nations had violated sanctions by establishing open or secret commercial ties with South Africa

A Tanzanian newspaper said Mr Salim, a Tanzanian, expressed his disapproval at a meeting with local journalists

"This is not good It makes our tasks at the OAU headquarters very difficult

"How do I explain this to the outside world?"

Summit

Mr Salim said the OAU's members must maintain a unified stand on relations with South Africa, including when to establish ties

"It is not good enough to agree on one position to get together, and do the exact opposite individually"

He said the OAU summit in Nigeria this month had formed a committee to look into the issue of future relations with South Africa

The OAU and its members have long supported a policy — if not the practice — of maintaining diplomatic, commercial and sports sanctions against Pretoria because of its apartheid policy

Dismantling

However, President de Klerk has been gradually dismantling apartheid

And he has persuaded several African states to establish ties with his Government

President de Klerk has visited half a dozen African nations since coming to power in early 1989

He visited Kenya and Swaziland this month

Mr Salim said that although several apartheid laws had been repealed, African nations must consider if that was enough to permit an end to South Africa's isolation

"We must not drop our guard, because not everything has been corrected," he said

"The Constitution that guarantees racial supremacy to the whites minority is still there" — Sapa-AP

Grassroots view of a fragile, complex continent

B/Day 1/7/97 (230)

AFRICA: DISPATCHES FROM A FRAGILE CONTINENT, by Blaine Harden (HarperCollins, R79,99)

LIKE an optimistic probation officer dealing with hardened recidivists, Barber Conable urged African leaders attending this month's OAU summit to follow the precepts of "good governance". Old lags in the audience such as Kenneth Kaunda and Mobutu Sese Seko heard the World Bank president urge the virtues of "accountability, transparency, predictablity, adherence to the rule of law"

"In a world where the competition for scarce resources has never been more intense, we will be paying increasingly more attention to them in years to come," he said.

Blaine Harden, who spent four years in Africa for the Washington Post, puts it more bluntly Western donors, he says, should "insist on free elections in the same way that they insist on a rationally valued currency No devaluation, no loans No certified fair election, no loans. No independent judges, no loans"

He reaches this conclusion towards the end of an outstanding account of the complexities of a fragile continent where 30-million people face starvation and the anarchy of Liberia or Somalia seems a portent of futher horrors to come.

He looks behind chilling statistics about the continent's crisis, and goes beyond mere portraits of venal or brutal African leaders. Few writers can match Harden's insights into the continent's malaise, drawn from experience of Africa at the grassroots. He explores areas most journalists do not reach, what Harden calls "the business of living in cultures that have been force-fed change".

The body of a dead Kenyan lawyer lies on ice as his widow, a member of a different tribe, battles with his relatives for custody of the corpse. The courtroom becomes "a proxy battlefield for a tribal war" But there is much more to it than that. The struggle is also between Chrisianity and indigenous faiths, as well as over women's rights.

A 7ft 6in Dinka cowherd from Sudan undergoes a cultural trauma when he becomes a professional basketball player in the US, a story into which Harden weaves an explanation of the relationship between the tribesman and his cow.

Perhaps the most instructive chapter is set in Ghana, although the lessons apply to Africa as a whole. Harden accompanies a Ghana University sociology lecturer on his journey to his home village his account illuminates the safety-net role of Africa's extended families and the pressure it imposes on a wage earner who is obliged by tradition to share his income with less well-off relatives Oduro resents his rural family "They are vultures, pickpockets They want money from you and they know how to get it."

The episode prompts a sombre warning· "Kwasi Oduro's trip home .. showed that the extended family in Ghana and across Africa functions under immense stress. Like a bridge that has borne too much high speed traffic for too many years, its foundations are cracking" Africa owes much of its resilience during decades of economic pain and political upheaval to this bridge and the cracks bode ill for stability

A second theme is the pitfalls that await well-meaning aid donors, exemplified by "the frozen fish plant in the desert", a tragi-comic tale of a Norwegian project in northwest Kenya. It turned out that freezing the fish cost more than the fillets were worth A dam which the EC helped fund is described as "the richest dirty deal in Kenya's history", providing large kickbacks to Kenyan officials, according to a Community memorandum.

Hardan derives some comfort from this apparently bleak picture. "A learning curve can be discerned in modern Africa," he writes "Governments have finally started to sift sense out of nonsense." The superpower rapprochement which helped pave the way to Namibia's independence has raised prospects for an end to other conflicts, while the surge of support for democracy throughout Africa is accompanied by economic reform

But the complexity of the continent and the extraordinary stresses posed by painful economic and political reform make one wish that Harden had dwelt more on the link between aid and democracy

The principle is admirable and has been endorsed by British foreign secretary Douglas Hurd. Hurd has taken aid conditionality a step further than Conable, who told the OAU the bank would not seek to influence Africa's choice of political system provided aid was used efficiently

Aid, Hurd wrote last October, should be tied not only to economic reforms, but to political reform, in which "accountability must be a central plank" This, he says, "goes hand in hand with political pluralism and with more open government".

Aid recipients should be left "in no doubt about our concerns. We should expose and condemn abuses of human rights when they are uncovered by the media, by our posts abroad and by non-governmental organisations, like Amnesty International"

These structures have had no discernable effect British aid to Malawi, for example, whose human rights record is deplorable, has not been reduced

So far neither the World Bank nor other donors have specified the yardstick against which reform will be judged, or allayed suspicions that donors' relationships with Africa will remain influenced by security or commercial considerations.

For their part, African opposition leaders have yet to set out their new constitutions How do they intend to confront thorny issues such as tribalism, and how do they ensure that this time round checks and balances curb executive power as well as keep the army at bay? These might be the themes of Harden's next book. — Financial Times

MICHAEL HOLMAN

Witty and accessible guide to income tax

B/Day 1/7/97

INCOME TAX MADE SIMPLE, by MATSHERU MATSHERU (Butterworths, R35)

TO FIND a book on taxation which is witty and does not, as a matter of course, project Revenue as the big bad wolf is refreshing. Matsheru has compiled a book on SA income tax that not only makes "taxese" accessible to laymen but explains why taxes are collected.

He begins with the premise that tax is essential but "the law on the subject is weak. The zeal of the Official is strong and the ignorance of the Taxpayer is colossal."

He then goes on to tell his readers that tax is a game between two players, the taxpayer and the tax collector, where both players should know the rules so the game can be won or lost on fair grounds. He makes the legitimate comment that conflict sometimes arises because the tax collector adheres to departmental rulings, while the taxpayer is not given access to all these rulings

But the book is not a stab at the fiscus on incompetence, unfairness or unnecessary complexity The author stresses it is the taxpayer's responsibility to know and stand up for his rights.

Robin Hood stole through a progressive stealing structure.

Matsheru explains basic tax concepts in a way that makes them sound logical and understandable. Issues such as capital versus income are covered, as is tax and the individual, employee and business, and tax planning opportunities

Nothing is assumed and a useful dictionary on tax terms explains terms which most of us are too embarrassed to admit we do not understand

Wonderful cartoon illustrations and amusing comments put this in a class of its own

Although the book is obviously targeted at SA blacks, it is equally relevant to all South Africans who need a simple explanation of what tax is and what it means.

In his introduction Matsheru justifies the creation of yet another tax book for one's shelves saying "Taxation, like cold air in winter, reaches into every corner of everyone's life, directly or indirectly, for better or for worse ... Surprisingly, thousands of people still pay their tax annually without the slightest idea whether or not they are paying the correct amount of tax"

Matsheru is an independent tax adviser who gained his expertise through the tax and business law programme at Unisa and various other tax courses at Wits University.

GILLIAN HAYNE

Unfortunate . . Salim Ahmed Salim.

OAU denounces premature move

Star 12/7/91

ADDIS ABABA — OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim yesterday denounced the US decision to lift economic sanctions as "premature and unfortunate". (230)

"It is still a fact that there are political prisoners not yet released and thousands of exiles not allowed to return to South Africa," Mr Salim said.

He called on the international community to continue to pressure the white minority government in South Africa to ensure that "the end of apartheid is irreversible".

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, speaking by telephone to Harare, said he would call a meeting of a special OAU committee as quickly as possible to discuss developments over sanctions.

"We have been authorised by the OAU chairman to call a meeting of the ad hoc committee in Lusaka as quickly as possible."

Mr Kaunda is chairman of the seven-nation Frontline states.

"What is needed now is that President de Klerk, Comrade Mandela, Chief Buthelezi and all the others get on with the job of changing the constitution as quickly as possible." — Sapa-Reuter

Decision premature, says top OAU official

B/Day 12/7/91

ADDIS ABABA — Organisation of African Unity secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim yesterday denounced a US decision to lift economic sanctions against SA as "premature and unfortunate".

"It is still a fact that there are political prisoners not yet released, and thousands of exiles not allowed to return to SA," Salim said in a statement.

"This decision's timing is premature and unfortunate."

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, speaking by telephone from Zambia to Harare, said he would call a meeting of a special OAU committee as quickly as possible to discuss developments regarding sanctions against SA.

Kaunda is chairman of the seven-nation group of Frontline states

Asked about the decision by President George Bush to lift US economic sanctions against Pretoria, Kaunda said: "I think that that trend is catching up quite fast..

Pressure

(230)

"I think that what is needed now is really that President de Klerk, Comrade Mandela, Buthelezi and all the others should get on with the job of changing the constitution as quickly as possible."

Salim called on the international community to continue to put pressure on the SA government to ensure "the end of apartheid in SA is irreversible".

Bush lifted a five-year trade embargo on Wednesday, saying Pretoria's irreversible moves towards dismantling apartheid justified the move.

In Harare, a senior Zimbabwean government official said the US decision could undermine moves to end apartheid and introduce multiracial democracy.

Salim also described a decision on Tuesday by the International Olympic Committee to readmit SA to the Olympics as "untimely and premature". — Reuter.

ANC manages to stave off OAU meeting on lifting of sanctions

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By DAWN BARKHUIZEN and PATRICIA CHENEY

THE ANC has succeeded in delaying an Organisation of African Unity meeting to review sanctions against South Africa

The meeting was scheduled to take place in Abuja, Nigeria, tomorrow under the chairmanship of Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida. It has been postponed to next month.

President Babangida, the current OAU chairman, is keen to reward the South African government for the changes it has introduced by lifting some sanctions

ANC International Affairs spokesman Yusuf Saloojee said the ANC would argue next month that sanctions should be maintained until all political prisoners, including the 160 in Bophuthatswana, are released and mechanisms to end violence are in place S/Times 14/7/91

It would take the same message to leaders in Denmark, Germany and Holland early next month, he added.

The conservative Danish government supports the lifting of sanctions It is being prevented from doing so by social democrats and liberals who have a parliamentary majority on the issue This, in turn, is preventing the lifting of the remaining European Community sanctions, as all EC decisions have to be unanimous

However, South African officials believe Japanese sanctions will go within a month

Two Japanese trade delegations, the Keidanren and the Society of Modernisation, have visited South Africa recently Officials said they were confident Japanese businessmen would be more willing to invest in South Africa than their American counterparts

The OAU initially turned down the ANC's request to delay the meeting, saying it had come too late It later acquiesced

Premature

ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki said a meeting now would be premature

Mr Saloojee said once the issues of prisoners and violence had been resolved, the ANC would call for the "phased maintenance" of sanctions.

This provides for the lifting of

- Cultural and tourism sanctions once obstacles to negotiations are removed. These include the indemnification of all exiles, an end to political trials and the repeal of security legislation,
- Iron and steel sanctions when an interim government is installed,
- The oil and arms embargo once a democratic constitution is in place

Meanwhile, an American union official has said that despite the lifting of US sanctions, the passage of goods from South Africa to American consumers will not necessarily be a smooth one

Mr Kenneth Zinn of the United Mine Workers Union said "Unionists will continue to show solidarity with black workers in South Africa"

He said American longshoremen could hold up SA goods at the docks

In 1986, longshoremen in Mobile, Alabama, refused to unload SA coal and unionists in Oakland, California, and New Orleans, Louisiana, kept SA goods on ships for days

OAU denounces US move to drop sanctions on SA

Star 16/7/91

(230)

Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), has denounced the lifting of US sanctions against South Africa as a gigantic setback for the forces of democracy.

General Babangida said in a statement the decision also undermined what he called a shining period in US policy towards Africa

"It is decidedly a gigantic setback for the democratic movement and commitment to total liberation which has mustered force inside South Africa and internationally in the past four decades," he said.

General Babangida indicated the a meeting of the 51-member OAU's special committee on Southern Africa, which he said would be held soon in the central Nigerian city of Abuja, was unlikely to propose any significant move on Africa's sanctions policy.

The statement was dated July 11, a day after President George Bush lifted a five-year US economic embargo. — Sapa-Reuter.

Shift in OAU sanctions stance unlikely

B/Day 16/7/91 (230)

LAGOS — Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), has denounced the lifting of US economic sanctions against SA as a huge setback for the forces of democracy.

Babangida's statement was published in Nigerian newspapers yesterday.

Babangida indicated an OAU special committee meeting on southern Africa, to be held soon in Abuja, was unlikely to propose any significant move on Africa's sanctions policy.

Africa could not afford "the luxury of dropping its guard" yet, he said.

While the OAU had acknowledged President F W de Klerk's courage, SA's political system remained deeply oppressive and divisive.

It was necessary to ensure that black South Africans' "patient determination" was not thwarted at the 11th hour — Sapa-Reuter.

Nigeria won't lift sanctions

LAGOS — Nigerian vice-president Mr Augustus Aikhomu said yesterday that it was premature to lift sanctions against South Africa and that anti-apartheid pressure on Pretoria should be stepped up CT 18/7/91

"The federal military government considers the lifting of sanctions — economic, political, social, cultural and sporting sanctions — against South Africa by any country or organisation as premature."

His comment at a press briefing was a clear signal that the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) would not join other countries in relaxing sanctions — Sapa-Reuter

ANC president Nelson Mandela (left) shakes hands with the Complutense University rector after receiving an honorary doctor in El Escorial outside Madrid, Spain, on Tuesday.

African heads meet over SA

ADDIS ABABA - The leaders of 13 African nations will meet in Nigeria next Monday to discuss developments in South Africa, the Organisation of African Unity said.

(230)

The meeting in the city of Abuja of the committee of heads of state and government would focus on ways of ensuring that the process of change in South Africa would continue.

Sowetan 25/7/91

Process of change

"It will consider appropriate measures to ensure that the process of change in South Africa is irreversible and that genuine conditions are created for a speedy realisation of a democratic nonracial, united South Africa."

The members of the committee are Nigeria, Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Angola, Uganda, Algeria, Congo, Ethiopia, Cape Verde and Namibia

Leaders of the ANC and the PAC would also attend the meeting. - *Sapa-Reuter.*

OAU to talk on sanctions against SA

ARG 29/7/91 (230)

LAGOS — African leaders meet in Nigeria today to discuss how to respond to changing attitudes towards South Africa as it moves to end apartheid

The meeting of the Organisation of African Unity's ad hoc committee on Southern Africa will focus on the relaxation of sanctions against South Africa

Political analysts said the leaders would probably try to balance the OAU's support for sanctions with the reality of the weakening international will to isolate South Africa

It will be the committee's first meeting since an OAU summit in June instructed it to work out policy towards Pretoria

Officials of South African anti-apartheid groups, including the ANC, are due to attend — Sapa-Reuter

CT 29/7/91

Crucial summit for OAU debate on SA sanctions

(230)

LONDON — President Robert Mugabe yesterday arrived in Abuja, Nigeria, for a crucial OAU summit to review Africa's future relations with Pretoria, Zimbabwe's domestic news agency reported

The meeting of the OAU ad hoc committee on South Africa follows the US lifting of sanctions against South Africa

The US decision has been criticised as premature by the ANC and the United Nations' main anti-apartheid body

The sanctions issue appears to have put Africa in a serious political dilemma with confusion in many countries as to the final mechanism for ending apartheid in South Africa, Ziana said

Divisions are beginning to emerge despite years of Africa's vigorous campaigns to isolate Pretoria

At the same time South Africa has mounted an aggressive diplomatic campaign to open up relations with African countries

What happens in Abuja this week will depend largely on the position of the frontline states and the liberation movements, Ziana reported

While the ANC is in favour of a phased programme, the PAC is against any concessions

It is not yet clear how the ANC's phased programme will be interpreted in Abuja, Ziana added

The ANC is expected to clarify its position to frontline state leaders in pre-summit consultations before presenting it to the full ad hoc committee

● Pakistan will continue to maintain sanctions against South Africa, Ziana reports, quoting a Pakistan statement issued on Saturday — Sapa

OAU urges world to retain sanctions

Star 30/7/91. (230)

ABUJA (Nigeria) — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) called on the international community yesterday to maintain sanctions against South Africa, saying their relaxation by some countries was premature

"We believe that time is not ripe for the lifting of sanctions against the apartheid regime of South Africa," the OAU's ad hoc committee on southern Africa said after meeting here

The committee said it regretted that some nations had already eased sanctions, adding that the move was "premature and capable of undermining the current process of change"

It urged them to keep the remaining sanctions in place

The OAU chairman, Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, earlier said the European Community, the United States and Japan, which have relaxed economic sanctions, should now devote greater energy to persuading President de Klerk to move rapidly towards democratisation

"They must use the leverage which their lifting sanctions has conferred on them to persuade the De Klerk administration to take fundamental steps in support of change," he said at the start of the meeting

The talks were attended by seven African presidents, the Namibian Prime Minister and Ministers of six other nations, as well as representatives of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress

It was the committee's first meeting since an OAU summit in June instructed it to work out a policy towards South Africa

The communique said recent revelations of South African Government secret funding of the Inkatha movement had created a crisis threatening the process of change in the country

The African leaders urged Pretoria to take steps to restore the confidence of South Africans and the international community in its commitment to the dismantling of apartheid

"We urge the South African Government to remove all obstacles to negotiations and speed the process of creating a non-racial democratic South Africa where everyone will have the right to vote," the communique said

The OAU also asked black anti-apartheid groups to join ranks in the struggle to end white rule — Sapa-Reuter

OAU to push for sanctions

230

CT 13/8/91

MBABANE — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) will press for continued sanctions against South Africa until all the racist laws and principles are done away with in practice, says OAU secretary-general Dr Salim Ahmed Salim

During a three-day official visit to Swaziland at the weekend Dr Salim also said the OAU understood Swaziland's heavy economic dependence on neighbouring SA.

He said his talks with government leaders would concern political changes. — Sapa

Justifying calamity recount

FM 23/8/91 (230)

A recent decision in the Cape Special Income Tax Court held that taxpayers may not arbitrarily write down trading stock (inventories) to arrive at an across-the-board net realisable value

Stock, said the court, must be valued at cost, less item-by-item provisions based on the considerations operative when the accounts are actually written up and stock values estimated A taxpayer cannot rely on a "calamity basis" of valuation which cannot be retrospectively justified

Post-year-end stock realisations will naturally be an indication of net realisable values, so should be given full weight when preparing the accounts, said the court

In general, prudent management prefers to place a low rather than a high value on trading stock, which has the effect of reducing taxable income

Beric Croome, a tax partner at Kessel Feinstein, explains that in the Cape case, a second-hand motor dealer applied an across-the-board write-off of 50% for its entire stock The Commissioner not only used his statutory discretion to disallow the write-off, but imposed a penalty of 100% additional tax on the additional income thrown up by eliminating the provision, restoring the value of the stock to cost Revenue may impose a penalty of up to 200% in cases of tax evasion

Fortified by this decision, Revenue has since asked major listed groups to furnish details of the amount and nature of provisions to reduce the value of trading stock

Under Section 22 of the Income Tax Act, stock must be valued at cost, less such amount as the Commissioner "may think just and reasonable" as representing the amount by which its value has diminished for any "satisfactory" reason

This gives the Commissioner broad discretion to allow the writing-down of stock — a discretion which is subject to neither objection nor appeal

Under generally accepted accounting practice, "estimates of net realisable value should be based on the reliable evidence available at the time (they) are made"

Croome notes that the current tax return for companies and close corporations calls for specific details of stock provisions Furthermore, taxpayers must be able to document and justify all provisions (write-offs) claimed The Commissioner has indicated that where stock provisions are found to be excessive he may impose treble tax

This might be in a case where he regards a stock write-down as non-disclosure, if a net figure is reported without indicating that a provision has been subtracted from the cost To avoid this, not only should a provision be stated, so should the basis of calculation

Where the taxpayer can show that the provision is necessary to reduce the stock from cost to net realisable value on an item-by-item basis, this should be more easily justified than an across-the-board write-off of a fixed percentage of cost

Once self-assessment for companies and close corporations is in operation, says Croombe, Revenue will have more staff available to inspect company records, so the risk of disallowance of stock write-offs — and resultant penalties — will increase

The - OAU Organisation of African Unity

(230)

New Nation (Learning IN) 30/8-5/9/91.

For the past 28 years, the OAU has attempted to unite African countries and assist them in their struggles for liberation from colonialism and imperialism. The OAU has tried to present a united voice on African issues at world forums and discussions and has always remained steadfast in its opposition towards apartheid in South Africa. In this article we shall look at the history of this organisation, what it attempted to do and its successes and failures.

Kwame Nkrumah with the Ethiopian leader Haile Selassie. The Organisation of African Unity was formed in Ethiopia's capital of Addis Ababa in 1963, and incorporated Nkrumah's pan-Africanist ideas.

The Formation of the OAU

In 1958 Ghana became the first African country to win independence. This occurred at the time that national liberation struggles were being waged throughout Africa and when the struggle for democracy was intensified in South Africa. In 1960 the Congo won independence from Belgium. But these victories did not occur without continued attacks by the imperialist powers on the liberatory movements and the radical political leadership which the independence struggles gave birth to In this context many African leaders called for pan-Africanism - African unity against the attempts by the ex-colonial powers to undermine independence.

In this mood of pan-Africanism and national liberation the leaders of 32 African states gathered in Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia, the only African country that had never been colonised, to form the OAU On 25 May 1963, the OAU Charter was approved and signed by member countries. This date is commemorated today as African Liberation Day.

Aims of the OAU

The OAU Charter outlines the aims of the organisation, which are:

- to promote the unity and solidarity of African and Malagasy states
- to co-ordinate and intensify their efforts to achieve a better life for the people of Africa
- to defend their sovereignty, territory and independence
- to end all forms of colonialism in Africa
- to promote international co-operation and
- to respect the charter of the UNO and the Declaration of Human Rights.

Principles of the OAU

Within the OAU, all member countries are equal The OAU will not interfere in the domestic affairs of member states, will respect boundaries of member states and will try to settle all conflicts peacefully.

The Structure of the OAU

The heads of all the member states make up the **Council of the OAU** and meet annually. Each country has one vote and a two-thirds majority is required for a resolution to be passed The **Council of Foreign Affairs Ministers** meets twice a year and must execute (carry out) the resolutions passed by the Heads of State. The **Secretariat** is based in Addis Ababa and is headed by a **Secretary-General** who is responsible for the administration of the OAU The **Commission for Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration** settles disputes among African countries. There are also seven specialised commissions to handle economic, social, educational, health, cultural and defence matters and finally, the **African Liberation Committee** meets in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, to co-ordinate the activities of independence movements and to allocate financial assistance

Achievements of the OAU

The OAU has sometimes managed to **promote unity and co-operation** amongst African countries. Border conflicts led to wars between Algeria and Morocco, Somalia and Ethiopia, Uganda and Tanzania, Senegal and Guinea and Niger and Dahomey. The OAU intervened and settled each conflict

But the OAU's greatest achievement has been the **struggle to end colonialism.** The OAU is a strong pressure body and its success was seen when the British ended the Central African Federation of North and South Rhodesia and Nyasaland The OAU objected to the Portuguese occupation of Angola and Mozambique and exerted pressure on the racist minority-elected regimes in Africa, like Rhodesia and South Africa. And the OAU gave support to the liberation movements fighting Ian Smith's rule over Rhodesia, South Africa's occupation of Namibia and apartheid in South Africa. Member countries of the OAU used political and economic weapons such as boycotts and sanctions and provided bases for guerrillas.

The membership of the OAU grew as African countries gained independence one by one. By 1970, Africa had 41 votes in the UNO's General Assembly. Pressure from the OAU led to the expulsion of Portugal and South Africa from all sports bodies and from the International Labour Organisation and South Africa was refused entry into the Olympic Games Although these were successes of the UNO, it was the African bloc within the UNO which exerted pressure.

The **African Development Bank** has financed projects in over 40 African countries, for example it helped finance the 1 250 mile railway from Zambia to Tanzania, loaned money to Tunisia for irrigation and assisted Uganda with a sewage project.

The OAU and the UNO **High Commission for Refugees** have worked tirelessly to assist refugees. It was estimated that over a million African people had fled their respective countries because of political or socio-economic problems

Failures of the OAU

The fact that African countries gained independence under the yoke of imperialism has left a burden of poverty and divisions. **The borders of the newly-independent African states were written for them** by the ex-colonial countries Debt has plunged Africa into poverty In many ways, African states remain **dependent financially** on their former colonial oppressors. For these reasons many African countries have suffered from inter-regional and tribal wars Examples of such wars were in Nigeria in 1967 to 1971, Burundi in 1990 and Ethiopia/Eritrea throughout the 1980's

Faced with these major difficulties the OAU has had very little success in preventing conflicts such as the Nigerian civil war involving Biafra, or in ensuring the economic growth of Africa as a region

The OAU has supported the struggles of movements fighting against regimes which oppress their people, but was unsuccessful in intervening in member countries such as Uganda where Idi Amin subjected the people to atrocities

Despite these weaknesses the OAU remains a powerful organisation today. It unites all African countries around the need to co-operate to ensure true independence and economic growth. In a world dominated by the imperialist powers this fact serves as a source of inspiration for people throughout Africa.

Try these exercises

Define the following concepts:

(a) colonialism
(b) national liberation
(c) nationalism
(d) imperialism
(e) pan-Africanism

Answers

(a) when one country rules another politically
(b) to gain independence
(c) the desire to keep out foreign powers
(d) economic control over countries under capitalism
(e) the desire to unite all Africa

OAU money rescues black unity meeting

S/Times 1/9/91 230

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE on-off patriotic front conference to seek unity among black liberation movements has been bailed out by a huge financial pledge from the Organisation of African Unity.

The conference, which is being arranged jointly by the ANC, PAC and Azapo, has been postponed twice because of lack of money and preparation

Yesterday sources close to the organisers said the conference would now proceed later this month or early in October after the OAU pledged about R700 000 towards the costs on Friday

The organisers say that more money has been pledged by other countries sympathetic to the conference, such as Malaysia, Libya and Indonesia, as well as Western countries such as Canada, the United States and West Germany

PAC Information and Publicity secretary Barney Desai confirmed the pledges yesterday but refused to give figures

"I can say, however, that the OAU is giving us substantial material support It would be undiplomatic to give further details I can confirm Canada, the US and West Germany are also among our sponsors

"There is no chance that the conference will be called off We accept that we were a bit too optimistic with our previous proposed dates and we are still negotiating a mutually acceptable date."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday that "logistical problems" were continuing to hamper efforts by the parties to agree on a date.

Although the organisers have consistently blamed the postponement on "logistical reasons" it has emerged that the real problem was funding.

Refused

Although a provisional date of September 20-21 has been set, by this weekend no firm date or venue had been agreed on. Sources say the conference is more likely to take place towards the end of October.

It is also understood that Western countries were reluctant to be seen to sponsor a conference which excluded one of the main black parties, the Inkatha Freedom Party of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Dr Buthelezi has refused to take part in the conference because it was "a ganging-up" of blacks against whites and was, therefore, "the politics of a decade ago"

The ANC/PAC/Azapo conference liaison committee meets at the PAC headquarters in Johannesburg this weekend to try to reach consensus on a venue and date.

General keeps his genial eye on Africa

B/Day 12/9/91 (230)

TIM COHEN

GENERAL Olusegun Obasanjo is best known in SA as the co-chairman of the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons' Group, which made one of the first concerted attempts to draw government and the ANC into exploratory talks in 1986

At the time he was reported to have drawn the then Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan aside during discussions with members of the P W Botha government to tell him "We generals understand each other"

In retrospect, given the fact that the group's mission came to naught, primarily because of military attacks authorised by Malan against neighbouring states, Obasanjo's comments erred generously on the side of diplomacy

This seems entirely in character He was also the first African military leader to voluntarily relinquish power to a civilian government, only to see the military take over again three years later

The situation in SA has changed and the Eminent Persons' Group's aims almost have been realised But Obasanjo continues in his genial — if slightly naive — way to mediate, assist and cajole Africans on to a path of co-operation and development

And the size of his task has increased dramatically No longer satisfied with being mediator in a number of African squabbles, he has embarked on a mission to "change the living conditions of the African people" The tool he has forged for this purpose is the African Leadership Forum

The latest topic canvassed by the forum was Challenges of Post-Apartheid SA, which were discussed at last week's conference in Windhoek Obasanjo told delegates "The new SA may represent a turning point for Africa as it should mark the beginning of effective continental co-operation and integration"

One of the techniques Obasanjo has devised to develop this process of integration is the Pretoria-Abuja-Cairo axis — an idea he shares with President F W de Klerk

The idea is that these centres should harmonise their efforts and act as nodes for the development of a trading and investment axis

But on the specifics of how such an axis would work in practice, Obasanjo is vague It's just an idea, he says, which like the idea which formed the basis for the EC, will be tossed around until there is enough impetus for it to take a concrete form However, the idea's real application will not begin until SA is back in the African fold On when this will occur, Obasanjo believes it should take place, loosely speaking, when the ANC and other organisations say so

In his speech at the Windhoek conference he said "The oppressed non-white citizens of SA, who have been the victims of apartheid and who led the struggle to destroy the evil system, are best placed to make the final pronouncement on the victory which primarily belongs to them"

But he leaves open the possibility that this may happen when an "interim government of alliance" has been formed

In the meantime, Obasanjo expects that trade between SA and other African countries will increase, speculating that the OAU's pro-sanctions stance is likely to be observed mainly in the breach

"The OAU will continue to maintain a sanctions stance until apartheid is dead, if not buried I am not saying that this stance will mean that sanctions will be maintained But the stance will be maintained, effectively or non-effectively, as a policy"

He says this does make sense His apparent belief that there is no necessary connection between concrete reality and political policy has served him well It may also boost his chances of becoming the next UN secretary-general

Gen Olusegun Obasanjo believes "the new SA may represent a turning point for Africa" Picture ROBERT BO

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FM 20/9/91

SA IN AFRICA FM 20/9/91 (230)

The north calls

Though trade barriers are falling between SA and Africa, the Organisation of African Unity will not formally drop sanctions against this country until "the people of SA" say apartheid has been removed

This is the view of General Olusegun Obasanjo, former Nigerian head of state and a nominee for the post of UN secretary-general, during a brief visit to SA last week Obasanjo's views have in some ways been pivotal in SA's recent past and may prove so in the future

continue →

A co-chairman of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, whose report in 1986 ensured sanctions were universally applied against SA, Obasanjo was instrumental last year in mooting an economic strategy that could see increased trade between SA and the continent and that could lead to an economic revival on the continent that he calls "the Third World's third world"

Since most apartheid laws had been removed was this not enough to end sanctions? Obasanjo, pressing for anti-racist legislation to buffer the repeal of apartheid laws, says Africa is eager to welcome its pariah southern neighbour back into the fold However, apartheid must be perceived to have been removed by the majority in SA

Agreeing that sanctions are being undermined, Obasanjo nonetheless believes that an anti-apartheid stance must be maintained to ensure the removal of all legislated racism in SA

In July last year when Obasanjo met State President F W de Klerk, he suggested that Nigeria and SA could become the economic axis on which the continent revolves De Klerk received the idea with enthusiasm, suggesting that Egypt and Kenya also become points on that axis

It is a concept receiving a great deal of attention as Africa attempts to move toward an economic community by the turn of the century

Obasanjo (who is also chairman of the Africa Leadership Forum), says the four targeted countries in his economic power points idea have the infrastructure on which development can be based "We are not shutting people (the smaller economies) out, we are shutting them in If we talk of regional co-operation then of necessity, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Lesotho, Namibia, Angola and Malawi will benefit from sustained growth in SA One can say the same of Nigeria"

Obasanjo dismisses criticism of the concept "Most ideas are born and not utilised for years Let's use these ideas and better them Do we have a choice when the world is closing into economic zones?

"In North America, we have the USA coming together with Canada, Mexico, the Caribbean and Latin America Europe will no doubt include the three new Baltic states and, by the year 2000, Europe will have considerably widened

"If we want to progress quickly, we have to have centres We have to make regions work more efficiently and move faster The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference can admit SA once apartheid is eliminated, or it can fuse with economic co-operation blocs that take care of eastern and central Africa too

"We're talking of a model of economic co-operation which will lead to economic integration There are 11 regional economic organisations in Africa It is far too many, the creation of four economic power points will increase efficiency and growth"

continue →

Chief Sonekan, chairman of the United African Corporation, who visited SA with Obasanjo, said that in terms of economic co-operation, "if anything is going to happen in the future, now is the time to lay the foundation The industrial sector in SA is very solid and I think we can learn from that The most important thing is to find out whether or not there can be acceptance on both sides"

He said that Nigeria was interested in SA's oil-from-coal technology "We have a substantial amount of coal in Nigeria and that is perhaps an area we could work together on" FM 20/9/91.

Chief Obafemi Olopade, a director of the First Interstate Merchant Bank of Nigeria, who accompanied Obasanjo, said Nigeria and SA could begin building bridges now by creating facilities for entrepreneurs and business executives in both nations to have a cross-pollination of ideas and experiences. "I have been itching to come here for some time to see what I can do at government level, behind the scenes, to begin building strong foundations for future economic co-operation"

Nigeria's Obasanjo *promoting regional development*

Olopade said he had still encountered a lot of ignorance and fear in SA, but was convinced that with increased interaction between businessmen from the two countries, this would disappear

Obasanjo and his group of top Nigerian businessmen and academics met top SA businessmen and senior government officials including State President F W de Klerk He said the mistakes of Africa could be sourced to two primary causes "Those of omission and those of commission Those of commission were when Africans wanted to feather their own nests, or that of a section of the community The mistakes of omission were often made because we lacked the knowledge or competence If we gather up the leaders of Africa now in every field and begin working together, we can prevent the continent from becoming marginalised" ■

Road to the world widens

Star 25/9/91. (230)

South Africa's avenues back to worldwide acceptance seem to be shifting all the time
By GERALD L'ANGE of the Star Africa Service

THE BELIEF long held in Pretoria that South Africa's road back to international acceptance runs through Africa may be revised by the Department of Foreign Affairs

It is certainly being reconsidered by Neil van Heerden Director-General of Foreign Affairs

"I have personally come to question somewhat the position of the past whereby we said that our road to the rest of the world leads through Africa,' he said in an interview in Pretoria

"It is true that the outside world does look at Organisation of African Unity (OAU) positions and the positions of important individual African countries when they consider dealing with South Africa

"But there is another dimension to South Africa's place in the world and that does not necessarily go through the African capitals

"The world has grown very much smaller South Africa has been an international player in trade and also politically

"Whether through criticism or praise, we have had a high profile internationally, and that has carried us into the living rooms of people across the world."

That road had not run through Africa — it had gone directly to the international community, with South Africa recognised as a part of that community, Mr Van Heerden said

While South Africa was "pushing to normalise our situation with Africa, we are also pushing to normalise our situation globally — politically, economically, culturally and in sport.

"I tend to come to the conclusion that the notion that we are tied to this road through Africa has changed, if indeed it was ever an entirely valid statement

"There is another dimension to our position in the world than the African one

"It also has to do a bit with the fact that Africa is under threat of being marginalised

"And now that sanctions are going, people are going to look at South Africa as a market, as a tourist destination, as a trading partner per se, and not through the perspective of how this would fit into the overall African scene.

"In fact, there are indications that many major international players have burnt their fingers elsewhere in Africa and are looking at South Africa as a platform and a safe haven from which they can have African operations"

At the same time, Mr Van Heerden noted that recent developments had given greater substance to South Africa's claim to be an African country

AndAfrica, itself, had changed radically over the past few years, with its peoples' demanding pluralistic democracy, and developing countries threatening to withhold aid if they did not get it.

While the traditional stand of the Organisation of African Unity had not changed, African countries were individually telling South Africa that the OAU rhetoric was no longer in keeping with the changed situation in the country and the continent in general.

Mr van Heerden said it would be interesting to see whether President Babangida of Nigeria, the new OAU chairman, would be "the person to take the issue of South Africa across the threshold into a new era"

"I wouldn't be surprised if precisely such an intention is on the agenda"

In response, South Africa was continuing to put out signals that it had a right to be, and wanted to be part of the continent.

Mr van Heerden noted however, that South Africa could not begin to meet Africa's enormous needs for aid, especially as it own domestic backlog must take priority

This would dictate that a strict system of priorities must operate, based on South Africa's own national interests

Trade would be an important criterion for developing relations with African countries but so would the "political weight" of other countries.

As a country in transition — with "lots of unfinished domestic business" — South Africa would want to avoid being caught up in friction and tensions elsewhere

South Africa would not be a major donor of aid for a long time but would rather be a technical power

As a regional force, South Africa must live in harmony with its neighbours

What had been "a rather adverserial climate" in the region was changing, although there still was an adverserial relationship with Zimbabwe

He hoped, however, that this relationship would also benefit from the 'general sense of reconciliation and the acceptance of the need to talk to each other, even if we differ"

Discussing the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), Mr Van Heerden said that it was increasingly being recognised that no regional association could succeed if it excluded South Africa □

Neil van Heerden South Africa cannot begin to meet Africa's enormous needs for aid

Angola, Zimbabwe seen as primary investment targets

(230)

Star 7/10/91

By Ramsay Milne
Star Foreign Service

NEW YORK — Angola and Zimbabwe are likely to join South Africa in the next decade as the primary targets for foreign investors tapping into the African continent, according to a wide range of US investment experts and businessmen

Quoted extensively in the US Journal of Commerce, an authoritative industrial and commercial publication with semi-official links in Washington, the experts believe that South Africa, southern Africa's most industrialized nation, would serve as the "economic engine" for the region, with its wealth of natural resources and a potential market of 150 million consumers

Trading bloc

Already loosely aligned into a mix of economic and political partnerships, southern Africa could eventually produce Africa's first significant trading bloc, according to the experts quoted in the report, most of whom represent major US corporations or investment institutions.

South Africa would make a starting-off point for the area, says William Moses, a research analyst at the Investor Responsibility Research Centre in Washington. "It's like companies using Vienna to take advantage of Eastern Europe."

Millard Arnold, a senior associate with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, says one trading zone that could emerge in a post-apartheid Africa would encompass South Africa, Mozambique and the 18 current members of the Preferential Trade Area

The group was started by the Organisation for African Unity about 10 years ago to promote trade in the region

Its members are Angola, Botswana, Burundi, the Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Somalia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe

Fairly free

Another possibility was for Mozambique and Zimbabwe to join the Southern African Customs Union, which already allows for fairly free trade among its five member countries, Mr Arnold says.

This would give goods entering Mozambique's ports improved access to South African consumers.

But, Mr Arnold warns, the region has a long way to go before it is able to set up a trading bloc that would help foreign investors

Nonetheless, even though the area would not be economically viable for five to 10 years, US investors should be looking at the area now to remain competitive.

"US companies are unfamiliar with Africa and don't see the niches to be carved out of it, as Europeans do," he says.

"It takes two to three years to be up and running. By the time we get there, it may be too late."

Anatomy of an African statesman

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Star 11/10/91

By MARTIN CHALLENOR

SALIM Ahmed Salim, the secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) who is coming to Durban to address the Patriotic Front conference later this month, is one of the most experienced diplomats active in politics on the continent at the moment

The OAU is partly sponsoring the conference which will be attended by 82 anti-apartheid organisations

Mr Salim (49) became Tanzania's representative at the UN in 1979, after holding diplomatic posts in Cuba, Egypt, India, Korea, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago

In 1985 he was appointed Tanzania's deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence He has served as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister

Mr Salim is seen in diplomatic circles as a pragmatist and less ideologically rigid than the previous Tanzanian president, Julius Nyerere

He has maintained a strong anti-apartheid stance and is an outspoken critic of the Western industrial countries

Mr Salim took over as OAU secretary-general in July 1989 Critics said at the time he moved into the OAU because his political career in Tanzania had come to a temporary standstill

He has been instructed by the OAU to bring the warring factions in Somalia together at a multi-party conference in an effort to stop the civil war

Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, the current OAU chairman, has promised to use his term of office to pursue the achievement of a peaceful settlement in South Africa

In his closing remarks to the OAU summit in June, President Babangida called for an end to the violence in SA

He holds a mandate to review sanctions against South Africa, in consultation with the Front Line states and liberation movements, if Pretoria moves on key issues "Africa is now engaged in the final onslaught against apartheid," President Babangida has said □

Salim Ahmed Salim has maintained a strong anti-apartheid stance

OAU interim govt mooted

C/Press 27/10/91. (230)

Impartial authority needed – Makwetu

By S'BU MNGADI

THE Organisation of African Unity (OAU) could become South Africa's interim government if the ANC, PAC and their patriotic front allies have their way.

In their opening addresses at the three-day conference, both PAC president Clarence Makwetu and ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu emphasised the need for an impartial transitional authority.

Makwetu said impartial and fair supervision of the transition had to be ensured The form of the transitional authority would be negotiated when the front discussed the structure of a constituent assembly with the government.

The OAU funded the three-day conference to the tune of R750 000 while Canada's government contributed R56 000.

The idea of a patriotic front made up of South Africa's liberation movements was conceived at an OAU meeting attended by Mandela and Makwetu in Kampala, Uganda, earlier this year.

Sisulu welcomed the OAU's readiness to play an active role in the transition process

"The OAU Ad-Hoc Committee on Southern Africa is poised to come to South Africa on a fact-finding mission, prepared to monitor the period of transformation and help ensure the levelling of the playing field," he said.

In resolutions being drafted at the conference, which ends today, the ANC, PAC and a broad spectrum of organisations agree the OAU should monitor transition in the run-up to the country's first non-racial elections.

Makwetu said a transitional authority "would control at least the security forces, the electoral process, State media, and defined areas of budget and finance" through joint structures for a limited period.

OAU general secretary Salim Ahmed Salim, who was expected to open the conference on Friday, failed to arrive because of "unforeseen commitments", the ANC's Thabo Mbeki said.

OAU representatives Brig Hashim Mbita of Tanzania and Mamoudou Kane, heads of the OAU's liberation committee and political department respectively, received a rousing welcome from delegates

Mbitha said yesterday that Africa wanted to see a broad, united front emerge for the "final onslaught on apartheid".

While there had been a number of positive political developments in South Africa, these fell far short of the "demands of the people".

"You have a long way to go before the process of change becomes irreversible," he said

(230)

Nigerian govt invites FW and Pik

Star 31/10/91

LAGOS — President de Klerk or another senior South African official is likely to visit Nigeria, current head of the Organisation of African Unity, in the next two months, official Nigerian sources said yesterday

"A visit is definitely on target for before the end of the year It will be either De Klerk or (Foreign Minister Pik) Botha or both," a source close to President Ibrahim Babangida said

A visit by Mr de Klerk to Lagos would signal that the OAU, some of whose 51 members have already forged ties with Pretoria, was about to end SA's formal isolation in Africa

"If they come here, they will definitely not be turned back. Nigeria, as OAU leader, is obliged to listen to the other side and to help the cause of peace."

The sources indicated that tentative plans for Mr de Klerk or Mr Botha to visit Nigeria two months ago were shelved following revelations that the Government had secretly funded the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"Now, Inkathagate or no Inkathagate, the negotiations in South Africa will go on," one source said — Sapa-Reuter

OAU bungles in UN call to bar SA

(230)

S/Times 17/11/91

By DON JACOBS
Harare

OAU militants have made another classic diplomatic howler — barring South Africa from rejoining the United Nations Food and Agriculture Authority on the same day Zimbabwe concluded a vital R45-million deal for maize from SA.

Diplomats here compared it with President Robert Mugabe's classic gaffe three months ago, when he asked Pretoria to renegotiate his "most favoured nation" trade agreement, inherited from Mr Ian Smith's Rhodesian government, on the same day he urged world leaders to maintain sanctions.

In September, SA came to the rescue of Zambia with a R1,2-billion maize deal, averting the imminent prospect of famine.

Currency

SA was hoping for readmission to the FAO, which is headquartered in Rome, at a meeting in the Italian capital last week, but the matter was deferred for two years as a result of strong pressure from OAU states, including Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe's parastatal Grain Marketing Board may run out of maize in February as a result of a pricing bungle.

Diplomats here see the bungle as the work of Zimbabwe's 190 000 bureaucrats, who face a 25 percent reduction in numbers.

Economist John Robertson, breaking a 20-month silence last week, noted that President Mugabe's government was still absorbing 60 percent of Zimbabwe's Gross National Product.

Civil service redundancies could inject an immediate R600-million into the economy, with speedy benefits for the two million unemployed, said Mr Robertson.

Mr Robertson was silenced on the orders of Zimbabwe Reserve Bank governor Dr Kombo Moyana in March 1990 after he attacked mismanagement of exchange rate policy.

Moves to get PAC back into negotiations

S/Times 22/12/91

By CHARLES LEONARD and NORMAN WEST

THE UN and the OAU plan to play the role of facilitators to get the PAC back into the Codesa fold.

"It will be a continuous process through our organisations," said Professor Ibrahim Gambari of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid and Nigeria's permanent representative at the UN.

"Both the PAC and the ANC have observer status at the UN and the OAU. The role we will play there will be those of observer and facilitator.

"However, we do not intend to pressurise anyone — it is ultimately the people of South Africa who have to find the solutions in establishing a new SA."

Professor Gambari's sentiments were echoed by Chief Segum Olusola, Nigeria's ambassador to the OAU and the representative at Codesa of the chairman of the OAU, President Babangida of Nigeria.

"The OAU will continue to play any role it is required by the South African people to play We will not impose ourselves, though," Chief Olusola said

Meanwhile, a revolt is reportedly brewing in PAC ranks after militants forced the organisation to quit Codesa at their consultative conference this week (230)

PAC president Clarence Makwetu — a leading hawk — said on Monday the PAC had decided unanimously to quit Codesa, mainly because the government and the ANC appeared to have collaborated in rejecting his organisation's demand for a neutral venue and convener for Codesa.

OAU SEES THE LIGHT

S/Times 22/12/91

CODESA buzzed with rumours this week that delegates from the OAU, impressed by a city in which lights switch on and telephones work, were planning to shift their headquarters to Johannesburg.

(230)

But Chief Segun Olusola, Nigerian ambassador to Ethiopia and the OAU, said at Codesa yesterday that there was no truth in the rumour.

O. A. U. 1992

Pana ruined by debts

Sowetan 10/11/92 (23C)

By MATHATHA TSEDU

AFRICA seems destined for the biggest collective political embarassment with the imminent closure of the Pan African News Agency.

Pana, created in 1979 as part of the continent s fight against biased Western coverage which emphasised negative events, owes over R2,8 million in Dakar

In turn the Agency is owed over R50,4 million in arrear contributions by members of the Organisation of African Unity, most of whom have not paid their dues for years

Central to the problems that plagued the agency since its inception has been the shortage of foreign currency in many African states, which makes remittances to the agency difficult

OAU secereta ry general, Mr Salim Ahmed Salim, said that the collapse of PANA would "seriously undermine the credibility of Africans because Pana enshrines the spirit of Pan Africanism and Africa's attempt to break from foreign monopoly in the sector of information"

Pana's formation lay in what came to be known as the New World Information Order

This meant that the domination of the flow of information in the world by western agencies such as Reuter, Agence France Press, United Press International and Associated Press, reflected badly on the image of the continent

Western agencies only sent their reporters to cover major disasters such as droughts or the fall of a dictator

To counter this, states had to have national news agencies which would exchange homegrown news so that the news are not only restricted to droughts, coups and civil wars

The linkup of the national agencies is through Pana, which then sends to all affiliated countries and to the Non Aligned Movement News Pool in New Delhi, India

Babangida suggests establishing African defence force

LINDEN BIRNS

THE establishment of a joint African defence force to fulfil a peacekeeping role on the continent has been mooted by Nigerian President and OAU chairman Ibrahim Babangida

Former SA Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan previously suggested that SA could involve itself in such a force

According to the latest edition of Jane's Defence Weekly, Babangida made his proposals at a recent sitting of the OAU's 27th session

He said the force would be able to resolve conflicts obstructing development of many African nations It could also act as a watchdog against tyranny and militocracy.

Jane's said Babangida had suggested that member states contribute to an African Defence Fund to finance the force's peacekeeping efforts

The idea a continental defence force was first suggested in the 1960s, but was never adopted by the OAU

Jane's SA Correspondent Helmoed-Romer Heitman said SA was the only country in Africa with a reliable armaments manufacturing capability and infrastructure He agreed that SA involvement in such a force would be a filip to the arms industry, but said the formation of a multinational force was still a long way off

SA military spokesmen were unable to comment yesterday on whether SA would consider supporting such a force

Babangida said a pan-African force would ideally have a capability forcibly to prevent foreign powers from taking advantage of African crises

Heitman said that a more promising proposal was establishing of three regional African forces, with a west African force led by Nigeria, Kenya leading in east Africaand SA at the helm of a southern-central African force

Pretoria University Strategic Studies Institute Head, Prof Mike Hough, said on Friday that it would be dubious for SA to consider joining a pan-African force prior to constitutional change

B/Day 27/1/92

(230)

STAR 4/3/92

It's a gimmick – OAU

(230)

WINDHOEK — The Organisation of African Unity rejected the white referendum in South Africa as a gimmick intended to jeopardise the peace process, Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab said on his return to Windhoek from a five-day OAU Council of Ministers meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on Sunday

OAU turns around on sanctions

230

Sowetan 5/3/92

LAGOS - The Organisation of African Unity "will need to adjust its position" on sanctions against South Africa, according to Nigeria's foreign ministry.

The change is needed as a result of the evolution of the position of the Commonwealth and the United Nations, a ministry statement said on Tuesday.

Nigerian President General Ibrahim Babangida is current chairman of the OAU

The ministry urged African nations to "adopt a concerted, pragmatic, gradual and conditional approach" to the lifting of sanctions

This is with a view to giving incentives to the negotiators and negotiation process in South Africa, the statement said

The best way for the OAU to ensure the continuation of this process is through the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, said the statement

"Codesa represents a step in the right direction to the much-awaited transfer of power to a democratically elected government in South Africa," it added

The statement described as "unfortunate" the non-participation of the Pan Africanist Congress in Codesa, saying that such an action "sends wrong signals at a time when the unity of all patriotic forces is absolutely imperative"

Nigeria considers the continued activities of "retrogressive groups" that "unleash mindless violence" in the townships and the action of white extremists attempting to incite the white population to try to reverse the process of abandoning apartheid are "disturbing" developments, the ministry said - *Sapa-AFP*

NEWS IN BRIEF

B/Day 5/3/92

OAU must shift on SA

THE Organisation of African Unity (OAU) would need to adjust its position on sanctions against SA in line with the stance taken by the Commonwealth and the UN, Nigeria's Foreign Ministry said.

It urged African nations to adopt a "concerted, pragmatic, gradual and conditional approach" to lifting sanctions, with a view to giving incentives to SA negotiators and the negotiation process (230)

B/Day 17/3/92

OAU chief voices concern

(230)

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim yesterday warned SA whites not to reject reform. Salim, a Tanzanian, expressed "serious reservations" about the referendum being confined to whites "This may, unfortunately, give the white population the illusion that it can exercise a veto over the transition to peace" They should rather realise that the future lay in the continuation of Codesa negotiations, he said

REPORTS Business Day Reporters and Sapa-AFP

OAU president to step up support for PAC

(230)

Staff Reporter ~~and Sapa~~

STAR 18/3/92

Nigerian President Ebrahim Babangida has promised — in his capacity as chairman of the Organisation of African Unity — to step up material support for the Pan Africanist Congress

President Babangida met with PAC leader Clarence Makwetu for three hours yesterday in Abuja, Nigeria

The PAC said yesterday that Mr Makwetu fully briefed President Babangida on the PAC's position on Codesa, the Patriotic Front, the referendum and the ongoing and escalating violence in the country

According to the organisation, President Babangida expressed his full support for the PAC's position and promised to step up their material aid

The organisation's publicity secretary Barney Desai said Mr Makwetu was visiting the country at the invitation of Nigeria

Asked what kind of aid the organisation was hoping for, Mr Desai said he could not "expand on the issue at this stage"

He also said he was not in a postion to comment the organisation's stance on Codesa

Mr Makwetu, who is accompanied by PAC Secretary for Political Affairs, Mahlubi Mbandazayo, returns on Friday

The PAC is to hold a congressional meeting on April 3 and 6 which would be attended by delegates from "many parts of the world", Mr Desai said

President Babangida more support for PAC

Clarence Makwetu briefed Nigerians

Babangida wants OAU involvement

(230)

Sowetan 23/3/92

THE president of the Organisation of African Unity has proposed that the OAU become involved in containing the violence in South African townships, says Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu

Speaking on his return from a visit to Nigeria, Makwetu said he had extensive discussions with Nigerian President Ebrahim Babangida, who is also the chairman of the OAU

He said the OAU was particularly concerned about the violence in the townships and Babangida had proposed OAU involvement to contain the violence

Makwetu said in his absence white South Africans had voted in "a racist referendum" which the PAC had strongly opposed - *Sapa*

African bank boss to visit

B/Day 27/3/92 (230)

ABIDJAN — The president of the African Development Bank, Babacar N'Diaye, will pay his first visit to SA starting on Sunday, diplomatic sources disclosed yesterday

They said an advance party was already in SA preparing N'Diaye's packed 12-day programme

N'Diaye, a 54-year-old Senegalese, has been president of the regional bank since 1985

SA is still excluded from bank membership because it is not a member of the OAU

N'Diaye's visit will herald the start of open relations.

A bank press release on March 10 said membership of a democratic SA was "imminent"

The diplomatic sources said N'Diaye's visit was being organised with the government-owned Development Bank of SA, two of whose officials discreetly attended the bank's annual meeting last year for the first time

N'Diaye said then he had also invited the ANC although it did not send a representative

N'Diaye is expected to meet President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela as well as business leaders

A growing number of African countries are moving faster than the OAU's step-by-step policy towards SA and edging towards full diplomatic relations

Trade delegations to and from SA are criss-crossing the continent with many poor black states hoping to attract investment from SA

Diplomatic sources in Abidjan said Ivory Coast Foreign Minister Amara Essy would fly to SA on Monday

It will be the first time a West African foreign minister has paid a public visit to SA — Sapa-Reuter

sulation with the community

All college and school educa-

town) called for a national convention on the restructuring of education in South Africa – Sapa

Hope that SA will join African bank

Political Staff STAR 3/4/92

CAPE TOWN — South Africa could become a member of the powerful African Development Bank by 1994, according to its president, Babacar Ndiaye.

Mr Ndiaye, who is leading a nine-member delegation on a fact-finding mission to South Africa, was speaking after a lunch with President de Klerk which was also attended by a number of Ministers and leaders of parliamentary parties.

He has also met members of the ANC, PAC, SA Council of Churches as well as trade unions and development agencies

Mr Ndiaye said the bank would like to be ready to be operational in the southern African region when this was possible (230)

South Africa will have to become a member of the Organisation of African Unity before it can join the bank.

Mr de Klerk said the delegation had had wide-ranging discussions on the process of change in southern Africa and the role the country could play in development on the continent

Pik would keep job but wouldn't be sent to OAU, says Mbeki

STAR 3/4/92

Political Staff (230)

CAPE TOWN — National Party Cabinet ministers are likely to retain their posts in an interim government, says ANC shadow foreign minister Thabo Mbeki.

But this did not mean that Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha would be sent to an Organisation of African Unity meeting to represent South Africa, he added

Interviewed on Wednesday, Mr Mbeki said the ANC was hopeful an interim government would be in place by June

This would be phase one of the ANC's constitutional plans

Phase two would involve elections for a constituent assembly which would draft a new constitution

Mr Mbeki said the whole process should be completed by June next year.

"The principal task of an interim government would be to prepare the country for free and fair elections

"We are not proposing a major reconstruction of government during this period, and the Cabinet should continue to exist, just like we are are saying Parliament should live until it has given legal effect to decisions reached at Codesa and ended the own-affairs arrangement"

Mbeki . diplomatic corps with a "nonracial blend".

He said the ANC was proposing the appointment of an interim government council on which all participants in Codesa would be represented

This council would, through multiparty committees, control security, foreign affairs, local government and the Budget

"Our view is that ministers should not be removed from office, but become members of these committees But there will be joint decision-making"

Mr Mbeki said an interim government would have to ensure that policy was implemented by people who were "broadly acceptable" to transitional government structures

"Let's say that an interim government is in power in June, the OAU heads of state meet in July, and the new government is asked to be represented there. You can't send Pik Botha because he still represents Foreign Affairs"

He imagined South Africa's diplomatic corps would be strengthened "so that it has a more nonracial blend"

It was for this reason that the ANC was arranging with diplomatic schools in countries such as Tanzania, France, Egypt and England to have aspiring diplomats trained there

"The places are secure at these schools A batch of 20 people should leave for England at the beginning of May, but one of the key issues is funds I don't know when they'll be leaving"

● 15 years of crests and troughs — Page 13

ce the risk of intec- joined by a 24-year-old female companion, a cute, amusing story. So we decided
and is being kept in Roo, from the Whipsnade Zoo in England. him our black and white portable
hile he recovers. After Angus's recent operation, Mrs Lor- until he has made a full recovery,
led Miss De Beer.

Growing pressure on PAC to join Codesa

S/Times [Cape Metro] 5/4/92 (230)

NORMAN WEST reports from Umtata

YESTERDAY, two days into its three-day 3rd national congress since being unbanned on February 2, 1990, the PAC came under growing pressure to change it's hard-line anti-Codesa stance.

The uncompromising attitude expressed in speeches at the special presidential reception for the PAC leadership held by Transkei military leader Major General Bantu Holomisa on Thursday night and again on Friday and yesterday was, however, well-received by the militant youth core in the audience.

But in cautiously worded speeches by other dignatories and in messages delivered through envoys from well-wishing nations in Africa and Europe, the message to the PAC was clear — get into the negotiating scrum.

The most direct message to the PAC to stop its posturing and start making its voice heard where it matters, came from the leader of the Organisation for African Unity, Nigeria's President Ebrahim Babangida.

In a special letter addressed to his "brother" — PAC national President Mr Clarence Makwetu — the Nigerian leader told the PAC "the eyes of Africa are upon you".

Part of the contents — read to the congress by the Nigerian envoy Ambassador Olu Adeniji, Director General of External Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, — drew murmurs of surprise from observers.

He referred to the letter as "advice" to Mr Makwetu and the PAC.

President Babangida said the PAC congress was taking place at a momentous time in South Africa's history.

The international community was, therefore, anxiously awaiting the emergence of a non-racial democratic South Africa "as the product of the collective wisdom of all the South African people".

He said the OAU was looking forward to the day when South Africa returned to its rightful place in the OAU "but only once it guarantees the right to all its citizens of unfettered freedom to participate fully in the political process that determines the governors of your country".

"In the present circumstances it is the hope of the OAU that this congress will decide to work fully with other democratic forces to build a new South Africa," said President Babangida.

The OAU leader said it was his belief that "all hands should be on deck" to work out the modalities of that new South Africa.

Banquet launches craft fair

more than 200 people re- by the outer-school where
solved to continue

PAC to meet government

C/Press 5/4/92

By S'BU MNGADI

THE PAC will meet a high-powered government delegation outside South Africa as international efforts to woo the organisation into joining Codesa move into top gear

PAC president Clarence Makwetu, who will lead the organisation's delegation at the bilateral talks on Thursday in Abuja, Nigeria, said he did not rule out the possibility of the PAC rejoining Codesa – depending on the outcome of the meeting

This emerged at the PAC's four-day third annual national conference at the University of Transkei in Umtata

The government delegation will be led by Foreign Minister Pik Botha A spokesman for Foreign Affairs declined to comment yesterday

Opening the conference, Makwethu maintained his organisation's hardline stand against the Convention for a Democratic South Africa

Senior PAC leaders said although bi-lateral talks might lead to the organisation rejoining Codesa, they would be doing so on their own terms, having first met at a neutral venue and under a neutral chairman

Meanwhile a 35-person Azapo delegation held a special consultative meeting with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania in Harare, Zimbabwe, at the weekend

Azapo spokesman Strini Moodley did not rule out the possibility of Azapo joining Codesa but he said it could only happen after consultations with the ANC and other components of the Patriotic Front

20 killed in raid on Crossroads

C/Press 5/4/92

By MONWABISI NOMADOLO

IN the worst single massacre on the East Rand this year, 20 people were killed, 18 seriously injured and more than 30 shacks razed on Friday night when armed men raided Crossroads Squatter camp in Katlehong.

The assailants, armed with firearms, petrol bombs and sharp instruments, were allegedly Xhosa-speaking men from Holomisa Squatter Camp

Joseph Dlamini, who lost all his possessions including his car during the attack, said one of the

To Page 4

OAU group for Alex?

CP Correspondent

230

ANC president Nelson Mandela is to ask the Organisation of African Unity to monitor violence in Alexandra township

C/Press 5/4/92

"That is the only way we can stop this violence," he said

Mandela told a press conference that an independent international monitoring group was needed "because the government and security (forces) have abdicated from their duties"

More than 20 people have been killed in Alexandra this week

See pages 2 and 13

PAC-Govt meeting may yet founder

230

STAR 6/4/92

The first official bilateral talks between the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Government, set to take place in Nigeria, could still run aground over the issue of chairmanship

Foreign Minister Pik Botha last night stressed in a statement that in preliminary talks with the Nigerians there was never any suggestion that the meeting with the PAC would be chaired by the Organisation of African Unity or that it would occur on foreign soil

The original announcement of bilateral talks between the Government and the PAC was made by the liberation organisation's president, Clarence Makwetu, at the PAC congress in Umtata at the weekend Mr Makwetu referred specifically to the fact that "the PAC and the regime will meet shortly at the neutral venue in Abuja, Nigeria, under the neutral chairmanship of President Ebrahim Babangida who is the current chairman of the OAU"

Mr Botha said although the Government was prepared to hold talks with the PAC — which has remained steadfastly outside Codesa — foreign participation was "entirely unnecessary" He added that the Government would prefer the meeting to take place in South Africa and that "since the 'playing field' has been levelled for all parties pursuing a peaceful process, there is no impediment to the PAC joining the negotiations in South Africa"

Mr Botha said that as a gesture of goodwill, the Nigerian government had inquired about possible talks with the PAC — although it had never proposed the meeting as formal negotiations or as a summit, to be held on neutral territory under the chairmanship of the OAU

There is speculation that, if the question of chairmanship is satisfactorily resolved, Mr Botha will meet a PAC delegation led by the organisation's deputy president Dikgang Moseneke this week, before the start of the official visit to Nigeria by President de Klerk

But PAC publicity chief Barney Desai has cautioned "It will be difficult logistically to meet the Government this week, but we'll make every effort to meet as soon as possible"

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus expressed hopes that this bilateral contact would be a prelude to the PAC becoming a full participant in the process of constitutional negotiations She made it clear that it would be "ridiculous" to regard such one-on-one organisational contact as a substitute for Codesa

Mr Desai said that the PAC was anxious to convene a meeting of the Patriotic Front — a broad alliance of more than 90 anti-apartheid groupings brought into being in October — and was taking "active steps" with the ANC in this regard

Mr Desai explained that the PAC had taken note of calls from the OAU and African leaders to work for unity and to engage the Government in negotiations

The PAC congress maintained it would 'intensify" its armed struggle despite the planned talks — Political Staff and Sapa

Into Africa's open arms

STAR 9/4/92 (230)

If Abuja beckons, can Cairo and the rest of the continent be far behind? Star Africa Service Editor GERALD L'ANGE reports.

PRESIDENT de Klerk's visit to Nigeria this week puts an unofficial but vital seal on South Africa's re-acceptance in Africa

And the announcement yesterday that the Ivory Coast is to open an embassy in Pretoria puts an extra shine on that seal It makes Abidjan the first African capital to exchange ambassadors with Pretoria since Malawi did so more than a quarter-century ago

These are two of the richest diplomatic prizes that have come to South Africa as a result of the progress being made in Codesa, and of the big positive vote in the white referendum There have been others the Seychelles disclosed this week it would open consular relations with Pretoria, and Djibouti lifted trade and travel restrictions

Still more are expected to follow soon, with Zambia thought likely to open diplomatic relations at a relatively high level

But Nigeria remains the main prize. Pretoria has always put more value on recognition by Nigeria than it has with any other state on the continent The fact that its leader, President Ibrahim Babangida, is chairman this year of the Organisation of African Unity gives additional value to his invitation to Mr de Klerk to make an official visit Nigeria is one of four countries seen by Pretoria as nuclei of future economic blocs, the others being Kenya, Egypt and South Africa, itself Pretoria already has a presence in Nairobi, and is expected to exchange diplomats with Cairo soon

Mr de Klerk's visit to Abuja is considered by some analysts to be a likely prelude to diplomatic relations with Nigeria

There is some uncertainty, however, whether Nigeria would prefer to wait until an interim government is in place in South Africa.

The Nigerians had refused an earlier request for a visit by Mr de Klerk, but apparently now feel that the referendum result makes such a visit politically acceptable Some analysts have suggested that Nigeria has been more than willing for some time to embrace South Africa and needed only a good excuse

It now finds itself able, without difficulty, to reject an ANC protest against the De Klerk visit, advising the ANC rather curtly that it considered the visit in Nigeria's interests and these interests would always come first. Whether the same attitude would be applied to diplomatic relations is uncertain.

If Nigeria were to open diplomatic relations with South Africa, even at a lower level than full ambassadorial status, Pretoria could really feel its isolation in Africa was over Other countries would feel free to follow suit After that, admission to membership of the OAU would have a somewhat academic value — the cherry on the top, so to speak

The flow of business and government visitors between the two countries reflects a vigorous interest in bilateral trade, and this may be a deciding factor. Initially, however, Nigeria may prefer to exchange trade missions, as Zimbabwe and several other countries have done

The Ivory Coast's decision was not unexpected, given its role over many years as Africa's leading proponent of dialogue with Pretoria South Africa has been allowed to maintain a trade mission in Abidjan for some time, but Abidjan has not opened a reciprocal office in the Republic The presence of a second African embassy in Pretoria is likely to clear the way for others, and the sight of black diplomats in flowing robes may soon become a familiar one on the Pretoria cocktail party circuit.

What if Codesa fails? Well, the growing flow of diplomatic recognition suggests that African countries are increasingly taking the view that reform has become irreversible and that, either through Codesa or some other medium, apartheid is destined to vanish

Against this the cries by the ANC and PAC that apartheid is not yet dead are sounding fainter It is not that Africa is rejecting the liberation movements so much as that it feels that liberation is already at hand and they must now look to what lies beyond apartheid

While appreciating the political imperatives that make the ANC and PAC take their stance, African countries appear in general to be impatient to get on with exploring the benefits that might be found in dealing with a cleansed and absolved South Africa

Most African countries are looking beyond the symbolic value of diplomatic recognition to the perceived benefits of trade and technology Some of the doors that are opening in Africa offer few if any material benefits to South Africa But others offer considerable profit For instance, the opening of Djibouti will give South African exporters access to one of Africa's busier ports and even richer opportunities will be opened if Egypt removes its present restrictions on South African vessels docking in its harbours

One way of looking at Mr de Klerk's Nigerian visit is that Abuja intends it mainly as an acknowledgment of his reform efforts and an encouragement to keep going, with full acceptance being offered as soon as an interim government is in place If this is so, South Africa is likely to be bombarded by diplomatic recognition from around Africa once it has an interim government □

SA for OAU soon — Pik

CT 9/4/92

From BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

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ABUJA — South Africa could become a member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) later this year after today's discussion between President F W de Klerk and Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida

Mr De Klerk is due to arrive this afternoon

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said here last night at a press conference that Mr De Klerk's visit to Nigeria would end the era of separation between Africa and South Africa

• Mr Botha said the result of the March 17 referendum had certainly facilitated Mr De Klerk's visit and had had a major impact "on our African brothers"

He also disclosed that 10 of the 11 governments in Southern Africa had agreed to hold a regional conference to deal with the food crisis caused by the severe drought in the area

Mr Botha said he could not confirm at this stage that he would be meeting a PAC delegation while in Nigeria, but said that if they happened to be in the country they would meet as South Africans

FW asked to say 'I'm sorry'

Political Staff

LABOUR PARTY leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse has asked President F W de Klerk to visit his brother's grave in Nigeria and say "I am sorry".

Mr Hendrickse says the mixed marriages Act prevented his brother, Professor John Paul Hendrickse, from returning to South Africa.

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OAU to form peace force

WASHINGTON — The OAU was working to set up a peacekeeping arm to deal with internal and international conflicts in Africa, OAU secretary-general Salim A Salim told a news conference yesterday

He said the OAU summit in June would discuss a permanent "mechanism for conflict resolution" to include a political body and possibly an armed peacekeeping force.

"We hope the summit will be able to agree on a mechanism for a quick response for conflict resolution in the continent," Salim said

He said one suggestion he would present to the African heads of state in Dakar was for the OAU to set up a permanent bureau responsible to the summit conference which could meet whenever necessary to consider operations to make peace and keep peace

The bureau would be convened at the level of heads of state, foreign minister or ambassadors accredited to OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa depending on the nature of the crisis, he said

The summit also would consider concrete, practical steps for intervention in conflicts, including organisation of an armed peacekeeping force

Salim said many OAU members could make troops available to the organisation — Sapa-AP

Nigerian visit puts seal on SA's return

Sowetan 10/4/92 (230)

Sowetan Africa News Service

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's visit to Nigeria yesterday put an unofficial but vital seal on South Africa's re-acceptance in Africa.

And the announcement yesterday that the Ivory Coast is to open an embassy in Pretoria puts an extra shine on that seal It makes Abidjan the first African capital to exchange ambassadors with Pretoria since Malawi did so more than a quarter-century ago

These are two of the richest diplomatic prizes that have come to South Africa as a result of the progress being made in Codesa and of the big positive vote in the white referendum There have been others the Seychelles disclosed this week it will open consular relations with Pretoria and Djibouti lifted trade and travel restrictions Still more are expected to follow soon, with Zambia thought likely to open diplomatic relations at a relatively high level

But Nigeria remains the main prize Pretoria has always put more value on recognition by Africa's largest and most powerful state than any other on the continent The fact that its leader, President Ibrahim Babangida, is chairman this year of the Organisation of African Unity gives additional value to his invitation to De Klerk to make an official visit

Nigeria is one of four countries seen by Pretoria as nuclei of future economic blocs, the others being Kenya, Egypt and South Africa itself Pretoria already has a presence in Nairobi and is expected to exchange diplomats with Cairo soon

De Klerk's visit to Abuja is considered by some analysts to be a likely prelude to diplomatic relations with Nigeria There is some

FOCUS

uncertainty, however, whether Nigeria would prefer to wait until an interim government is in place in South Africa

The Nigerians had refused an earlier request for a visit by De Klerk but apparently now feel that the referendum result makes such a visit politically acceptable Some analysts have suggested that Nigeria has been more than willing for some time to embrace South Africa and needed only a good excuse

It now finds itself able without difficulty to reject an ANC protest at the De Klerk visit, advising the ANC rather curtly that it considered the visit in Nigeria's interests and these interests would always come first. Whether the same attitude would be applied to diplomatic relations is uncertain

If Nigeria were to open diplomatic relations with South Africa, even at a lower level than full ambassadorial status, Pretoria could really feel its isolation in Africa was over Other countries would feel free to follow suit. After that, admission to membership of the Organisation of African Unity would have a somewhat academic value - the cherry on the top, so to speak

The flow of business and government visitors between the two countries reflects a vigorous interest in bilateral trade and this may be a deciding factor Initially, however, Nigeria may prefer to exchange trade missions, as Zimbabwe and several other countries have done, rather than start with a higher level of diplomatic representation

The Ivory Coast's decision was not unexpected, given its role over many years as Africa's leading proponent of dialogue with Pretoria. South Africa has been allowed to maintain a trade mission in Abidjan for some time but Abidjan has not opened a reciprocal office in the Republic The presence of a second African embassy in Pretoria is likely to clear the way for others and the sight of black diplomats in flowing robes may soon become a familiar one on the Pretoria cocktail party circuit

What if Codesa fails? Well, the growing flow of diplomatic recognition suggests that African countries are increasingly taking the view that reform has become irreversible and that, either through Codesa or some other medium, apartheid is destined to vanish The consensus seems to be that, one way or another, democracy is on its way in South Africa

Against this the cries by the ANC and PAC that apartheid is not yet dead are sounding fainter It is not that Africa is rejecting the liberation movements so much as that it feels that liberation is already at hand and they must now look to what lies beyond apartheid

While appreciating the political imperatives that make the ANC and PAC take this stance, African countries appear in general to be impatient to get on with exploring the benefits that might be found in dealing with a cleansed and absolved South Africa

Most African countries are looking beyond the symbolic value of diplomatic recognition to the perceived benefits of trade and technology Some of the doors that are opening in Africa offer few if any material benefits to South Africa. But others offer considerable profit. For instance, the opening of Djibouti will give South African exporters access to one of Africa's busier ports and even richer opportunities will be opened if Egypt removes its present restrictions on South African vessels docking in its harbours

One way of looking at De Klerk's Nigerian visit is that Abuja intends it mainly as an acknowledgment of his reform efforts and an encouragement to keep going, with full acceptance being offered as soon as an interim government is in place

If this is so, then South Africa is likely to be bombarded by diplomatic recognition from around Africa once it has an interim government

BREAKTHROUGH: South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha (left) and his Nigerian counterpart Ike Nwachukwu meet at Abuja international airport, Nigeria.

And now, something new out of Africa

S/Times 12/4/92

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STORY AND PICTURE: CLAIRE ROBERTSON

ALL SET FOR OAU? Pik Botha relaxes in Nigerian dress but the cigar is a not so traditional Havana

AS South Africa prepared for the end of three decades of ostracism by Africa, Foreign Minister Pik Botha donned a traditional West African danshiki and dark glasses — to look the part of our man at the OAU

South Africa is expected to be represented at the Organisation for African Unity conference in Dakar in two months' time — as an observer — and is likely to be admitted as a full member next year

The Nigerian ambassador to the OAU, Chief Segun Olusola, said members would not oppose South Africa's admission to the body after the signal of acceptance given by Nigeria during a visit by President FW de Klerk this week

And, to celebrate on the flight home, Mr Botha changed into Nigerian traditional dress.

During the visit M Botha's Nigerian counterpart, Major-General Ike Nwachuku, welcomed "the Boers as one of the tribes of Africa"

Mr Botha, in his own tribal dress of dark suit and tie, replied. "The tribe I represent has signalled that apartheid is dead"

● See page 2

Protesters pelt FW with stones

S/Times 12/4/92

STATE PRESIDENT FW de Klerk was yesterday forced to abandon his visit to Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town after protesters threw stones at him

The incident happened while he addressed more than 10 000 people who gathered in and around a marquee The stones were apparently thrown by members of the ANC and the New Unity Movement.

Some of them hit Mr De Klerk, but he was not injured, the Cape secretary of the National Party and chief organiser of the rally, Mr Carl Greyling, confirmed yesterday

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

However, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, National Party general secretary, said gravel, not stones, was thrown at Mr De Klerk.

Mr Greyling said Mr De Klerk was escorted out of the marquee and driven to Tuynhuys The rest of his programme, including a walkabout in a Mitchell's Plain shopping centre and a luncheon, were also cancelled

Threats

In a statement issued yesterday, Mr De Klerk made no mention of the incident.

"The fact that, regardless of threats and intimidation, they gathered in their thousands along the route and venues, carrying placards, flags and stickers displaying their support for the NP, conveys a powerful message that bodes well for the future," he said

"All that serves as great inspiration to me

"It again proved that the NP has the capability of becoming the single most influential political organisation in South Africa."

The president's "roadshow" began at the civic centre where he was given a rousing welcome His cavalcade then moved to the marquee which was lined by thousands of people waving placards

Inside, Mr De Klerk struggled to make himself heard above the chanting of a small group of ANC and NUM supporters among about 3 500 people

The ceremony was scheduled to last an hour and Mr De Klerk was then to have walked to the near by shopping centre to speak to the public

Inside the tent, supporters welcoming him jostled with those opposing his visit. A further 7 000 to 8 000 people waving pro-De Klerk posters gathered outside the tent.

Cheers

But as soon as the NP's Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, opened proceedings he was shouted down by chants of "ANC, ANC"

Mr De Klerk's speech was greeted by deafening jeers and cheers

Then, from the direction of the ANC and NUM protesters, stones started raining on Mr De Klerk and his aides Bodyguards, who were backed up by police, threw a cordon around him and whisked him to his car

He was then driven to Tuynhuys, leaving behind pandemonium and confusion among the people

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breach of the accord, and said that better services had not been delivered ■

AFRICA FM 17/4/92

A lot in common

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The significance of the historic meeting between President F W de Klerk and Nigerian ruler Major General Ibrahim Babangida lies mainly in the symbolic value of rapprochement between the continent's two giants

Nigeria dominates the west African region, while SA is the economic powerhouse

Contin →

of southern and, potentially, sub-saharan Africa The accords struck between the two states will form a bridge between Africa's most populous country (120m) and the most prosperous and technologically advanced

This, says Stellenbosch Africanist Willie Breytenbach, advances the hope of arresting Africa's seemingly ineluctable drift towards world economic marginalisation. The Nigerians — and others — see SA as the springboard to Africa

The immediate spin-off from the remarkably warm encounter between De Klerk and Babangida will be in the setting up and improvement of bilateral relations This could have important implications for diplomacy and trade Investment is not, however, expected to flow either way very soon Though it is an oil-rich State, with oil accounting for over 90% of GDP, Nigeria is in economic straits as a result of years of corruption and mismanagement and the fall in the oil price.

Nigeria's Babangida . *self-interest above ideology*

The ANC, meanwhile, has clearly lost another diplomatic round as a result of the De Klerk-Babangida meeting, which it opposed This follows similar losses for the ANC in relation to Europe, Japan and the US over sanctions, not to mention the ex-East Bloc countries which quickly sought links with Pretoria Despite two visits to Nigeria by Nelson Mandela, ANC protestations were ignored by the Nigerians in favour of self-interest.

However, all indications are that the question of SA's membership of the OAU (of which Babangida is the current chairman), as well as of other multilateral organisations such as the African Development Bank, will only seriously come on to the agenda after an interim government is formed in SA

Even then, opposition to SA's joining may be expected from hardliners Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Uganda, who could insist on such a step only after an elected post-apartheid government is in place

Yet Nigeria remains the big fish in the OAU and the Commonwealth. Bilateral relations with Abuja, therefore, are critical to SA rejoining the African fold Most other African States could well be swayed by Nigeria's pragmatism and back SA membership upon the formation of an interim government — in which the ANC will, of course, play a key role.

Apart from Malawi, which has long stood out as the only OAU member to have formal ambassadorial relations with Pretoria, Ivory Coast last week announced it is to establish full diplomatic relations with SA Zaire will soon follow suit, as will Zambia, Morocco and Senegal Kenyan trade delegations have visited SA and diplomatic relations cannot be far away

Angola recently opened a charge d'affaires office in Pretoria as a prelude to exchanging ambassadors and Seychelles last week announced it is to set up a diplomatic presence in SA. Strangely, neighbours Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland have yet to announce readiness to exchange envoys — though, like Zimbabwe, they have had trade and consular representation here for years.

According to Breytenbach, Nigeria and SA share a quaint parallel in their problems of transition to democracy It is interesting, he says, that in Nigeria bureaucratic and military power is wielded by the Muslim Hausa and Fulani tribes based in the north of the country, who comprise 29% of the population In SA, the Afrikaners occupy a similar position The other major Nigerian tribal groups are the Yoruba (20%) and Ibo (17%), in a country with 250 ethnic groups and 395 languages and dialects

Thus, says Breytenbach, the common problem of the ruling elites is how to share power without losing control? There is no single ethnic group in either country that is big enough to form a majority and govern on its own Nigeria resorted to military rule, which it has had for all but 10 years since independence in 1960, while SA resorted to apartheid. Both countries are engaged in the process of transition in which, says Breytenbach, the two dominant features are ethnic politics and the option of coalition government

President De Klerk . *most significant African contact*

Empathy with the white South African's burden may, then, have had something to do with Babangida's flowing praise of De Klerk's reform initiatives. ■

OAU to review stance on SA

(230)

STAR 28/4/92

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service

HARARE — Vital policy decisions on the attitude of African countries towards South Africa will be taken at a meeting of the OAU ad hoc committee on South Africa this week

The meeting, to take place in Arusha, Tanzania, today, will hear a report from President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria on his talks with President de Klerk which have paved the way for a new approach.

President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe will also present a report to the meeting.

Up to now, apart from an emergency meeting on transport because of the food crisis, Zimbabwe has refused to meet SA ministers, and has confined government-to-government contact to official levels only.

Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira said in a television interview that the Arusha meeting would result in a new OAU policy document

He refused to say if the meeting between the Zimbabwean and SA transport ministers this month meant Zimbabwe had changed its stance.

● Highway into Africa — Page 23

SA poised for full world integration, says Obasanjo

STAR 24/4/92

(230)

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

South Africa was poised to be fully integrated into Africa and the world as a country with democracy, harmony, growth and development surpassing all projections, former OAU chairman and Nigerian president, General Olusegun Obasanjo, said in Johannesburg yesterday

General Obasanjo was giving the opening address at the South African Foreign Trade Organisation's two-day international conference on the new scenario for trade and investment in southern Africa.

A post-apartheid SA, he said, could compete favourably for capital and trade with the leading economies of the world

He said the recent whites-only referendum had indicated that the fear of extinction that had so characterised the Afrikaner's psyche and threatened to drive him into the laager was giving way to a genuine feeling of being South African

"It must be gratifying to South Africans that those who constructed apartheid are taking the lead in dismantling it," he added

Now the chairman of the New York-based African Leadership Forum, General Obasanjo warned that a new society should not be predicated on anger, revenge and bitterness but on the basis of remorse, forgiveness and reconciliation

It was encouraging, he said, that African leaders who had spent more than a quarter of a century in apartheid jails were without bitterness or hatred.

The referendum, he added, had removed the last doubts about the sincerity of President de Klerk and lack of good faith of his Government to eradicate apartheid

It, however, did not remove the obstacles caused by violence to fostering peace and brotherhood

"Co-operation, tolerance, confidence and trust cannot reign in a situation of violence — this is an antithesis to democracy," he said

General Obasanjo identified the next important task facing South African leaders as the elimination of violence

This had to be followed by the establishment of an interim arrangement for bringing about full democracy

Olusegun Obasanjo . . new SA could compete favourably with leading economies of the world. Picture Alf Kumalo

OAU raps Pretoria

230

ARGT 30/4/92

DAR ES SALAAM. — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) will send a monitoring team to South Africa to assess the violence in the townships

A communique issued at the end of a one-day summit meeting of the OAU ad hoc committee on southern Africa held in Arusha this week blamed the government for failing to stop the violence which it said had claimed at least 7 000 lives in the past two years

The committee appealed to all parties in South Africa to take every possible step to end the carnage in the townships, mainly between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha

The committee also called for active involvement of the international community by bringing the violence issue before the UN Security Council for a possible solution.

The OAU committee said the ongoing inter-party talks in South Africa were so far encouraging, and urged other interested parties, particularly the PAC which is boycotting the forum, to join the Codesa

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu were both at the Arusha meeting

The committee also reviewed the drought conditions prevailing in southern Africa and appealed for international assistance

● Transkei's military ruler, Major General Bantu Holomisa, has come out in support of international involvement to help stem the violence in South Africa

The government could not be trusted to arbitrate in a conflict in which their own interests and those of the black majority clashed, he said — Sapa-AFP-Ecna

Babangida wants sanctions lifted

Sowetan 30/4/92

230

Sowetan Africa News Service

ARUSHA - The Nigerian president told African leaders the mandate given by whites was a warning to keep their eyes and ears open "so as not to be overtaken by history"

He was speaking at the Organisation of African Unity meeting on South Africa in Arusha on Tuesday, which ended with a proposal to call for international intervention to help stop the violence in South Africa

President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, who recently received South Africa's President de Klerk in his capital, clashed with Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi over the issue of maintaining sanctions

The Nigerian leader urged that sanctions be lifted gradually to encourage reform The Tanzanian argued that sanctions were what had forced Pretoria to reform and should therefore be maintained until apartheid had been fully dismantled

At the end of the one-day meeting the OAU's Committee on South Africa proposed that the OAU ask the United Nations Security Council to take action to secure international intervention to help stop the violence in the country

It also proposed that the OAU send a monitoring team of its own to report on the violence and try to help in the negotiations

Earlier ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had requested that the OAU support the dispatch of an international force to South Africa to end the violence, which he said was inspired by the Government.

"We are convinced that international monitoring and a role in securing a peace-keeping force will bring under the spotlight all those in our country who are determined to plunge us into the abyss," he said

"As long as the South African Police and the South African Defence Force continue to be the private armed forces of the National Party, so long will the slaughter of our people continue "

Mandela said he had contacted the OAU and the UN on April 9 about an international force similar to the UN force that monitored the Namibian independence election

According to OAU Secretary-General Mr Salim Ahmed Salim the Arusha meeting was held at the express request of Mandela.

ANC dismisses Mangope's claims

Sowetan 30/4/92

By ABBEY MAKOE

THE African National Congress yesterday described as nonsense claims by Bophuthatswana leader Chief Lucas Mangope that the organisation had become a common factor in violence throughout the country

The ANC's director of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, said Mangope's allegation was tantamount to saying "women were a common denominator in rape cases"

Mangope made the claim during the opening of his parliament in Mmabatho

He said he had had a "long and constructive" meeting with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on February 27 in which Mandela had conceded that it "had been ANC policy to destabilise" Bophuthatswana

Mangope said although Mandela was "at pains" to assure him that the ANC would stop threatening to topple the Bophuthatswana government, the organisation had failed to give effect to the undertaking by their leader

In a hard-hitting response yesterday, Jordan reminded Mangope that he had been toppled from power before the SA Defence Force swiftly moved to rescue him and his "so-called independent government"

OAU plan slated

PRESS WATCH (230)

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

THE OAU plan for an international intervention to stop SA's violence would be repugnant to any self-respecting government, *Beeld* said this week. C/P News 3/5/92

But, the Transvaal morning daily said the international community could advance peace in SA by lending support to negotiations and to the country's economy.

It said the intervention plan "would be a glaring breach of SA's internationally-accepted status as a sovereign country"

"A case could be made out for it if a civil war raged which is making the country ungovernable, but that is not the case," it added.

The paper called "far-fetched" ANC President Nelson Mandela's comparison at the summit of conditions in SA with the extermination of Jews in Nazi Germany

STAR 7/5/92

Fact-finding OAU group

(230)

A delegation from five OAU countries will arrive on Wednesday to conduct a fact-finding mission on violence, Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alexander told a media conference yesterday

The group, from Algeria, Congo, Nigeria, Uganda and Zimbabwe, will be led by Nigerian Foreign Minister Major-General Ike Nwachukwu They will try to identify the perpetrators of violence — Sapa

Taxi fares to be cut until boycott ends

STAR 8/5/92

By Peter Davies

Soweto taxis have finally decided to cut their fares by 20 percent today — only a day before the end of the six-day boycott to protest against Reef train massacres

The Train Boycott Steering Committee met the Southern African Black Taxi Association (Sabta) Soweto region representatives yesterday, and it was agreed that fares would be cut by 20 percent from this morning until the boycott ends at midnight tomorrow.

Sabta's Moferefere Simelane said his association would ensure all taxi drivers were notified of the reduction in fares

Some commuters have accused taxi owners of cashing in on the boycott Taxi fares rose as much as 70 percent just three days before the protest began.

Mr Simelane said the fare increases had been implemented before the dates of the train boycott were known.

"If we'd known the dates, we could have delayed the increases I know it looks bad"

Cosatu's Amos Masondo said the boycott may be extended

"We will evaluate the progress after Saturday, and a decision will be taken then"

The ANC's Ronnie Mamoepa said unless the Government took "decisive action" to address the train violence problem, the community would be forced to adopt further "extreme measures" to ensure its own protection and safety

A spokesman for the metro division of the South African Rail Commuters Corporation said yesterday. "We can only determine exact figures later, but based on the premise that passengers would have bought weekly tickets, we estimate a daily loss of R130 000 in fares alone"

OAU mission to investigate violence in SA

STAR 8/5/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

230

In what is being seen as a breakthrough for foreign involvement in South Africa — although limited — an Organisation of African Unity mission is arriving in the country next week to investigate township violence.

The five-man delegation, which comprises members from Algeria, Congo, Uganda and Zimbabwe, will be led by Nigerian Foreign Minister Major-General Ike Nwachukwu

The ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party have welcomed the announcement that the task group will visit the country, while the Government has said it "was prepared to request the relevant South African authorities to assist the team in making an assessment".

Conservative Party spokesman on foreign affairs, Tom Langley, strongly objected to the visit, saying it was "an assault on the sovereign integrity" of South Africa.

"The visit of the OAU is an ANC plan and an invitation to intervention in South Africa's domestic affairs," he said.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said that while the Government was opposed to any form of foreign control of the South African security forces, it was not opposed to bona fide missions visiting the country to inform themselves of the facts.

"Not only has the SAP nothing to hide, but it would welcome an objective assessment of the facts and realities surrounding the violence," he said

The matter had been discussed between President de Klerk and Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak in Windhoek on March 20 1990 and was again raised during discussions between the State President and the Nigerian head of state and OAU president, General Ibrahim Babangida, in Nigeria last month

In its reaction, the ANC noted that an estimated 15 000 people had been killed as a result of violence, but efforts to expose the source of the violence had met with limited success

The ANC earlier called on the international community to send independent monitoring groups to South Africa with the specific task of observing and investigating the violence

The OAU group would complement efforts by the National Peace Committee and others to put an end to violence

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has appealed to his party and the KwaZulu legislature to do everything to assist the OAU group

Chief Buthelezi said "We are totally opposed to international monitoring teams during the process of negotiations."

But he supported the visit notwithstanding a concern that the OAU regarded the ANC and PAC as representing all black South Africans

His other concerns were that the ANC and PAC had training camps in some of the member states of the OAU and that the IFP had never been able to give its version of the violence to the OAU

Creditors 'seeking Chiavelli's fall'

By Susan Smuts

Oil tycoon Marino Chiavelli's creditors were trying to bring about his fall and that of his companies by "keeping up the pressure" with concurrent litigation in Italy and South Africa, the Rand Supreme Court

Mr Levin said if Orconsult had a proper case, it should "marshal its facts" and bring a proper application

Mr Justice R T van Schalkwyk dismissed the application with costs, and stood the matter down until today.

A Mostert, SC, appear

had numerous assets, he could not find the "small change" to pay Orconsult, Mr Mostert said

Referring to Dr Chiavelli's affidavit, he said Dr Chiavelli's net assets were R67 million, and those of Marchia Eastates were R65 million.

Dr Chiavelli had taken

Mostert said

Mr Levin questi whether the "true son" for the postp ment had been es lished A lot of m was involved, seriou legations of insolv had been made ag "a man of means a public figure" he sa

OAU delegation arrives in SA

(230) CT 11/5/92

JOHANNESBURG — An advance party for the OAU violence monitoring group arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday — the most senior OAU delegation yet to visit South Africa

The seven-member delegation is here to prepare for the unrest monitoring group, led by Nigerian Foreign Minister Major-General Ike Nwachukwu, due in South Africa on Wednesday

Nigerian ambassador to the OAU Mr Segun Olusola, spokesman for the advance party, said its aim was to accelerate the democratic process

He said the group would meet all parties who felt they had a role to play in South Africa's democratisation

Mr Olusola said the group was coming at the invitation of the ANC and PAC, but noted that the South African government had also pledged its full support

The monitoring team will investigate causes of unrest, and is expected to report on who it believes is responsible

Mr Olusola said Major-General Nwachukwu would also head the OAU's guest observer delegation at Codesa II this week

Representatives from the PAC, ANC and the SA Council of Churches are to meet today to discuss a programme for the OAU delegation

OAU in SA to probe violence

(230)

Sowetan 11/5/92

THE Pan Africanist Congress, African National Congress and the South African Council of Churches will meet today to discuss a programme for the visiting Organisation of Africa Unity delegation which arrived in the country yesterday.

The delegation, consisting of five ambassadors based at OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, was welcomed by senior PAC members and includes Chief Segun Olusola of Nigeria, Mr J Bendjama of Algeria, OAU secretary-general Mr Norbert Ngova, Mr Javan Kulary of Uganda and Mr Tranos Makombe of Zimbabwe

The PAC's publicity director, Mr Waters Toboti, said afterwards that the purpose of the delegation's visit was expressly to monitor the ongoing violence in the country - not to attend the Convention for a Democratic South Africa

He said that PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani had impressed on the delegation on arrival that the PAC did not link the role of the OAU in monitoring violence with the OAU in Codesa 2 and that the PAC did not condone participation of the OAU in Codesa

The PAC would discuss the delegation's programme today with the ANC and the SACC, Toboti said.

However, the OAU delegation's leader, Chief Olusola, hinted shortly after they arrived that they would like to attend Codesa as observers - *Sapa*

Segun Olusola, head of the advance party for the OAU's violence monitoring group, arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. Picture BRIAN HENDLER

OAU unrest team arrives

(230)

B/Day 11/5/92

GAVIN DU VENAGE

AN advance party for the OAU violence monitoring group arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday — the most senior OAU delegation yet to visit SA.

The seven-member delegation is here to prepare for the unrest monitoring group, led by Nigerian Foreign Minister Maj-Gen Ike Nwachukwu, due in SA on Wednesday

Spokesman for the advance party and Nigerian ambassador to the OAU, Segun Olusola, said its aim was to accelerate the democratic process.

He said the group would meet all parties who felt they had a role to play in SA's democratisation

The monitoring team will investigate causes of unrest, and is expected to report on who it believes is responsible.

Olusola said Nwachukwu would also head the OAU's guest observer delegation at Codesa 2 this week

Doubts loom over this week's Codesa 2

ARG 11/5/92

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG — The possibility of substantial agreement being reached at Codesa 2 on Friday is becoming increasingly uncertain as time is running out for the 19 participating groups to reach consensus on unresolved issues

Two crucial Codesa working groups meet today specifically to discuss which body should rule the country in the run-up to elections for a transitional government and the form of the body which will draft the new constitution.

The two groups last week failed to reach consensus on these points

A meeting between the ANC and the government in Cape Town on Friday also could not agree on these issues.

This means that if today's meetings do not reach consensus, it is unlikely that substantial agreements can be reached at Codesa 2

It is understood that at the meeting on Friday the government and ANC discussed only the proposed elected parliament which would draft the new constitution and could not reach agreement.

The government is understood to be insisting that the option of a two or one chamber parliament be clearly stated in any agreement while the ANC is insisting on a one chamber body to draft the constitution

The ANC has said it will not accept anything but a package deal for both phases of the transition as it does not want to become locked into interim arrangements indefinitely

Until now the government and ANC have agreed that the transition would involve firstly, preparation for elections for an interim government and secondly, the drafting of a new constitution

South African Communist Party chief Mr Chris Hani warned last night that the government might still sign agreements on Friday, but could refuse to implement them on the grounds that the ANC allegedly had not adhered to pacts

Speaking after a two-day SACP central committee meeting, Mr Hani said its projections were that the government might claim that the ANC had not adhered to agreements such as the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes and the D F Malan Accord, and was therefore not to be trusted

Mr Hani said it was clear that the government was launching an offensive against the ANC focusing on violence

The campaign included a document, tabled by Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel at Codesa last week, which was a catalogue of alleged transgressions by the ANC of agreements, he said

"We will not let the regime off the hook," Mr Hani said

As in the case of the ANC, the SACP would demand an agreement on an interim government at Codesa 2, and also a commitment from the government for elections for a constitution-making body-cum-legislature he said

The Inkatha Freedom Party met in Ulundi on Saturday to discuss a revised document seeking to reach consensus among the 19 Codesa participants on the powers of the body to govern until elections for a transitional government.

The document has proposed a multi-party transitional executive council and several subcouncils

It is understood that the IFP will today propose 'substantial" changes to the document.

Mr Chris Hani . suspicious.

SACP and Chinese communists to exchange visits, says Hani

ARG 11/5/92

Political Staff

The South African Communist Party and its Chinese counterpart have reached several agreements, including cultural relations, said SACP general secretary Chris Hani.

During a visit to the People's Republic of China, Mr Hani said it was agreed that a SACP delegation would travel to China to study the building of socialism and a Chinese Communist Party (CCP) group would visit South Africa to explain their struggle for socialism.

An agreement was also reached on cultural relations, including visits by South African and Chinese academics, but they did not agree on the form of the relations, he said

The parties also agreed on exchange visits by youth and women's groups

"They indicated that since people-to-people sanctions have been lifted, China's doors are open to South African visitors, irrespective of their political outlook," said Mr Hani.

Mr Hani's trip to China was the third undertaken by the SACP A delegation was led in 1989 by the party's chairman Mr Joe Slovo and last year another group, led by Raymond Mhlaba visited China

Although a Chinese liaison mission had already been established in Pretoria, Mr Hani said China was sensitive to the ANC and SACP demand that full diplomatic relations should only take place once an interim government was established.

His visit also included a meeting with the CCP general secretary Yang Zeming

The CCP supported negotiations in South Africa and felt everything possible should be done to find a peaceful solution to the problems of apartheid, said Mr Hani

It was agreed that there was a need for communist parties to re-group and reassert themselves, he said

OAU team assures PAC on Codesa role

(230) ARG 11/5/92

JOHANNESBURG — Representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress, African National Congress and the SA Council of Churches are to meet today to discuss a programme for the visiting Organisation of Africa Unity delegation.

The delegation, consisting of five ambassadors based at OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, was welcomed on their arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday by senior PAC members and includes Chief Segun Olusola, Nigeria, Mr J Bendjama, Algeria, secretary-general Mr Norbert Ngova, Mr Javan Kulary, Uganda, and Mr Tranos Makombe, Zimbabwe

PAC representatives were reported to have told the mission the PAC could not condone participation by the OAU in Codesa.

Speaking to reporters after the meeting, PAC publicity director Waters Toboti said the OAU had given the assurance the purpose of the visit was to monitor the violence, not to attend Codesa

However, on arrival, the leader of the mission, Chief Olusola, hinted that delegates hoped to attend Codesa as observers

OAU visitors, ANC meet

By Thabo Leshilo STAR
Political Staff 12/5/92

The Organisation of Africa Unity had in the past endorsed multinational military intervention in national affairs, but it prayed there would be no need for such action in South Africa, the head of the visiting OAU delegation, Chief Olusegun Olusola, said yesterday

Chief Olusola was addressing a press conference at the ANC head office in Johannesburg after meeting leaders of the organisation

The delegation, including five ambassadors based at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, arrived on Sunday

It was invited by the ANC and PAC to monitor violence in black townships

The ambassadors are Mr Olusola, Amar Benjana of Algeria, Tranos Makombe of Zimbabwe, Jovan Kulany of Uganda and Norbert Ngula of Congo

Chief Olusola, Nigeria's ambassador to Ethiopia and the OAU, said the delegation hoped to establish the truth about township violence, help accelerate the process of democracy and ensure Codesa's success

The delegation also wanted to see "what influence we can bring to bear" on elements seeking to disrupt the peace process through violence.

The delegation's programme includes paying a visit to Codesa and meeting "all participants in the peace process"

The visitors met officials from the South African Council of Churches and PAC yesterday.

They will also meet members of the Government

OAU wary of outside intervention

Sowetan 12/5/92 (230)

ALTHOUGH the Organisation of African Unity has endorsed multi-national military intervention in national affairs, it "prays" there would be no need for such action in South Africa

This was said by the head of the visiting OAU delegation, Chief Olusegun Olusola, yesterday while addressing a Press conference at the African National Congress' head office in Johannesburg

The delegation, including five ambassadors based at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, arrived on Sunday

It was invited by the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress to monitor the ongoing violence in black townships

The ambassadors are Olusola, Mr Amar Benjana of Algeria, Mr Tranos Makombe of Zimbabwe, Mr Jovan Kulany of Uganda and Mr Norbert Ngula of Congo

Others are the head of the OAU's inter-Africa co-operation and policy harmonisation division, Mr Mamaudou Kane, OAU liberation committee executive secretary Brigadier Hashim Mbita and Mr IJ Umana, special assistant to Olusola

Olusola said the delegation hoped to establish the truth about township violence, help accelerate the process of democracy and ensure the success of such processes as Codesa.

PAC lays down the law to OAU delegates

B/Day 12/5/92 (230)

WILSON ZWANE

THE PAC told the visiting OAU delegation yesterday not to think about investigating the activities of its military wing, the Azanian People's Army (Apla), or of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani told a news conference the PAC understood that the OAU was supportive of liberation movements "At our meeting (yesterday), we made it clear that activities of liberation armies do not constitute public violence"

Nemadzivhanani said the delegation was told to limit its investigations to factional fighting and "government-sponsored acts of violence designed to undermine the liberation movements"

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the delegation was "a commission of inquiry" in SA to identify culprits and the nature of violence, not to end violence It was hoped that its findings would be presented to the international community, which would then decide on a course of punitive action, Alexander said

The delegation, of five ambassadors based at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, also met the ANC and the SA Council of Churches yesterday Today it will visit unrest flashpoints in the Cape

Sapa reports that delegation spokesman Segun Olusola said the aim was "to monitor and accelerate the democratisation process and to ensure the success of processes such as Codesa We will also see what influence we can bring to bear on incidents and elements impeding democratisation, such as the violence"

Nemadzivhanani reiterated PAC opposition to the group attending Codesa II

police pullec out of the area. ... residents go on the rampage yesterday morning, in the process damaging several walls, after

● Photograph: JOAO SILVA

OAU observers have close shave with real thing

(230)

STAR 16/5/92.

JOE LOUW

THE visiting Organisation of African Unity delegation, in the country to monitor the on-going violence in the townships, had a close encounter with the real thing near Phola Park this week

Shots were fired when police were conducting a massive search for suspects involved in attacks on the police and other people, according to police liaison officer Eugene Opperman

Police had cordoned off all roads leading to the squatter camp and apparently warned the OAU convoy about the shootings

In an exclusive interview with Chief Olusegun Olusola, who heads the delegation now in its fifth day of making the rounds, the Nigerian Ambassador to Ethiopia expressed the hope that they would still have the opportunity of visiting trouble spots They also hope to visit some hostels

Olusula's delegation, made up of five ambassadors based at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, was invited to South Africa by the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress to monitor township violence.

"After four days of meeting the Government, political parties, the liberation movements, including Chief Butehlezi, and as well as reaching Soweto and visiting various squatter camps, we came to the conclusion that the Government must take all parties into its confidence

"The participants at Codessa have no faith in the Government's action in curbing violence," said Olusola,

"There is a definite need for more African presence in the security agencies and they must do a lot to catch up with the political situation"

About his impressions of the squatter camps they visited, Olusola said poverty and squatter camps were not unique to South Africa.

He said the Government must take urgent steps to improve the lives of people in Soweto and the squatter camps

"The camps we saw were in a deplorable state," he said. "They were unsanitary, overcrowded and need urgent attention."

Asked how the delegation could reconcile giving South Africa advice on how to conduct its affairs when critics point out the abysmal human rights record of many African countries, Olusola replied

"We Africans are only as good as the 32 years of experience we have gathered since independence in Nigeria, as are other African countries.

"We challenge anyone to come from outside and teach us (a better) way of how to run our countries.

"We say to our brothers here: take the plunge.

"Let them rule themselves Let them make their own mistakes Poverty in Africa, the wars and so forth, these are no excuses for not installing a democratic government of national unity in South Africa. The OAU will ensure progress towards democratisation

"In my own country," said the Chief, "we are throwing open the doors to two major parties to contest in democratic elections. We must admit there have been mistakes but in Africa anyone who falters in this process will rise and try again"

Olusola said South Africa will be welcome to join the rest of the 51 independent African states at the OAU, but only after it had passed the test of national unity and democratisation

Asked for his impressions of the townships they had visited he said his delegation felt close to the people

"We felt we were talking to people that we have always known," he said, "and they were very joyous and exceedingly happy that the OAU at last recognised them and was able to visit with them."

Callers crusty as dough devoured

OAU favours federal system

(230) CT 19/5/92

JOHANNESBURG — A federal system would be best for South Africa, the head of the Organisation of African Unity delegation at present in the country, Nigerian Foreign Minister Major-General I Nwachuku, said yesterday

Speaking at a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport he added the 10-member OAU delegation believed President F W de Klerk was sincere about introducing a non-racial democracy

The delegation, which arrived last Thursday, observed proceedings at Codesa II at the weekend, and has also monitored the continuing violence

Referring to Nigeria, the foreign minister said ethnic interests had been taken into account when that country had adopted a federal system with 30 states. "I would say adopt the federal system."

Such a move would allow everyone in South Africa to choose for themselves what they wanted most "South Africa's diversity would become its strength" — Sapa

African observers splash out in Sandton

(230)

PATRICK BULGER

AFRICA's leading politicians splashed out on gold jewellery and quality clothing at posh shops in Sandton City at the weekend

While SA's leaders argued at Codesa II over the details of formulating a new constitution, members of an OAU delegation in SA to monitor the proceedings were buying jewellery and clothing at the upmarket shopping centre.

Codesa support staff relieved OAU chairman and Nigerian Foreign Minister Maj-Gen I Nwachuku, Nigerian foreign affairs counsellor Gordon Bristol and OAU honorary commissioner to Botswana A A Odu from negotiations so they could visit the shops. B/Day 19/5/92

The shopping delegation had Friedman Jewellers, which had already closed on Saturday afternoon, reopened so that Nwachuku could spend R60 000 on jewellery. The other two members bought clothing, a source involved in the unscheduled shopping spree said yesterday.

The delegation apparently left Codesa at about 3pm — about an hour before proceedings closed.

Nwachuku refused to comment yesterday.

Friedman Jewellery MD Frank Friedman confirmed the OAU delegates had bought jewellery worth "more than R10 000".

He would not say whether his shop had been specially opened on Saturday, saying the matter was confidential

OAU set to back federal system

(230)

PATRICK BULGER

THE OAU appears set to throw its weight behind attempts to establish a federal system of government in SA.

The OAU's stance, which is in line with government and Inkatha policy on a new constitution, is bound to put it at odds with the ANC and the PAC. The latter argue that federalism would compromise the principle of majority rule.

The OAU has been one of the ANC's staunchest backers, diplomatically and militarily, through its liberation committee Until now it has accepted almost without question the ANC's thinking on liberation in SA. B/Day 19/5/92

OAU chairman Maj-Gen I Nwachuku, who is also Nigeria's foreign affairs minister, was asked during a media conference at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday what the OAU would suggest to break the constitutional deadlock which frustrated Codesa II at the weekend

"I know that in my country the various ethnic interests were taken into consideration when we carved out 30 states. They are autonomous yet subordinate to the federal government

"I believe that a country as diverse as SA must have a system that makes diversity its strength I would say adopt a federal system and give everyone in SA the opportunity to decide what is best for their groups," he said, adding that no single political group could solve SA's problems.

The OAU delegation met SA political leaders from across the spectrum, investi-

☐ To Page 2

OAU

B/Day 19/5/92.

☐ From Page 1

gated the broader causes of violence and observed Codesa II Nwachuku said the delegation impressed on all parties the need to put SA before their own interests

He said Codesa had gone a long way towards solving SA's problems and that there had been more progress than anyone had expected

Nwachuku said the violence could be stopped by the political leadership, greater security measures on trains and more effective intelligence gathering

He said a new SA would have a place in the OAU, and he expected greater OAU involvement in SA once elections for a national assembly were under way

230 ARG 19/5/92

Federal system in SA urged by OAU

Delegation hails progress at Codesa

JOHANNESBURG — A federal system would be best for South Africa, according to the head of a visiting delegation from the Organisation of African Unity, Nigerian Foreign Minister Major-General I Nwachuku.

He said at a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport that the 10-member OAU delegation believed President De Klerk was sincere about introducing a non-racial democracy in South Africa

The delegation, which arrived last Thursday, observed proceedings at Codesa 2 at the weekend, and has also monitored the continuing violence

"We feel Codesa has come a long way in solving the South African problem. More progress has been made than anybody could expect in such a short time," General Nwachuku said.

The current deadlock in the negotiation process was to be expected as there was no quick-fix to South Africa's problems

He said the delegation believed the "collective wisdom" of South Africa's political leaders would eventually solve the problems

"Ethnic interests" had been taken into account in Nigeria when it had adopted a federal system with 30 states

"I would say adopt the federal system," General Nwachuku said

Such a move would allow everybody in South Africa to choose for themselves, and "South Africa's diversity would become its strength and its uniting force"

He believed Mr De Klerk and his government were sincere about political change, and the progress made so far in the negotiation process proved this

The delegation expressed great concern about the violence, and recommended

- More security on trains and at stations, and,
- More effective intelligence gathering to deal "decisively" with the perpetrators of violence

General Nwachuku also appealed to all South Africans to help solve the problem

The security forces and their commanders should be able "to bring to book and deal decisively" with any of their subordinates who were found to be actively involved in acts of violence

The OAU delegation had been received with open arms in the country, and there had been no attempts to hide anything

The delegation would take some recommendations back to the OAU when it leaves tomorrow, General Nwachuku said

It could not be confirmed whether the delegation would meet Mr De Klerk today — Sapa

Goniwe on agenda

A DELEGATION of the South African Council of Churches will discuss the killing of UDF activist Mr Matthew Goniwe with President De Klerk at Tuynhuys on Friday — Political Staff

ANC cool on federal proposal

CT 20/5/92

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC yesterday reacted cautiously to the Nigerian Foreign Minister's backing for a federal system in South Africa

Major-General Ike Nwachuku, who is also heading the 11-member OAU delegation currently in South Africa, made the comments at a news conference on Monday

"It is not the policy of the ANC to comment on statements and views of members of international organisations such as the OAU whether they are personal or corporate," the ANC said in a statement

"However, it is the understanding of the ANC that it is not customary for officials of such organisations to make public comments on issues such as a form of government they prefer when such issues are subjects of delicate negotiations"

The OAU delegation, which leaves today, observed proceedings at Codesa II at the weekend, and has also monitored the violence in the country

Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa said that the statement on federalism had dented the image of the OAU — Sapa

Codesa hotline left out in the cold

PATRICK BULGER

THE eyes and ears of the world, Codesa delegates are fond of saying when gathered in plenary sessions, are fixed on negotiations in SA. But a premium telephone service offering up-to-date information on Codesa has found otherwise. B/Day 20/5/92

After a mere five days, a "Codesa — your future is being decided" service is being withdrawn because of a lack of public interest. International Appeal premium rate service director Ronnie Graver said yesterday the service was almost ignored at a time when Codesa II dominated headlines

"The Codesa phone-in has become a major problem in my life," said Graver who spent R12 000 advertising it. By yesterday the service had attracted 144 mostly brief calls.

On the first day of Codesa II, interest peaked at 63 calls. Deadlock drove the second day's figure down to 18 while the outcome of Codesa II drew only 63 calls in two days.

Graver, who said his company specialised in upmarket services ranging from legal and business information to sex health lines, said other services received up to 50 times more calls than the Codesa line

"I thought there would be wide interest as Codesa affects everybody's life" People are "sick and tired of Codesa and politics", Graver said.

Cautious response from ANC

THE ANC yesterday reacted cautiously to the Nigerian foreign minister's backing for a federal system in this country. 230

Maj-Gen Ike Nwachuku, who is also heading the 11-member Organisation of African Unity (OAU) delegation in SA, made the comments at a news conference on Monday.

The ANC said: "It is not the policy of the ANC to comment on statements and views of members of international organisations such as the OAU whether they are personal or corporate. B/Day 20/5/92

"However, it is the understanding of the ANC that it is not customary for officials of such organisations to make public comments on issues such as a form of government they prefer when such issues are subjects of delicate negotiations."

The OAU delegation, which leaves today, observed proceedings at Codesa II at the weekend and has monitored the continuing unrest.

"The ANC noted the comments of Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who told a news briefing during Codesa II that government had been advised by the African delegation to dig in its feet and concede nothing on the issue of federalism.

"The effect of such advice to the SA government on the negotiation process is made obvious by the impasse reached by Codesa II," the ANC said

But the ANC felt Nwachuku and any other OAU official, or any other international organisation, were entitled to their views.

Transkeian military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said earlier that Nwachuku's statements on federalism had dented the OAU's image — Sapa.

Varsity Bill 'not ploy to exclude blacks'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The contentious Bill to make Afrikaans the official language of Stellenbosch University was not an underhand method of excluding black students, its proposer, National Party MP for Caledon Lampie Fick, told Parliament yesterday. B/Day 20/5/92

Dene Smuts (DP Groote Schuur) said it had to be asked whether it was appropriate for Parliament to lay down the language policy of universities. Most future students would be Africans, she said

A proposed amendment, which effectively says Afrikaans "is" the university's language rather than it "should" be the language, will now be discussed by the House of Assembly Select Committee before it is referred back to the Assembly and voted on

Banker has big plans for SA

B/Day 21/5/92 (230)

DAKAR — Africa's top banker talks openly about what few dared dream until now — a common market stretching from Cape Town to Cairo

African Development Bank president Babacar Ndiaye believes that eventual integration of a democratic, nonracial SA into the continent's mainstream will bolster its weak economies and give it an effective voice in world affairs

Once SA recovered from sanctions and recession and tackled substantial housing, education and other apartheid backlogs, it would act as an engine of growth in southern Africa and beyond, he said

"Then, when Africa takes off, it will have a different voice in international forums. They will listen to us," he told a seminar ahead of the Bank's annual meeting in Dakar this month

The African Development Bank, the OAU and the UN Economic Commission for Africa, have endorsed proposals for the formation of an African economic community by the year 2025

Ndiaye did not underestimate challenges lying ahead

He warned bank members that when SA did join its ranks, it would do so initially as a borrower rather than a contributor of resources despite its mineral and other riches.

Elsewhere in Africa, people are now worse off on average than in the early years of independence, the Bank says

The continent has been wrought by severe drought, civil war, weak world prices for its mineral and farm exports, and a $270bn foreign debt bill Its population growth of 3,1% a year is the highest in the world.

The Bank estimates Africa will need economic growth of 4% annually over the rest of the decade, almost double that posted in the 1980s, just to restore 1980 living standards Ndiaye believes a recharged South African economy, which accounts for 40% of sub-Saharan output, will make a difference

Ndiaye has proposed a special fund to provide aid to SA's the Third World sector

The Bank already is preparing to help SA the moment it becomes eligible for membership — Sapa-Reuter

Libya seeks OAU help

ABUJA, Nigeria - Libya asked Nigeria, current head of the Organisation of African Unity, to support its efforts to find a political solution to the 1988 Lockerbie plane bombing dispute - *Sapa-Reuter*

Sowetan 25/5/92 (230)

SA can join OAU, but...

(230)

Sowetan 25/5/92

ADDIS ABABA - South Africa can join the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) once black and white groups there agree on an interim government, OAU secretary-general Mr Salim Ahmed Salim said on Saturday

"Formation and installation of an interim government will be the benchmark At that stage, the point of irreversibility will have been reached and Africa will have no reason to continue isolating that country," he said in a statement marking the 29th anniversary of the formation of the OAU today

He said the OAU was encouraged by the progress already achieved in South Africa, and called on the black majority to end violence

He also urged the international community to exert pressure on South African State President FW de Klerk to ensure that nothing undermines the present negotiations

Speaking of Africa as a whole, Salim said the continent itself must tackle the problems affecting it

Africa's economy, he said, was strained by debt, low commodity prices and adverse terms of trade African countries must unite to overcome these problems

He appealed for help to overcome famine - *Sapa-Reuter*

Day of unity and African solidarity

Sowetan 25/5/92 (230)

FOCUS

Today is Africa Liberation Day. JAKI SEROKE, secretary for politics in the Pan Africanist Congress, discusses the significance of the day.

ON May 25 1963, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 30 African states adopted the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity and declared their firm resolve and commitment to the total liberation of the African continent from all forms of foreign domination.

Since then, this day has been celebrated by free Africans collectively and to rededicate themselves to unity, solidarity and struggle

The charter was itself a milestone in that it became a crucial tool to meld together two divergent points of disagreement by the progenitors of the OAU, which were formed into the Casablanca bloc and the Monrovia group - in ideological terms, the revolutionaries and the moderates

The Casablanca bloc supported the assassinated Congolese Prime Minister, Mr Patrice Lumumba, and called for a political Union of African States.

They vehemently opposed neo-colonialism and were anxious to avoid "cold war by proxy on our continent".

The Monrovia group were for gradualism and functional co-operation in attempts to achieve African unity

They adopted the principles of the inviolability of African frontiers and non-interference in each other's affairs

Dr Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Mr Abdul Nasser of Egypt, Mr Sekou Toure of Guinea (Conakry) and Mr Modibo Keita of Mali were in the Casablanca bloc

These leaders advocated continental unity of the African people

Sir Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria, Mr Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Mr Tubman of Liberia and Mr Sylvanus Olympio of Togo were in the Monrovia group which favoured federalism and economic co-operation

The Casablanca-Monrovia conflict came to an end after much consultation

Persuasive work was done to sink all the differences and "perform one clear and honest duty" - unite all the states of Africa and liberate the rest of the continent

The OAU was then set up on this day, 25 May 1963, and became a symbol of unity and struggle by the African people

The OAU, in its 29 years of existence, has been a disappointment in several important areas of conflict where its non-interference stance made it an insensitive body to the inherent problems in Africa.

For instance, it was non-committal during the Nigerian Civil War and lacked inspiration to stop the activities of French mercenaries in 1978 from interfering in the affairs of Zaire

Critics of the OAU pejoratively call it a union of African heads of state rather than that of the African people

However, its strong point has been the assistance the organisation has given to the Liberation Committee

The OAU has supported the armed struggle of the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia until these countries won their independence

KWAME NKRUMAH

JULIUS NYERERE

Since the advent of unpopular super-power relation, members of the OAU have shown an acute insensitivity to the struggle of the African people in this country and displayed a sense of political burn-out.

They are seen more and more in South Africa desperately seeking the way out of economic miseries through the promise of Mr Pik Botha's own "Marshall Plan" for Africa

In his recent visit, Nigerian Foreign Minister General Ike Nwochukwu even advised the option of federalism in a settlement of South Africa's constitutional problems

Africa Liberation Day truly demands a re-visitation of the hopes and intentions of the founding fathers of this organisation and a clear focus which has not become imperative in order to free our country now

Africa has only seen a change of flags and a succession of despots in the service of the ex-colonial master The African workers and peasants are still regarded as doormats for the way to the enrichment of a select few and their partners overseas

Colonial mentality still holds sway and many look down upon themselves for being Africans

There is a need to work for the liberation of Africa and achieve continental unity on a political level

The need to formulate a common market and distribute the mineral and natural resources evenly in Africa and establish great industrial complexes need not be emphasised further

President Julius Nyerere had said at the sixth Pan Africanist Congress in Dar es Salaam in 1974 "that as long as black people anywhere continue to be oppressed on the grounds of their colour, black people everywhere will stand together in opposition to that oppression in the future as in the past"

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thloloe Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg
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...and props. Although arson was suspected, police say no one has yet laid any charges. ● Photograph: JOHN HOGG

Pik's Dakar safari seen as boost for OAU invitation

STAR 30/5/92 (230)

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

OFFICIAL optimism that South Africa could be invited to next month's OAU summit in Senegal is rising after a visit to that country this week by Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Speculation has been fuelled by Botha's unexpected sortie to meet Senegalese President Abdou Diouf in Dakar on the eve of the annual OAU meeting.

Diouf is expected to take over as OAU president at the summit.

It is understood that South Africa's possible admission to the OAU — one of Botha's major foreign policy objectives — was discussed.

Although his office would not comment, it is possible that the Government and perhaps the ANC might be invited to the summit as observers

This could pave the way for South Africa's admission as a member, although the OAU's official policy is that this can happen only once an interim government has been appointed.

In his meeting with Diouf, Botha is sure to have repeated his argument that South Africa should be admitted to the OAU so that Africa can speak with one voice in its economic dealings with the industrialised world.

His visit prompted speculation that South Africa and Senegal would soon establish diplomatic relations

It is understood that Senegal is impatient to start doing business with South Africa for fear of being left behind in the post-apartheid economic scramble

During his brief trip, Botha stopped at Ivory Coast's capital Abidjan, where he meet local counterpart Amaru Essy.

In Dakar he also met Senegalese Foreign Minister Djibo Ka.

Inflation still up on 15%

CT 30/5/92

Business Editor

FOOD prices and the effect of VAT are helping to keep the inflation rate still above 15%, figures released yesterday by the Central Statistical Services show

The inflation rate for April, as measured by the consumer price index, was almost unchanged at 15,6%, only 0,1% below the March figure

But the food index rose by 1,8% in March and April This was due mostly to rises of 11,3% in the price of vegetables, 7,8% in the price of dairy products, 5,5% in the price of fruit and nuts and 3,1% in the price of fish and seafood products

The price of meat came down by 3,7%

● Inflation stalls bank rate — Page 5

HOPE FOR SA ECONOMY

See PAGE 5

BUSINESS BRIEF

Pik's plea to OAU on Codesa

230

DAKAR — In a surprise move the government has asked the next head of the OAU, Senegal's President Abdou Diouf, to help end the Codesa deadlock.

The move comes as an about-turn from the government which has until now strenuously resisted any direct role by the international community in negotiations

Mr Diouf will take the presidency of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) when Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida's term expires in July

The government has been prepared to allow foreign observers to attend Codesa proceedings but has resisted demands, particularly from the PAC, for a more interventionist role

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha returned from the Ivory Coast and Senegal yesterday.

'Unblock negotiations'

The visit was seen in diplomatic circles as boosting the prospects of South Africa being invited to the next OAU summit, albeit only as an observer

"President Diouf could personally intervene to help unblock the Codesa negotiations," Mr Botha told Senegalese Radio this week.

It appears likely that South Africa could soon establish some formal diplomatic ties with Senegal, but a foreign affairs spokesman refused to comment on this yesterday.

He said the visit — which included a stopover in Abidjan for a meeting with Ivory Coast Foreign Minister Mr Amara Essy — was "highly successful". — Political Staff, Sapa

Picture BENNY GOOL

Govt held back report

CT 30/5/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government delayed the release of the Goldstone report on violence for almost a month in an apparently cynical attempt to serve its own interests and embarrass the ANC

The report — which blamed ANC-Inkatha rivalry as a chief source of violence and ruled out a "third force" — was released this week as the ANC began its policy conference and President F W de Klerk prepared to leave on an extended overseas tour

However, the report — which has become the subject of a furious row between the government and the ANC — was completed on April 29 and sent immediately to Mr De Klerk.

A well-placed source said yesterday that the delay was suspicious because in the past the government had released the commission's reports within 48 hours.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night that if the report had indeed been delayed for almost a month, such an action would be "quite reprehensible, especially in the circumstances of ongoing violence".

He pointed to the eight-month delay in releasing the Pickard report on corruption in the public service said it "seems this government regards it as its prerogative to time these releases to suit itself"

Dr De Beer said the government's action strengthened his "long-held conviction that the National Party will always put its own political advantage above all other political considerations"

Mr De Klerk could not be reached for comment last night.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who heads the commission of inquiry into violence and intimidation, yesterday declined to be drawn into the row between the government and the ANC over who was to blame for the violence, saying. "It is not our policy to respond and have a public debate"

Yesterday law and order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said: "The Goldstone Commission was appointed after considerable pressure from the ANC itself. Now that they don't like the findings which the judicial investigation has come up with they reject it. This is totally incomprehensible."

● Judge: How to end violence — Page 2

● ANC slams govt for 'manipulating' Goldstone findings — Page 2

Patriotic Front may be revived — under pressure from the OAU

(230) ARG 3/6/92

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

PRESSURE from the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement has led to the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress talking about reviving the Patriotic Front

Formed in Durban last year after a meeting of several anti-apartheid organisations and trade unions, the front seemed headed for the rocks when the ANC continued to take part in Codesa against the wishes of the PAC

The PAC not only shunned Codesa, but tensions between the movements rose as the PAC criticised the ANC for continuing to take part in the forum

But the front could be back on track by the end of the month after pressure from the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement.

Factors such as the stalemate between the government and the ANC at Codesa and the ANC's mass action plans have also improved the chances of another Patriotic Front meeting.

PAC information chief Mr Gorah Ebrahim said: "The OAU supports the idea of reconvening the Patriotic Front and has indicated that it would finance such a meeting"

He said talks had been held with the Azanian People's Organisation, which was barred from the Patriotic Front meeting, and other organisations

"We would like the front to meet by the end of the month but we are not the only players The front must meet as a matter of urgency."

Mr Ebrahim said the PAC supported the ANC's plans for mass action, but added that this would have to be discussed at a meeting of the Patriotic Front

(230) 10/6/92 ARG

SA 'should be in OAU'

TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has predicted regular visits by African heads of state in future and has made it clear the Organisation of African Unity is incomplete without South Africa

He was speaking after what he described as "very positive and constructive" talks yesterday with Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi at Tuynhuys

He said South Africa's position in relation to Africa and the rest of the world had been normalised to such an extent "that it would be unnatural if there were not such visits from time to time"

Asked about membership of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr De Klerk replied "The OAU without South Africa cannot, in the final analysis, be an organisation of African unity."

Earlier in the day, during President Moi's red-carpet reception at D F Malan Airport, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha welcomed the Kenyan leader as a "statesman of Africa", noting that political change had made it possible "at last to receive and be met by our brothers in the rest of Africa"

In a brief message, President Moi said he wished South Africa "success in its endeavour to achieve what people of all races want a non-racial democracy"

He added "It is our wish that all leaders make sure Codesa succeeds"

Last night Mr Moi was the guest at a dinner hosted by President De Klerk at Westbrooke

Today he was being taken on a helicopter tour of the Peninsula

He leaves this afternoon for Rio de Janeiro where he will attend the Earth Summit

He will return to South Africa on Monday to meet Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Like it or not, world's going to watch SA

W/Mail 12/6-18/6/92

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Despite President FW de Klerk's resistance several foreign governments are planning to send delegations to South Africa to monitor political violence and elections.

By **ARTHUR GAVSHON** *in London*

DIPLOMATS on three continents are quietly preparing moves to monitor political violence and fair elections in South Africa knowing President FW de Klerk is working to thwart their plans

Well-qualified officials of several governments here reported backstage talks are underway on two inter-related issues under the umbrellas of the Commonwealth Secretariat and European Community (EC), the United Nations in New York and the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa.

The two related issues

●Firstly, the introduction of several hundred "peace monitors", complete with backup staff, transportation and other infrastructural equipment, to check on the origins and effects of political violence, the role of the security forces and ways of restoring relative normality.

●Secondly, the introduction of hundreds of foreign observers to see that the country's promised elections are conducted freely and fairly

Publicly and privately, De Klerk has made it known his government would resist the involvement of a corps of foreign peace or electoral monitors In verbal and written communications with several countries — including Britain, the United States, Portugal, Nigeria and Kenya — he has indicated the presence of observers from abroad could be construed widely in the Republic as "foreign intervention" to the detriment of his own government's authority.

Some countries — Britain and Nigeria among them for their own varying reasons — appear to have bought this line

The British Foreign Office, for instance, is saying Britain has not been approached formally to send any sort of monitoring team either to check on violence or on the conduct of a future election If asked, though, the request would be considered.

Meantime, the government has funded the secondment of a British academic, a Professor PAJ Waddington of Reading University, to serve on Judge Richard Goldstone's Commission. Waddington is an authority on policing, the handling of public demonstrations and how security forces should go about their business using minimal force

For its part Nigeria, which presides over the OAU, appears to be backing De Klerk's stance partly because it shares — for its own internal circumstances — his concepts on federalism Another reason is that a political accommodation is developing between the two countries, as it is also between De Klerk and Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, with future economic co-operation in mind.

Several Commonwealth, EC and UN countries, however, have been shaken in recent weeks by documented disclosures — in *The Weekly Mail* and *New Nation* among other newspapers — of ministerial and senior military collusion with massacres and murders Revelations of internal governmental corruption also have had their effect And, as a consequence, they have been saying through their officials that both the peace and electoral processes in South Africa simply must be monitored if they are to be internationally credible

It was with that in mind that Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku had a series of discreet corridor-talks with leading delegates to Codesa last month when he attended the failed plenary session

The underlying strategy is that if a consensus is established on the need for monitoring within Codesa, De Klerk's objections could be overruled

Informants gave this rundown of discussions now going on in Europe, North America and Africa about monitoring

●In London, Commonwealth diplomats are considering calling a special meeting of their Southern Africa Committee to examine the problem. The committee exercises a watchdog role over events in the Republic.

If a future nonracial South African government wanted to rejoin the Commonwealth, it would need to conform with the standards set by the institution Also in London, Britain has stalled the visit of three EC foreign ministers to South Africa for talks with all parties until sometime after July 1 when the British assume the presidency of the EC The three countries designated to make the journey are Britain, Portugal and Holland

●In New York UN member countries have begun consulting over the sort of role the world body could or should play in promoting implementation of the Peace Accord and free, fair elections There is broad backing for such a role but delegates seem painfully aware that the financially-strapped UN already is overburdened with peacekeeping missions

●At OAU headquarters something of a split has developed on the monitoring issues. Countries like Nigeria and Kenya want to avoid offending De Klerk but most others favour substantial OAU representation in any system of observation

In the past week, meantime, the International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International have issued reports shedding new light on the degree of security force involvement in the violence. Their documented evidence has reinforced the case of those governments arguing for international monitoring of township violence and electoral surveillance.

Mandela in surprise meeting with Banda

PATRICK BULGER

ANC president Nelson Mandela met embattled Malawi president Hastings Banda on Wednesday on an unscheduled visit diplomatic observers said could be linked to Malawi's recent decision to pay outstanding dues to the OAU liberation committee

The Malawi embassy yesterday refused to comment on the visit, which took observers by surprise Malawi was the only African country with Pretoria ties

It is understood Mandela and PAC president Clarence Makwetu had been sent invitations to meet Banda, who faces intense pressure from Western donor nations over Malawi's human rights record A Malawi government message with the invitations said it would pay its outstanding dues to the OAU liberation committee

OAU officials said recently the liberation committee was still assisting the ANC and the PAC Malawi has played an insignificant role in OAU activities

An ANC spokesman said yesterday that Mandela had undertaken to visit all African countries on his release His Malawi visit was part of this plan However, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Mandela's diary had had to be changed to accommodate the unscheduled visit.

Business Day SURVEY

Sweeping political changes of the past few years has swelled membership of Safto's African Business Development Group. And astute businessmen are realising they can tap into more than $10bn in development aid allocated to Africa every year but mostly never spent because appropriate projects were not identified. ***TANIA LEVY*** *reports.*

Africa is keen to see what SA has to offer

Bday 23/6/92 230

SA WILL be present for the first time at the OAU All-Africa Trade Fair after being invited to exhibit at the Zimbabwe International Trade Fair, which runs concurrently

SA's virtual inclusion in the OAU fair, one of the largest trade events on the continent, is a sign that it is on the brink of full re-acceptance by Africa

"It is an absolute coup," says Safto's international trade fairs marketing executive Ann Matthews "It shows the OAU's obvious desire to include SA and proves that trade overcomes political boundaries"

Before last August's Nairobi show, SA had not taken part in an African trade fair Since then it has been included in the Angolan Building Fair in April and the Zimbabwe National Trade Fair last month, which led to the invitation to the Zimbabwe Regional Export Fair

It will take place in Bulawayo from September 2 to 4, in conjunction with the sixth OAU fair, which takes place every four years at a different venue in Africa

It is attended by African and international visitors and usually includes exhibitors from most of the 51 OAU member states

Booked

Safto has already booked space for 29 exhibitors and companies already committed are from light industry, mass feeding products, agriculture and mining

Matthews says there has been a huge surge in invitations to SA to participate in trade fairs, particularly in Africa

South Africans know little about most potential markets after years of sanctions and foreigners are also curious to see what SA really has to offer

She believes the invitations will continue to flow in for the next year or two

SA entry into ADB eagerly awaited

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SA MEMBERSHIP of the African Development Bank (ADB) is eagerly awaited as possibly the most important development still to happen for SA business in Africa. B/Day

Earlier this year the bank's president Babab-car Ndiaye visited SA and said he was confident it would become a member in the next two years. 23/6/92

SA was officiallly represented for the first time at the bank's annual meeting in Dakar this year and in May two bank consultants were in SA to assess its possible role in southern African regional integration.

Denied

However, SA will be denied membership, and therefore access to billions of dollars of ADB loans until it is included in the Organisation for African Unity (OAU).

Last month an OAU delegation came to SA to monitor violence and attended Codesa 2 as observers.

The delegation leader, Nigeria's OAU ambassador Olusegan Olusola, is on record as saying the OAU was diappointed with the stalemate reached in negotiations but satisfied that progress was nevertheless being made.

He made it clear that the precondition for SA's OAU memebrship was the "establishment of an elected interim government and an elected constituent assembly which will be responsible for drawing up a new constitution"

OAU to consider forming own peace-keeping force

B/Day 23/6/92 (230)

DAKAR — African leaders gathering in Dakar would consider forming a continental peace-keeping force as conflict hampered the transition to multi-party democracy in many countries, OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said ahead of next week's OAU summit

OAU foreign ministers were beginning preparations yesterday for the summit, where heads of state will discuss also the process of ending single-party — and often military — rule

Ridiculous

"If we are now a global village, and if the whole world can interfere in African affairs, why should Africa not concern itself with itself?" Salim asked at a weekend news conference

The secretary-general added that such countries as Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya and Senegal had shown they could muster troops for UN peace-keeping operations.

"In the longer term, there need to be units in every country capable of intervening in the event of conflict," Salim said

African intervention would avoid external intervention, and that would "stop us looking ridiculous"

The OAU, in a switch from a long-standing policy of non-interference in the affairs of its member states, has backed Nigerian-led military intervention in Liberia, where the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas) sent a peace-keeping force in August 1990

"I am going to propose to the heads of state a sort of institutional mechanism to enable the organisation to endow itself with the capability to tackle the internal conflicts faced by numerous countries," Salim explained

"The exciting period of democratic transition we are living through in several countries demands this of us," he said

"Regularly, we are called upon as a pan-African organisation to supervise and monitor the successful conduct of elections, and we should have the means to do so"

Salim said there could be no real economic integration in Africa as long as there was no stability and security, with the free circulation of goods and people

The OAU's military force could comprise special units from different African armies with training in peacekeeping tasks

He suggested also that a fund be set up to provide finance for conflict resolution programmes

Asked on Sunday about developments in SA, Salim expressed his grave concern

Apartheid was far from dead, he said, and the Pretoria government should be pressed better to control its security forces

Codesa remained the "most appropriate framework" for ushering in non-racial democracy, Salim said

He added that he had not invited SA's Nationalist Party government to Dakar even as observers to the OAU summit

Arrears

Other issues on the agenda included the highest-level discussion yet of the threat posed to millions of young African lives by AIDS

The growing problem of refugees and displaced people, on which the OAU was drafting a protocol, and the following up of the Earth Summit in Rio earlier this month would also be discussed, Salim said

He added that African leaders would also have to consider the OAU's own financial problems caused by arrears in contributions

On June 1, the amount owed to the OAU totalled about US$30m This was the equivalent of its annual budget, he said — Sapa-AFP

'Get help' clamour

ARG 24/6/92

London, Washington express dismay

ARG 24/6/92

Argus Foreign Service in London and Washington

THE British government reacted with dismay to the decision by the ANC saying the process must continue for the sake of the South African people.

The Foreign Office said it was concerned at the ANC's decision and called on all to "to restore the confidence vital if constitutional settlement is to be achieved"

"We believe that the interests of the majority of South Africans are best served by concerted efforts to get the negotiations back on track as soon as possible," the Foreign Office said.

Earlier, Prime Minister John Major urged South African leaders to strive for a satisfactory conclusion.

In Washington, the chairman of the Senate's foreign relations committee, Senator Paul Simon, urged Pretoria to consider the role which the United Nations could play in helping.

In a resolution from the floor of the Senate today, he adopted a conciliatory attitude, saying that the United States still hoped that negotiations could resume.

He urged the government to "work to control elements that have not been constructive in the past in the peace process" and called for restraint.

Leading American newspapers called on the ANC not to abandon negotiations.

The Washington Post said the ANC's "hasty decision" to pull out of talks had been preceded by a hardening of attitudes on both sides and verbal hostility between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

"Both must show that at this critical juncture they are bigger than the audiences to which they are inclined to play," the newspaper said.

The newspaper said the government should be held accountable for controlling the violence, but added that the ANC "should not lose sight of the larger interest"

In its comment, The New York Times said. "Unless justice is done, and is seen to be done, the hopes for democratic change inspired by President De Klerk could vanish"

Outside monitors of violence urged

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

PRESSURE is mounting on the government from all quarters today to get help from the international community in monitoring and curbing violence and, ultimately, to preserve the negotiation process

As the Cabinet gathered for crisis talks today after the ANC's decision last night to pull out of the Codesa negotiations, one of the key items on the agenda will be the possibility of seeking international assistance — both to try to reduce the level of conflict and also to preserve the talks process

Political tension has risen across the country and fears have been expressed from within the security forces that the ANC's tough stance may be interpreted in the townships as a return to a "war phase"

Against this background, politicians and others believe the time has come for the government seriously to consider help from abroad.

Apart from the ANC, calls for some form of international peacekeeping force, or monitoring mission, have so far come from Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer and the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine.

It has also emerged that various key figures in the National Peace Secretariat favour this option In fact, the National Peace Executive meets in Johannesburg tomorrow to discuss the options for international assistance in curbing the violence.

Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys told The Argus "We will be looking at the possibility of international assistance.

24 HOURS

"It is under consideration, but, of course, it needs to be accepted by everybody, including the government.

"I cannot say more until we know what everybody's attitude is"

Some in the National Peace Secretariat are known to be strongly in favour of credible international observers joining forces with existing peace structures.

One source said "I believe it is an excellent idea I think it could have a tremendous credibility"

Dr De Beer said. "I will support an international mission, depending, of course, on its terms and nature, but I think the time has come when we must look at this option

"There are two reasons: the seriousness of the situation warrants it and, given the general relaxation of South Africa s international contacts, I think South Africans, even white ones, are now more willing to entertain the idea of presentable international visitors coming to help"

He said he had found the recent visit by the International Commission of Jurists "impressive and useful"

Dr De Beer said he believed the government was more inclined now than a year ago to consider international assistance or monitoring

Dr Boraine suggested yesterday that President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela should meet urgently to discuss the possible composition and terms of reference of an international mission "and an invitation should be extended without delay"

Picture: AFP

CRISIS GATHERING: Mr Oliver Tambo, front left, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa with some of the 90-strong ANC national executive committee during a picture session at their emergency meeting called after the Boipatong massacre

Call for Security Council meeting

ARG 24/6/92 (230)

Argus Foreign Service and Political Staff

DAKAR — The ANC and the PAC called here for African states to press for an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council on the situation in South Africa.

Organisation of African Unity (OAU) secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim told a closed-doors meeting of OAU foreign ministers about the request late yesterday

Mr Salim told delegates ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had informed him by telephone he wanted to address the Security Council.

Mr Salim also read to the African ministers a message from PAC leader Clarence Makwetu requesting a meeting of the Security Council.

In the message, Mr Makwetu said the PAC had always considered that Codesa was not a democratic forum.

The only way forward was to reconvene the United Patriotic Front through concerted political and economic action and the armed struggle, Mr Makwetu said.

The current violence was the result of the early lifting of sanctions, he said.

Mr Salim assailed the South African Police for showing a "careless disregard for human life" in Boipatong

He said there was a need to maintain the pressure for change in South Africa.

President De Klerk's warning that he might reimpose a state of emergency "threatens the process of change", Mr Salim said.

"The edifice of apartheid has been severely dented," he said, but stressed the need "to temper our optimism"

- Eight Codesa-represented organisations support the ANC decision to pull out of Codesa.
- Cosatu and the ANC-led Patriotic Front have endorsed the ANC's decision.

The PF (excluding the PAC and Labour Party) said there should be no negotiations until the government made an "unambiguous" commitment to accept majority rule.

Cosatu, in a separate statement, said. "Cosatu has begun wide-scale mobilisation of its members in line with the alliance Programme of Action to remove this corrupt and violent regime from power

"Our programme of rolling mass action has begun and will continue until we achieve democracy"

Cosatu also urged business to make "its choice now" as Cosatu members were not prepared to continue enduring poverty, "murder" and unemployment while business "told them to be patient"

- PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Mosenke last night said the PAC would spare no effort in joining the ANC in all mass actions to bring about a speedy democracy

He said all anti-apartheid forces should close ranks to achieve an immediate transfer of power

THE KEY EVENTS

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress's decision to pull out of democracy negotiations has stopped a process that began early in 1990.

Following is a chronology of key events and meetings between the government and the ANC leading to the standoff.

ARG 24/6/92

1990

February 2 — President De Klerk legalises the African National Congress and its armed wing, the SA Communist Party and other banned opposition groups in a prelude to all party democracy negotiations.

February 10 — Mr De Klerk meets ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela at the Tuynhuys presidential office in Cape Town and agrees to release him the next day from his 1964 life sentence

May 4 — The ANC and the government meet for the first time at Groote Schuur presidential residence in Cape Town and agree a framework for the release of political prisoners, indemnity for exiles and a joint commitment to end violence.

August 6 — The two sides meet again in Pretoria. The government agrees to ease emergency rules and the ANC suspends its 30-year armed struggle against apartheid.

1991

April 5 — Mr Mandela accuses Mr De Klerk in an open letter of not doing enough to end township violence and sets a one-month ultimatum for action on violence to ensure continuation of "talks about talks"

April 9 — Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk rescue talks in a five-hour crisis meeting that results in a ban on cultural weapons carried by the ANC's Zulu foes.

September 14 — The ANC, anti-apartheid groups, political parties, the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party sign national peace accord to reduce tension and set up mechanisms to resolve disputes

November — The ANC, government, Inkatha and others agree to start power-sharing talks the following month. The right-wing Conservative Party and far-right groups boycott the talks and the radical Pan Africanist Congress walks out.

December 20 — Nineteen parties attend the Convention for a Democratic South Africa at a plenary meeting dubbed Codesa 1, the first real attempt to negotiate a transition to democracy The two-day conference ends with agreement to begin bargaining in March on a constitution giving blacks equal political rights

1992

May 16 — Codesa 2 fails to resolve differences between the government and the ANC over minority powers and protection in a democratic South Africa.

June 16 — The ANC begins a mass action campaign of strikes, boycotts and rallies to force the government to speed up political reform.

June 17 — At least 39 people are butchered in Boipatong, south of Johannesburg Residents accuse supporters of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's conservative Inkatha Freedon Party

June 21 — Mr Mandela accuses Mr De Klerk and his government of complicity in the attack and orders ANC negotiators to suspend talks with the government.

June 23 — ANC leaders meet in Johannesburg to review their role in talks about the dismantling of white rule and decide to pull out. — Sapa-Reuter

World moves to defuse deadlock

By ARTHUR GAVSHON: London

KEY world governments, still shocked by the Boipatong massacre, moved urgently yesterday to defuse the South African powder barrel.

Chief Emeka Anyaoku, Secretary General of the 50-nation Commonwealth, decided to fly immediately to the Republic for talks with President FW de Klerk, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and other high-ups. Topping his agenda will be a proposal for a Commonwealth role in monitoring the security situation. Anyaoku was due to depart last night.

The British Foreign Office disclosed that United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has been invited to London next week for talks on the South African crisis with Prime Minister John Major's government. Britain assumes the presidency of the European Community (EC) on July 1 and will be speaking for the 12-nation group.

Boutros-Ghali will be flying in from Dakar, Senegal, where the South African situation will be a hot subject of debate in the Organisation of African Unity summit.

In EC capitals, in Washington and at the UN and Commonwealth headquarters in New York and London, officials closely scrutinised the text of De Klerk's public response on Wednesday to the ANC's terms for returning to Codesa.

There appears to be consensus that De Klerk's offer to internationalise the Goldstone Commission investigation into the Boipatong murders will not succeed in luring the ANC back to the negotiating table.

This reaction was reinforced by a public declaration by 100 members of the United States Congress in Washington asserting that De Klerk's response to Boipatong and the breakdown of Codesa had been "wholly inadequate".

Hunt for SA at OAU goes on

Sowetan 26/6/92 (230)

DAKAR - Hunting for the men from Pretoria has been a little game played - sometimes very seriously - by journalists, lobbyists and diplomats attending the Organisation of African Unity meeting in the Senegalese capital.

By BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI
Sowetan Africa News Service

Are the South African diplomats here or not here? Have they been invited or not? So far the answer to these frequently-asked questions has been in the negative

And it looks destined to stay that way through not only the preliminary meeting of the OAU foreign ministers but also the heads-of-government that follows it

One senior official of a South African liberation movement even went searching in the corridors of the huge King Fahd Complex, venue of the summit, for a South African official who, he understood, was giving an interview to a local television crew just around the corner It turned out to be a man from the SABC

The liberation man said there were rumours that South African Government officials were already in town and that their African friends were ready to spring them on the ANC and PAC - who have observer status - in one of the plenary sessions

Embarrass

If that were to happen, the man said, the liberation movements would walk out of the summit That could greatly embarrass the OAU and even provoke a split within the organisation which it is doubtful it could ever survive

At one stage it was strongly rumoured in Dakar that Mr Neil van Heerden, the South African director-general of Foreign Affairs, was in the city, but keeping out of sight Diplomatic sources elsewhere in Africa supported the rumour But the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria laughed at it and insisted Van Heerden was right there in the Union Buildings

In any event, South Africa is said to have lobbied long and hard for an invitation and some of its increasing band of friends in Africa were hopeful that even if South Africa was not invited this time the ground would be prepared for its eventual admission That is until Boipatong intervened

Then there was talk of dragging South Africa before the UN Security Council to resume its old place in the dock

Was it realistic for the South African Government to expect an invitation from the OAU in the first place? Pretoria would probably say it was, having dined and wined representatives of many African countries in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria - not to mention the Kruger National Park

And then there was President de Klerk's official visit to Nigeria, where Die Stem was played for the first time in an independent African state

Equal

That was surely the icing on the cake, with an OAU chairman receiving De Klerk in his own country and describing him as the moral equal of Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Steve Biko

And then from Nigeria the baton of the continent's leadership passes on to Senegal, another country with cordial relations with the South African Government

There should therefore be no obstacle to South Africa being given the nod by the OAU, at least to be present as an observer at Dakar

The problem though for the South African Government is that, despite February 2 1990 and all that followed, none of its friends has the courage to break ranks and back their private friendships with public action

The issue of South Africa is still clouded with deep emotions and the ongoing violence, especially massacres such as Boipatong, undermines the Government's case - and it embarrasses her friends

Mr Pik Botha came here a few days ago looking for an invitation to the summit. Apparently the Nigerians had told him invitations were the business of the host nation, Senegal The Senegalese, in turn, referred him back to Nigerian President Babangida, as the current chairman And so South Africa was left in limbo

Knockout

After doing so well diplomatically out of Nigeria's chairmanship of the OAU, they just couldn't achieve the coup de grace, the knockout punch that would have seen the party that gave us apartheid and its attendant polecat status finally and irrevocably taking the country back into the international fold

The circle would have been rounded and doubts about the irreversibility of the process quashed for ever

But the South African Government can at least derive some satisfaction from the fact that, for the first time, its absence from an OAU summit is being questioned

At his Press conference on Sunday the OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim was repeatedly asked by journalists from Senegal's state-controlled media why South Africa had not been invited

The questions seemed to annoy him He did not disguise his surprise at a suggestion that De Klerk should have been invited since Mandela will also be here

One could sympathise with him He has to punt an OAU line on South Africa for which his current chairman does not even try to disguise his contempt.

The message to the South African Government seems to be Push by all means, but don't push too hard, lest you break the door

The key to admission to the OAU is back home, not in Dakar It is in finding an accommodation with the black majority

The OAU seems to agree that Codesa is a suitable forum for seeking that accommodation So, get on with it And don't put the cart before the horse

Push, but don't break down the OAU's door

STAR 26/6/92

BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI of The Star's Africa Service, who is in Dakar, examines South Africa's relationship with the Organisation of African Unity

(230)

HUNTING FOR the men from Pretoria has been a little game played — sometimes very seriously — by journalists, lobbyists and diplomats attending the Organisation of African Unity meeting in the Senegalese capital

Are the South African diplomats here or not here? Have they been invited or not? So far the answer to these frequently asked questions has been in the negative And it looks destined to stay that way through not only the preliminary meeting of the OAU foreign ministers but also the heads-of-government meeting that follows it

One senior official of a South African liberation movement said there were rumours that South African Government officials were already in town and that their African friends were ready to to spring them on the ANC and PAC — who have observer status — in one of the plenary sessions If that were to happen, the man said, the liberation movements would walk out of the summit That could greatly embarrass the OAU and even provoke a split within the organisation which it is doubtful it could ever survive

At one stage it was strongly rumoured in Dakar that Neil van Heerden, the South African Director-General of Foreign Affairs, was in the city, but keeping out of sight However, the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria insisted that Mr van Heerden was right there in the Union Buildings

In any event, South Africa is said to have lobbied long and hard for an invitation and some of its increasing band of friends in Africa were hopeful that, even if South Africa was not invited this time, the ground would be prepared for its eventual admission That is until Boipatong intervened

Then there was talk of dragging South Africa before the UN Security Council to resume its old place in the dock

Was it realistic of the South African Government to expect an invitation from the OAU in the first place? Pretoria would probably say it was, having wined and dined representatives of many African countries in South Africa

And then there was President de Klerk's official visit to Nigeria, where Die Stem was played for the first time in an independent African state That was surely the icing on the cake, with an OAU chairman receiving Mr de Klerk in his own country and describing him as the moral equal of Mandela and Biko

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The problem, though, for the South African Government is that, despite February 2 1990 and all that followed, none of its friends has the courage to break ranks and back their private friendships with public action The issue of South Africa is still clouded with deep emotions, and the ongoing violence, especially massacres such as Boipatong, undermines the Government's case — and embarrasses its friends

Pik Botha came to Dakar a few days ago looking for an invitation to the summit Apparently the Nigerians had told him that invitations were the business of the host nation, Senegal The Senegalese, in turn, referred him to Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, as the current chairman. And so South Africa was left in limbo.

After doing so well diplomatically out of Nigeria's chairmanship of the OAU, they just could not achieve the *coup de grace*, the knock-out punch that would have seen the party that gave us apartheid and its attendant polecat status finally and irrevocably taking the country back into the international fold The circle would have been rounded and doubts about the irreversibility of the process quashed for ever

But the Government can at least derive some satisfaction from the fact that for the first time its absence from an OAU summit is being questioned

At his press conference on Sunday OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim was repeatedly asked by journalists from Senegal's State-controlled media why South Africa had not been invited. The questions seemed to annoy him He did not disguise his surprise at a suggestion that Mr de Klerk should have been invited since ANC leader Nelson Mandela would also be here One could sympathise with him He has to punt an OAU line on South Africa for which his current chairman does not even try to disguise his contempt

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STAR 26/6/92

UN CHIEF IN AVOIDANCE OF PEACE PRESSURE

Dramatic move as ANC-government struggle goes abroad

Sunday Times Reporters

UN CHIEF Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday accepted an invitation from South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha to visit South Africa.

The decision followed nearly three hours of talks between the two men in Abuja, Nigeria, about the political crisis in South Africa caused by the rupture between the government and the ANC

Mr Botha went to brief the UN secretary-general about the situation in the country and ask that Codesa parties be allowed to take part in any UN Security Council meeting on South Africa

It will be the UN secretary-general's first visit to South Africa No official statement has yet been made about his itinerary or the timing of his visit, but it is understood he will consult all major parties to acquaint himself with the current crisis

Mr Botha also met Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida and the country's foreign minister The meetings between Mr Botha and the Nigerians were immediately slammed by the ANC's director of external affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki

"We don't understand why this meeting should take place in Nigeria," said Mr Mbeki "Presumably the Nigerians will explain"

Jockeying

Mr Boutros-Ghali, meanwhile, is also due to meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Dakar, Senegal, today where the heads of African states are gathering for the annual Organisation of African Unity summit. Mr Mandela will tell Mr Boutros-Ghali tonight that he wants the UN Security Council to approve the sending of an international peacekeeping force to South Africa

A delegation of top Inkatha officials, headed by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, also arrived in Abuja yesterday for talks with Mr Boutros-Ghali

The jockeying for international support follows a week of intense political activity in South Africa during which the ANC broke

BACKGROUND TO THE CRISIS P25

off all negotiations with the government until it meets a series of demands aimed at installing an interim government and controlling political violence

Yesterday, to underscore the point, Mr Mandela told 10 000 cheering supporters at a gathering in Kliptown, Soweto, commemorating the 37th anniversary of the Congress of the People, that the ANC National Executive Committee had decided that there would be no further talks with the government until all the ANC demands were met

"If the regime insists on invoking white minority rule and opposes genuine democracy, there can be no negotiations," he said

Mr Mandela will instead propose to the UN secretary-general in Dakar tonight that an international monitoring group along the lines of those deployed in Angola and Namibia should be sent to South Africa It would consist of a permanent group capable of determining possible areas of conflict and, once conflict occurred, of determining who was responsible it would liaise closely with Peace Accord officials

The ANC will also call for strict adherence to the phased lifting of sanctions subject to the installation of an interim government

The ANC was involved this week in a round of briefings of foreign diplomats in Johannesburg prior to Mr Mandela's departure for the OAU meeting

Aides said yesterday that Mr Mandela would also use the opportunity at the OAU summit to appeal

□ To Page 2

S/Times 28/6/92

R.T.O.

OAU puts peace on the agenda

(230)

CT 29/6/92

DAKAR — African foreign ministers agreed in principle here on Saturday on a proposed new peacekeeping role for the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), diplomats have said

The proposal for the OAU to form a mediation council as well as peacekeeping forces that could intervene in Africa's many civil wars marks a departure from the organisation's longstanding policy of non-interference in members' internal conflicts

Foreign ministers meeting to prepare the OAU summit starting here today agreed by consensus to bring the proposal before heads of state after a heated all-night debate, sources said Libya, Sudan and Ethiopia apparently opposed the proposal

The OAU's new peacekeeping role was proposed by the organisation's secretary-general, Mr Salim Ahmed Salim

Diplomats expressed doubts about the funding of peacekeeping and mediation efforts — Sapa-AFP

Boipatong a blow for the pro-Pretoria lobby at OAU

Sowetan 29/6/92

By BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI
Argus Africa News Service

DAKAR - African heads of state assemble here today for the 29th summit of the Organisation of African Unity with a trayful of intractable problems awaiting their attention

But the South African issue is no longer one of them

A mighty dust-up had been expected as some African countries lobbied for a South Africa made respectable by reform and Codesa to be allowed to attend this year's summit as an observer

Certain countries seemed prepared to stage a showdown over the issue

However, the Boipatong massacre seems to have come to the OAU's rescue by pulling the rug from under the feet of the pro-Pretoria lobby

Rumours persisted early last week that South African Director-General of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden was in Dakar waiting for a call from the summit (although this was officially denied by his department in Pretoria)

Issues

In his Press briefing at the beginning of the week, OAU secretary general Salim Ahmed Salim left South Africa out of his list of important issues to be discussed It was only after he was prodded that he condemned the violence in South Africa

The massacre and Salim's uncompromising language have now put paid to any chance of any country standing up for South Africa.

The foreign ministers who meet in the week preceding the summit to prepare its agenda, were unanimous in their condemnation of the Pretoria government and closed ranks behind the ANC and PAC position

Massacre

ANC representative Joe Modise told reporters that the massacre had made it easier for the ANC to persuade certain states to stop supporting Pretoria.

The massacre had dealt President de Klerk s personal image a severe blow, he said The PAC s Gora Ibrahim made a similar assessment

Whereas the ANC campaigned at last year's OAU summit in Abuja for certain sanctions to be lifted, it is presenting a position similar in many ways to that of the PAC this year

The PAC has always maintained that Codesa was not the right forum for constitutional talks It wants to resuscitate the Patriotic Front with the ANC

Though they may have been let off the South African hook, the African leaders still face other tough problems

Anarchy reigns in Liberia and Somalia with thousands killed and millions of others displaced In addition, almost a dozen low-level conflicts continue on the continent

Drought

Then there are the issues of economic decline in most countries, the Aids epidemic and the unprecedented drought gripping most of east and southern Africa

Southern African countries have called for greater co ordination of drought relief

Because of the venue of the summit, West African concerns will tend to take pride of place The civil war in Liberia is uppermost in many participants' minds, especially for the host country, Senegal, which has lost several troops serving with Ecomog, the peace-keeping force in Liberia

There are fears that the Liberian civil war could engulf the whole region It has already led to the overthrow of the government of Joseph Momoh in Sierra Leone

Agreement

This summit will have to decide what to do about Liberia, especially about Charles Taylor, the rebel leader who has broken every agreement reached with him This week Ecomog threatened to impose an embargo on the country to force a settlement

In Somalia, different parts of the country are controlled by different armed militia

This week, some of the factions turned up in Dakar, each claiming to be the legitimate government.

Salim has complained that the international community has not always responded to African tragedies with the same speed as it has elsewhere He contrasted the UN Security Council's reaction to Somalia with that in Yugoslavia where Western countries were quick to react.

"The world is not interested (in Africa) any more," he said, adding that from now on, Africa would have to depend on its own resources to solve its own problems

Problems

The OAU's impotence to deal with the continent s problems is something that has long bothered many of its supporters Its capacity to make even a tiny difference in the daily lives of ordinary people is almost nil

For the organisation just to be able to exist has in itself been some achievement

It is a victim of the end of the Cold War Gone are the days when Soviet envoys used to lurk in conference corridors ready to put a spin to every policy decision in exchange for armaments and easy terms of trade Now the scattered remnants of what was the Soviet Union are joining the queue for international aid What is annoying the Africans is that these newcomers are allowed to jump the queue

Poverty

OAU officials are saying that colonial emancipation having been attained, the time has now come for economic independence, for the continent to be rid of poverty, disease and illiteracy

The signing of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community in Abuja last year is seen as signalling the second phase of the continent s liberation But the governments know that without stability, it will be almost impossible to pull Africa out of the economic quagmire

Salim wants some mechanism for resolving conflict to be discussed at this summit

He is keen that the summit should decide on how to build the OAU's capacity to handle conflicts both between and within states

Conflict

He has already created a new division on conflict management within his secretariat.

But some countries are expected to resist this development because it seems to go against the OAU canon of non-interference in the affairs of member states

If the suggestion is adopted, it will mean the organisation has at last been given some teeth

Funds

The OAU faces another sub-issue in that it is also now frequently being asked to observe elections in member countries, but it cannot do so adequately for lack of funds

It is R1 026m in the red and 25 states - almost half the OAU membership - have yet to pay their contributions

> "The OAU's impotence to deal with the continent's problems is something that has long bothered many of its supporters. Its capacity to make even a tiny difference in the daily lives of ordinary people is almost nil."

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OAU in bid to end war in Africa

Sowetan 29/6/92 · (230)

DAKAR - Organisation of African Unity foreign ministers agree that it must do something to help stop Africa's burgeoning wars.

But the idea of a pan-African peacekeeping force has been put on the back burner, delegates said at the weekend.

They said they spent eight hours on Friday mulling over proposals by OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim for an OAU "mechanism" to prevent and settle conflicts in Africa, which is more torn by war and rebel uprisings than any other part of the world.

The ministers were due to complete that and other draft resolutions on Saturday for discussion at a three-day OAU summit beginning today.

Debate resumed on Saturday evening after Friday's late-night session

"There was absolute unanimity on the need for Africa to do something," Salim told reporters on Saturday.

But he said some ministers felt the idea needed further study while others were worried it could mean OAU meddling in countries' domestic affairs, breaking the OAU's long-standing policy not to encroach on national sovereignty.

Salim declined to say which countries expressed opposition to elements of the plan. Delegates said they included Zaire, Rwanda and Sudan, whose governments are all battling rebel insurgencies

Salim's original proposals included a call on OAU members to earmark units of their armed forces for possible peacekeeping duties, and creation of an OAU military consultative committee.

"The essence of the proposal has nothing to do with creation of an African military force," Salim told reporters.

He said he envisaged OAU military observers to help respond quickly to brewing disputes, and the possibility only "in extreme cases" of raising peacekeeping troops

He said funding such an initiative within the cash-strapped organisation would be difficult Arrears on OAU members' dues amounted to R84 million before the ministerial talks began on Monday, although some countries have since paid up to the tune of R19 million.

But Salim added: "Everything has a price. Peace has a price also I don't think any price in terms of what we are asking for is that colossal It is a question of political will."

He said he hoped concrete proposals for the peace-making plan would be ready for approval at the next OAU summit in a year's time - *Sapa-Reuter.*

Leaders to ask OAU to approve proposals on SA

(230)

STAR 29/6/92

By Barney Mthombothi
Star Africa Service

DAKAR — African leaders assembling in Dakar for today's 28th OAU summit will have three specific proposals to approve on South Africa

These are that a so-called OAU fact-finding team of experts be dispatched to South Africa immediately, that the issue of violence in South Africa be referred to the UN Security Council and that the Patriotic Front be resuscitated

These proposals have been agreed to by foreign ministers in their week-long meeting in Dakar and will be put to the summit today as recommendations. Only the summit can make them binding decisions, although it is expected to approve them.

The foreign ministers have given the team of experts a maximum of two weeks to complete their fact-finding mission to South Africa The team will be given firm instructions to be independent in all respects

In condemning the SA Government for the violence in the country, the foreign ministers have also called for unity among anti-apartheid organisations. The PAC and ANC have therefore been urged to revive the Patriotic Front

The PAC has already called for an early reconvening of the front ANC president Nelson Mandela will address the summit today on behalf of the ANC and PAC

● Africa surveys its tragedies – Page 15

Africa surveys its tra

STAR 29/6/92 (230)

Conflict and the economy are some of the problems to be discussed at the OAU summit in Dakar, writes BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI of The Star Africa Service.

AFRICAN heads of state assemble in Dakar today for the 29th summit of the Organisation of African Unity with a trayful of intractable problems awaiting their attention — but with the South Africa issue no longer one of them

A mighty row over this issue had been expected. Some African countries lobbied for a South Africa made respectable by reform and Codesa to attend this year's summit as an observer, but others opposed it.

A week ago a showdown seemed possible, but the Boipatong massacre apparently came to the OAU's rescue by pulling the rug from under the feet of the pro-Pretoria lobby.

Rumours persisted early last week that SA Director-General of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden was in Dakar waiting for a call to the summit, but his department denied it.

In a press briefing, OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim left South Africa out of his list of important issues to be discussed. He condemned the violence in South Africa only after he was prodded.

The massacre and Dr Salim's uncompromising language have now put paid to any chance of any country standing up for South Africa. The foreign ministers, who met before the summit to draw up its agenda, were unanimous in their condemnation of the Government and closed ranks behind the ANC and PAC.

According to sources, not a single foreign minister argued the case for South Africa. ANC representative Joe Modise told reporters that the massacre had made it much easier for the ANC to persuade certain states to stop supporting Pretoria The massacre had dealt President de Klerk's personal image and prestige a severe blow, he said

The ANC campaigned at last year's OAU summit in Abuja, Nigeria, that some sanctions be lifted, but this year it is presenting a position fairly similar to that of the PAC, which has maintained that Codesa was not the correct forum for constitutional talks The PAC wants to resuscitate the Patriotic Front with the ANC.

Although they may have been let off the South African hook, African leaders face other tough problems Anarchy is reigning in Liberia and Somalia, and about a dozen low-level conflicts are raging on the continent.

There are also the economic decline in most countries, the Aids epidemic and the unprecedented drought in most of eastern and southern Africa Southern African countries have called for greater co-ordination of drought relief.

Because of the venue of the summit, west African concerns will tend to dominate The civil war in Liberia tops the list because the host country, Senegal, has lost troops serving with the peacekeeping force Ecomog in Liberia.

There are fears that the Liberian civil war could engulf the entire region. It has already led to the overthrow of the government of Joseph Momoh in Sierra Leone The summit will have to decide what to do about Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor, who has broken every agreement reached with him Last week Ecomog threatened to impose an embargo on the country to force a settlement.

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Now the remnants of what was the Soviet Union are joining the queue for international aid, and it annoys the Africans that they jump the queue

OAU officials are saying that, colonial emancipation having been attained, the time has come for economic independence The signing of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community in Abuja last year is seen as signalling the second phase of the continent's liberation But the governments know that without political stability it will be almost impossible to pull Africa out of the economic quagmire

Dr Salim wants some mechanism for conflict resolution, and it will feature high on the summit's agenda He wants the OAU to decide on how to build its capacity for the control of conflict both between and within states

But some countries are expected to resist this development because it seems to go against the OAU policy of non-interference If the suggestion is adopted, it will mean that the organisation has at last been given teeth.

The OAU faces another issue It is often asked to observe elections in member countries, but it does not have enough money to do so It is $38 million (about R106 million) in the red and almost half of its members are in arrears with their contributions □

AFRICA

OAU head steps down

(230)

Sowetan 30/6/92

ABUJA - Nigeria's President Ibrahim Babangida steps down after a year as Organisation of African Unity chairman during which the organisation has made no major moves on crucial issues.

Babangida spent much of the year embroiled in domestic problems and countering religious and ethnic violence troubling his programme to restore civilian rule next January.

A soft-spoken man with a ready smile and a knack of wriggling out of tight corners, Babangida tacitly admits that his tenure as chairman of the 51-member OAU has not gone totally as he wanted.

"We set four objectives for the year - conflict resolution, processes of economic integration, democratisation and the South African question," he said.

He steps down at the end of the three-day Dakar summit which opened yesterday - *Sapa-Reuter.*

OAU censures De Klerk

Sowetan 30/6/92 (230)

DAKAR - The honeymoon with black Africa seemed over yesterday when the Organisation of African Unity condemned Pretoria for violence against blacks and demanded an emergency United Nations Security Council meeting.

"Africa's concern is to see that the process of change in South Africa is not aborted," OAU secretary-general Mr Salim Ahmed Salim told a news conference after a week of meetings by African foreign ministers who set the agenda for the OAU summit opening in Dakar yesterday

The ministers urged the Security Council to put pressure on South Africa's white minority Government to end violence following the massacre of 49 people in a black squatter camp by hostel dwellers.

The bloodbath 12 days ago prompted the African National Congress to pull out of negotiations with the Government on a new democratic constitution.

The ANC, led by Mr Nelson Mandela, accused the security forces of involvement in the massacre in Boipatong township, south of Johannesburg.

The escalating violence in South Africa is expected to dominate the three-day summit, which Mandela will address.

South African Government representatives had been expected to make an unprecedented appearance on the sidelines of the meeting

But the newly cordial relationship returned to more familiar ground as thousands of people observed a day of mourning in South Africa and the ministers here passed a resolution urging Pretoria to "end the carnage".

Mandela, who arrived here on Sunday, said negotiations would not be resumed unless the Government of President Frederick de Klerk met ANC demands to stop the violence, free political prisoners and repeal remaining apartheid laws.

The foreign ministers also passed resolutions calling for the creation of an African peacekeeping force that could intervene in the many civil wars and conflicts draining the meagre resources of the poorest continent.

The force, comprised of units drawn from the armies of all OAU member states, would be formed as part of a new structure "for preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in Africa".

The OAU summit will also discuss demands for compensation to be paid by Western countries for the slave trade

The ministers called for closer links between Africa and blacks in the West. Black American leader Rev Jesse Jackson and Britain's first black member of parliament, Bernie Grant, will hold meetings here with African leaders during the summit

The ministers appealed for an end to fighting in Somalia and urged the United Nations to pursue efforts to restore peace in the wake of a UN brokered ceasefire agreement. - *Sapa-AFP.*

Grand-Pa Powders Reg No B/2 9/1113 Grand-Pa Tablets Reg No P/2 9/22

Codesa direction to be decided this week

Sowetan 30/6/92 (230)

Own Correpsondent

FOCUS

THE direction of South Africa's constitutional development, particularly the threatened Codesa negotiations, will be decided this week.

Pressures from the OAU leaders' summit, the UN and the Government's response to an ANC memorandum on ending negotiations are the major factors which will set the stage for the possible resumption of constitutional talks next week.

However, the resumption of Codesa talks is still clearly in the balance after the ANC's suspension of talks after the Boipatong massacre

The scheduled Management Committee meeting yesterday did not take place as the ANC alliance and church organisations arranged gatherings of mourning for the Boipatong victims

The ANC alliance's central demand is a swift move to transitional government and a new constitution

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will seek support for his organisation's position at this week's OAU conference in Dakar, but it is understood that the OAU and the UN are both stressing the need for a resumption of the Codesa process

The US and Britain are the main forces within the UN Security Council to bring pressure on the Government and ANC to get back to the talks' table.

This was confirmed after the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Constitutional Development, Mr Pik Botha and Mr Roelf Meyer, returned from the Nigerian capital Abuja on Sunday

Talks with the UN secretary-general, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the outgoing OAU Chairman, Nigerian president General Ibrahim Babangida, made it clear that the international and African community expected the parties to return to the negotiating table.

To ensure precisely this, the Government is going to prepare a comprehensive memorandum this week.

Meanwhile the UN secretary-general, who also spoke to the IFP, is due to speak to Mandela at the OAU summit probably in an attempt to mediate in the lingering dispute.

Details of Government proposals were not available but senior sources said on Sunday the main thrust of the complex proposals and analysis would be directed at the resumption of talks at the earliest possible opportunity.

The document is expected to be presented to the ANC towards the end of the week and will directly address issues raised by the ANC in its own memorandum, as well as problems which the Government itself has identified as obstacles to talks

Violence, mass action, incitement, hostels, the role of the security forces and what the Government regards as unwarranted attacks on the person of State President FW de Klerk, are the main features to be addressed

Several ministries, including Constitutional Development, Law and Order, Defence, Justice and Manpower and National Housing are contributing to the memorandum.

"We are aiming at getting talks resumed on a reasonable and fair basis," a Ministerial source said on Sunday.

There were no scheduled talks between the main Codesa parties for the week, the same source said.

Efforts would be concentrated on drawing up the memorandum in the hope that with the return of Mandela at week's end, a new initiative could be started and that at the very least bilateral talks could be resumed to explore ways of getting Codesa moving once more.

Observers are optimistic that this goal will prove to be achievable.

The mass action period has adequately demonstrated the ANC leadership's commitment to matching grass roots agendas but has also focused on weaknesses in the Codesa process which could now be corrected

The Government/National Party negotiators have also re-evaluated the process and conceded shortcomings which may now serve as a basis on which talks can be resumed.

Firm indicators that the talks are to be resumed will not be forthcoming before next week.

The ANC will formulate its own position only after a national executive committee meeting has considered the Government response.

Mr NELSON MANDELA embraces PRESIDENT DIOUF of Senegal on Sunday on his arrival for the OAU conference and also urgent talks with UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali on the deteriorating situation in South Africa.

Mandela pleads for freeze on ties with SA

STAR 30/6/92

By Barney Mthombothi
Star Africa Service

DAKAR — ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday scolded the international community, including some African states, for what he called the unseemly rush to establish ties with South Africa

Addressing the OAU summit in Dakar, Mr Mandela said all contacts with South Africa should be frozen until an elected interim government was in place.

He said some African countries had put themselves in the untenable position where the South African Government was now regarding them as its friends against black people in South Africa

Mr Mandela said the massacre in Boipatong was yet another proof that the South African authorities were conducting "a reign of terror against our people" He said black people in South Africa were crying out for help and were appealing to the OAU to come to their rescue and save their lives

He appealed to Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, UN Secretary-General, and Chief Emeka Anyaoku, head of the Commonwealth, both present, to live up to the ideals of their organisations and "stay the bloodstained hand of apartheid"

Mr Mandela said his organisation was prepared to negotiate, but would not do so until the reign of terror in the townships had been halted

He said Africa would have to realise that the present South African Government was not an agent of change, it had had no change of heart.

"We have entered into negotiations with the regime not because it's a friend, but because it's an adversary Friends do not negotiate, but enemies do"

Referring to the Government's insistence that a two-thirds majority was not enough to pass a new constitution, Mr Mandela said any lasting settlement in South Africa would have to conform to internationally accepted principles of democracy

The ANC was demanding an elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution and a democratically elected interim government which would be in charge of the transitional phase.

"We call on you to support this position," he said

The outgoing OAU chairman, Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, said the recent killings in Boipatong had horrified even those who were used to violence.

"We condemn this act in the strongest terms We call on the South African Government to carry out its primary responsibility of maintaining law and order"

Mr Babangida also called on black organisations to strive towards unity and to prevail on their followers

He suggested that a "peace meeting" among black organisations be convened by the Frontline states Negotiation, he said, was the only way to solve the South African problem

Dr Boutros-Ghali told the summit he had had talks with Mr Mandela, representatives of the PAC, Inkatha and the South African Government, and had impressed on all of them the need to resume negotiations.

Conflict resolution structure for Africa

STAR 11/7/92

By Barney Mthombothi
Star Africa Service

230

DAKAR (Senegal) — African Foreign Ministers have agreed in principle to the setting-up of a permanent structure within the Organisation of African Unity that would help prevent and resolve conflicts.

The plan envisages the establishment of what will be called the Bureau of the Summit, which will come under the direct control of the OAU secretary-general and will be a clear mandate by OAU heads of state at their summits to assume not only the responsibility of dealing with many across-border disputes but to also deal with internal disputes

It is proposed that this bureau could even have a pan-African peacekeeping force at its disposal, headed by qualified and respected military men.

The plan will also make provision for an African security council and an interim arbitral tribunal which could lead to a fully fledged African court of justice to hear grievances among member states.

The plan is the brainchild of OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim, who believes that unless conflicts and instability are stamped out on the continent, no development is possible.

It is believed that the plan provoked serious debate among members and was only agreed to in principle at the weekend after an all-night sitting.

The Foreign Ministers have recommended to the summit that Dr Salim be mandated to make a thorough study of the implications of the plan before it can be adopted at next year's summit. African leaders are said to be worried that the plan goes too far and is against the accepted OAU canon of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states.

"The social, human and economic cost of conflicts have been horrendous and, unless we can put a definite end to conflicts, Africa will continue to be mired in confusion and its people condemned to misery and suffering," Dr Salim said.

Dr Salim said later the majority of Foreign Ministers were prepared to implement the proposals immediately.

ANC plans tough document for OAU

STAR 1/7/92 (239)

By Shaun Johnson and Esther Waugh

As the battle for international sympathy hots up between the ANC and the Government, Nelson Mandela's organisation is preparing to circulate a hard-hitting briefing document among Organisation of African Unity heads of state in Dakar, Senegal.

The document, a copy of which is in the possession of The Star, squarely blames the Government for the crisis in Codesa negotiations, and seeks to convince OAU delegates of the necessity for the current mass action campaign.

The bid to swing OAU support behind the ANC comes as the organisation prepares to move into the "second phase" of its nationwide campaign of "rolling mass action". An ANC deadline for the installation of an interim government passed yesterday.

The Star understands the ANC will tell OAU diplomats that:

- The Government has undermined the agreed general constitutional principles regarding the distribution of powers between the central, regional and local levels of government by insisting that Codesa should determine the actual duties, powers and functions of regional governments.
- The Government has tried to undermine the sovereignty of a constitution-making body by insisting on a second House with veto powers over the adoption of a constitution
- The Government has demanded 75 percent majorities to adopt a new constitution.

The ANC is also believed to have told the OAU that three bilateral meetings have been held with the Government since Codesa 2 in May. While the Government has been insisting that progress had been made at these meetings, the ANC has been equally vehement that no progress took place.

Since breaking off constitutional talks, the ANC and Government have been vying with each other for support for their positions from the international community.

The Government informed foreign governments on Friday of its constitutional proposals and said it was opposed to an ANC call for member countries to convene a meeting of the UN Security Council.

The ANC, which has only observer status at the UN, cannot call such a meeting itself but it is understood that the OAU could ask for a meeting of the Security Council.

The ANC said it wanted the Security Council "to undertake measures which will help stop the violence and reinforce our efforts aimed at bringing about a democratic order".

However, the Government has told foreign governments it was unnecessary to convene such a meeting because the situation in SA did not constitute a threat to regional peace.

OAU backing for Mandela

(230) ARG 1/7/92

DAKAR. — Mr Nelson Mandela looks certain to win the support he wants from African leaders when they debate two resolutions on South Africa today

Backing from the Organisation of African Unity would be a boost for Mr Mandela, who broke off talks with Pretoria after the Boipatong massacre, as President De Klerk starts to hit back at his critics

South Africa's political crisis and plans for conflict resolution have dominated the three-day annual OAU summit in the Senegalese capital

The conference, one of the best-attended since the OAU was formed in 1963, will wind up today with votes on a series of motions including two on South Africa.

An OAU spokesman said the morning session would be devoted to South Africa

If approved, the resolutions would condemn the De Klerk government for failing to stop township violence and urge OAU members to shun official links with Pretoria until a democratic interim government is elected

The draft proposals also call for a UN Security Council inquiry into the massacre at Boipatong

The African National Congress, which has observer status at the OAU, has accused the government of complicity in the slaughter — Sapa-Reuter

OAU talks tough on SA violence

Sowetan 1/7/92

(230)

By BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI
Sowetan Africa News Service

FOCUS

DAKAR (Senegal) - Elements within the security forces, in collusion with Inkatha supporters, are mainly to blame for the wave of violence in townships, according to an Organisation of African Unity team which visited the country.

The team's finding is contained in resolutions on South Africa which are expected to be approved by OAU heads of government at their summit here this week

The resolutions will be passed when the South African issue comes up for discussion

There are two resolutions on South Africa, one a traditional OAU resolution on the situation in the country which is mild by OAU standards

The second resolution, which is separated from the first, has been triggered by the Boipatong massacre, and uses uncompromising language

This tends to support the view that, had Boipatong not happened, the OAU would probably have adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the Republic

The summit will call for a full and open investigation into the Boipatong massacre and other incidents of violence and the role of the security in the perpetration of those incidents

The Africans also want the urgent convening of the United Nations Security Council to examine the issue of violence in South Africa and to take all appropriate action to put an end to the violence

The draft resolutions were prepared by African foreign ministers last week and were released to the media last night

The resolution strongly condemns "the violence unleashed against the people of Boipatong and other townships"

It also condemns the South African Government for its failure to take effective action to stop the violence

The summit wants the South African Government to take practical steps to end the violence, such as the transforming of the hostels into family units, introduction of effective security measures on trains, railway stations, and by strictly enforcing the law against the carrying of weapons at public rallies as well as the disbanding and expulsion of what it calls mercenary forces, such as 32 Battalion, from South Africa

The African leaders have asked the African group at the UN to seek an urgent sitting of the security council

The OAU will also send a ministerial delegation to the UN, headed by the Senegalese foreign minister, Mr Djibo Ka, to present Africa's position to the security council

It has also appealed to the UN secretary-general, Mr Boutrous Boutros-Ghali, to help create conditions for negotiations in South Africa

Boutros-Ghali, who met Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in Nigeria at the weekend, arrived here yesterday for the summit

Botha said Boutros-Ghali had accepted an invitation from the Government to make a trip to South Africa within two weeks But Boutros-Ghali said later in a BBC interview that he would only go to South Africa if all parties involved agree to his visit

Boutros-Ghali is to hold talks with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in Dakar later today

Mandela said on his arrival here yesterday that Boutros- Ghali, as UN secretary-general, was free to go anywhere in the world to solve problems But he left a distinct impression that he did not approve of the visit

Mandela denied that the ANC was maintaining any contact with the Government despite the breakdown in negotiations

He told reporters that, for talks to resume, the Government would have to respond favourably to demands which the ANC had already communicated to it

His remarks contradict Foreign Minister Pik Botha's statement in Abuja at the weekend

Botha said after meeting Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida and Boutros-Ghali that he was hopeful talks between the Government and the ANC would resume soon, adding that despite the collapse of negotiations, behind-the-scene contacts between the two were going on

Nelson Mandela is in Dakar

Mandela's response was unambiguous "There has been no contact whatsoever, except through the (UN) secretary-general," he said

Mandela said the ANC had sent a memorandum containing certain demands to the South African Government through Boutros-Ghali's office, and it was up to State President FW de Klerk to respond

"If he responds effectively to those demands, then we'll continue negotiations, if not, there's no prospect whatsoever," he said

Mandela is to address the summit this afternoon on behalf of both the ANC and the PAC

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu is expected here this afternoon

OAU to send monitors to SA

CT 2/7/92 (230)

DAKAR — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit closed here yesterday amid calls for renewed pressure to force South Africa to abandon apartheid, following a wave of bloodletting in black townships

OAU secretary-general Mr Salim Ahmed Salim said the Pan-African organisation would send a "monitoring group" to South Africa to investigate a recent upsurge in township violence

Mr Salim said UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali had agreed to an OAU request to call an emergency UN Security Council meeting on the deadlock in South Africa's reform process, following the withdrawal of the ANC from talks with the government

The OAU mission to South Africa, which follows a visit by an OAU fact-finding team in May, will meet government and "ultra-right" representatives and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

The OAU summit also decided to create a new structure to maintain peace in Africa, torn apart by civil wars and conflicts

● The Transkei government appreciated the decision of the OAU to put the problem of violence in South Africa to the UN Security Council, Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday — Sapa

ANC president Nelson Mandela and PLO chairman Yasser Arafat enjoy a private moment at the OAU conference in Dakar, Senegal, yesterday. The OAU called for a UN Security Council meeting on SA and resolved to send a fact-finding mission to SA. Picture AP

OAU denounces govt 'for fuelling violence'

B/Day 2/7/92

DAKAR — The OAU blasted Pretoria yesterday for fuelling township violence and called for a UN Security Council meeting on the SA crisis

"(The OAU) denounces the Pretoria regime for its role in the perpetuation of violence," said one resolution adopted by leaders at the OAU's annual summit in Senegal Another called for "the urgent convening of a meeting of the UN Security Council to examine the issue of violence in SA and to take all appropriate action to put an end to it"

The three-day summit, which closed yesterday, also resolved to send an OAU fact-finding mission to SA (230)

UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali said chances were increasing that the international body would step in

"It can be a UN observer, which we have already done It can be a UN mediator It can be just a fact-finding mission," he told reporters on Tuesday "But again, we have to obtain the agreement of all the parties concerned plus the agreement of members of the Security Council." — Sapa-Reuter

Africa gets going on reparation

Sowetan 2/7/92 (230)

Sowetan Africa News Service

DAKAR - South African singer Miriam Makeba is among prominent people appointed by the Organisation of African Unity to raise awareness around the world of slavery and Africa's demand for reparation.

To be known as the Group of Eminent Persons on Reparation, the group was introduced to African heads of state by Nigerian president Mr Ibrahim Babangida this week

It includes Kenyan scholar Professor Ali Mazrui, Jamaican human rights lawyer Mr Dudley Thompson, who defended Jomo Kenyatta during rebellion in Kenya, Mr Ron Delhums from the US Congressional Black Caucus, Mr Mahtar M'Bow, the Senegalese former head of Unesco, and Nigerian businessman Mr Bashorun MKO Abiola, who will be the chairman

Babangida said the group was charged with the "painful yet noble mission to delve rigorously into the sad epoch of our continent's history"

The OAU decided at its summit in Nigeria last year to highlight the history of slavery in Africa and pursue reparation with those countries responsible for or who benefited from the slave trade

Various events have been taking place during this summit to publicise the issue, which is becoming alive especially in West Africa where most of the slavery took place

The new OAU chairman, President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, has made the issue his own

American activist the Rev Jesse Jackson inaugurated the site of what will be known as the Goree-Almadies Memorial this week watched by African heads of state

It is hoped the site will help create more awareness of that era

Jackson said the history of the slave trade remained an untold story.

"Ours has been a protracted holocaust, a long dark night," he said

AFRIC

Call to ban OAU indabas

Sowetan 3/7/92 (230)

Sowetan Africa News Service

DAKAR - An African human rights organisation has asked the OAU to do the unthinkable - do away with its annual summits

Addressing a Press conference at the OAU summit, Dr Olatunzi Abayomi, of Human Rights Africa, said vast sums of money were needlessly spent to entertain corrupt and oppressive despots at summits while the majority of Africa wallowed in poverty

"Right now Africa has the largest number of displaced people per person, the largest number of people who are illiterate - in fact the largest number of everything that is negative"

He continued "One wonders how the OAU can find money for an annual jamboree when the peoples of Africa have no water to drink, no drugs in their hospitals, and no books in schools

"We are of the view that in all honesty it would be a betrayal of service to our people to hold OAU summits annually in the face of the general poverty that has enveloped the continent Times like this call for sober government and reality"

UN chief asks all parties to approve mediation effort

B/Day 3/7/92 (230)

B/Day 3/7/92.

LONDON — The UN stood ready to mediate in SA if all parties involved wanted it, secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali said yesterday

Boutros-Ghali met British Prime Minister John Major in London yesterday to discuss the possibility of sending a fact-finding mission to SA

Boutros-Ghali did not say whether it would be a UN mission or one by the EC The UK heads the EC

"The UN is at the disposal of the protagonists of the dispute," the UN chief told reporters "If they want our assistance, if they want our mediation, if they want our presence, we are ready But we can do nothing without their agreement"

UK Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who held talks with Boutros-Ghali yesterday, has said he has been in touch with the SA government about a visit by the so-called "troika" of EC foreign ministers

Boutros-Ghali said he hoped to brief Security Council members next week on his recent talks with ANC president Nelson Mandela, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and IFP leaders

In Dakar, the OAU ended its annual summit by giving full backing to the ANC's campaign to involve the UN in efforts to end violence

In Pretoria yesterday, Botha said the OAU resolutions failed to address cardinal issues "Government is making a concerted effort to end the violence but without the co-operation of all political organisations lasting peace is not attainable

Government agreed with the OAU call "for the elimination of apartheid and the creation of a new non-racial, democratic and united SA" It also agreed "that recent instances of violence constitute a major obstacle to the negotiation process"

Government was also not opposed to the OAU decision to send a fact-finding mission of experts to SA if they respected its sovereignty

Meanwhile, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday government's apparent agreement to allow foreign observers to monitor violence was unequivocal proof it had lost control over the "new SA"

Not only was it a flagrant violation of the country's sovereignty, but the possible presence in SA of a foreign police force, members of the international legal fraternity and the UN and OAU, proved the political bankruptcy of the NP government — Sapa-Reuter

Sasol workers go on second march

DIRK HARTFORD

ABOUT 3 800 workers at Sasol 2 and 3 plants held placard demonstrations and marched through the company's high security premises for the second time yesterday in support of demands around wages and threatened retrenchments.

The workers, members of the Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU), are now planning a "much bigger march" next week with Secunda residents as part of Cosatu's mass action campaign.

CWIU alleges Sasol responded to the marches by issuing warnings to dismiss workers, cancelling meetings on short notice; threatening to withdraw shop steward rights and threatening not to pay workers for the period of disciplinary hearings if they were found guilty B/Day 3/7/92

Sasol spokesman Jan Krynauw described CWIU's allegations as "far fetched" but he confirmed a demonstration on Monday.

Negotiations between Sasol and the CWIU are deadlocked after Sasol's final offer of 9% CWIU has declared a dispute.

Pik slams OAU resolution on SA

THE OAU resolutions announced at the end of its summit in Dakar failed to address cardinal issues, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said this week.

Botha said the OAU resolution had not called for a commitment to peace by parties outside government. C/Press 5/7/92 (230)

Botha said the OAU resolutions had also failed to take into account that it had been the ANC and not the SA government that had withdrawn from Codesa.

Somali bloodbath test case for OAU

STAR 6/7/92. (230)

By Barney Mthombothi
Star Africa Service

DAKAR (Senegal) — The Organisation of African Unity summit has asked its secretary-general Dr Salim Ahmed Salim to negotiate a settlement in the civil war in Somalia where thousands have already died and millions are facing starvation

Somalia will be a proving ground for the OAU's new-found enthusiasm to solve disputes on the continent It is even talking about a pan-African peacekeeping force that will swiftly extinguish conflict

But the OAU's mediating role in Somalia has got off to a slippery start Somalia has been without a government since dictator Siad Barre was driven out more than two years ago by forces of the United Somali Congress (USC)

The USC split in two immediately after driving out Mr Barre, and the two factions turned their guns on each other

Mogadishu, the capital, had been razed and not a single building had been left standing

One faction of the USC, aided by senior civil servants, controls a small section of what is left of the city, and its leader Ali Mahdi declared himself president

But the greater part of the city is controlled by his archrival, General Mohamed Farrar Aidid

The entire northern part of the country is in the hands of the Somali National Movement (SNM) The SNM has seceded and declared northern Somalia the independent Republic of Somaliland But no country has so far recognised it The rest of the country is contested by up to 10 different factions

The OAU decided to give the Somali seat at the summit to Mr Mahdi's group, much to the fury of the other factions, who were in Dakar to argue their case

Dr Salim said that giving the seat to Mr Mahdi did not mean recognition by the OAU, but was simply a procedural matter But even Mr Madhi's supporters concede he only controls part of Mogadishu

"We had hoped the OAU would play a constructive role in the peace process in Somalia," said Mohamed Awale, a spokesman for General Aidid However, its decision to "to sit the Ali Mahdi gang at the summit has seriously compromised its influence"

● It is estimated that between 10 000 and 12 000 people have died in the civil war Many Somalis are in refugee camps in Kenya, Ethiopia and Sudan

More than 4 million face starvation because the war has prevented aid supplies from coming into the country

A boat carrying Somali refugees was finally allowed to anchor in Yemen last week after floating around for days When it anchored, 150 children were found to have died from starvation

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Summit of lost chances

STAR 9/7/92. (230)

The SA Government lost ground, the ANC and PAC gained ground and the OAU stayed on the same old ground at its annual summit. BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI of The Star Africa Service reports from Dakar.

AFTER ALL the speeches and the interminable motorcades, did the Organisation of African Unity's Dakar summit achieve anything?

The simple answer is, very little, if anything Except with regard to South Africa, the summit failed to take concrete steps to resolve any of the contentious issues facing the continent.

A glance through the resolutions shows that the OAU has learnt over the years to be a skilled passer of the buck The resolution on South Africa is the only one which tied the OAU to some sort of programme of action to dispatch foreign ministers to the UN Security Council meeting and investigators to SA

As far as the South African Government is concerned, there is no doubt this was a summit of missed opportunities

Established

One left Abuja, where last year's OAU summit took place, with a feeling that, despite the decisions on sanctions, it was only a matter of time before some form of official contact between South Africa and the continent was established The avalanche of African visitors to South Africa, signing all sorts of agreements, seemed to support that view

Dakar therefore held great promise for the South African Government, many observers thought SA would be accorded some status, or given an honourable mention and encouraged to do more

Informed sources said countries sympathetic to South Africa had come ready for a showdown if this did not happen But it was not to be

Well-laid plans were sabotaged by events within the country, especially the massacre in Boipatong, which completely dictated the tenor of all discussions on South Africa.

The ANC and PAC had a good summit The OAU simply closed ranks When the chips are down it is a brave African leader who will want to be seen lining up alongside President de Klerk against Nelson Mandela and Clarence Makwetu

The ANC's Joe Modise conceded that the Boipatong massacre had helped the organisation to bring into line those who were sitting on the fence ready to join the other side

If the events of the past three weeks in South Africa have not as yet led to the unravelling of all the friendships the South African Government has made on the continent, they have at least instilled some doubt in some of these new-found friends

Some of them are beginning to ask themselves whether they have not been a little too gullible in accepting what the Government says at face value, and are wondering whether the Government is not leading them up the garden path, using them in its game of one-upmanship against the ANC

The violence — the uncertainty about who is behind it and the Government's reluctance or inability to stop it — is inflicting heavy damage on Pretoria's new-found credibility on the continent

The question asked at Dakar was what the Government was doing about the violence And the answer seemed to be pretty little

President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, the outgoing OAU chairman, while calling on blacks to unite and not to allow themselves to be divided, made the point that it was the primary responsibility of any government to protect the lives and property of its citizens

What many found surprising was that days passed after the Boipatong massacre without a single arrest having been made, despite the fact that the source of the violence was known to the authorities This gave credence to charges that the security forces were involved

Assertions by the Government that it cannot stop the violence did not seem to wash. One delegate said, for instance, that during the days of the pass laws no black person without proper papers could walk the streets without being nabbed by the police

"Now they tell us they can't apprehend murderers, and they want us to believe that."

South African diplomats will find it difficult to make any headway in Africa unless the situation improves African countries are hoping that the UN Security Council will be able to agree on some form of international involvement in the monitoring of violence, and that negotiations will then resume

For the moment, though, the OAU has decided to stand, officially at least, by those it has supported down the years during what it sees as their hour of need

As for the other issues confronting the Dakar delegates they were simply dodged A appeal was made to the international community, the UN — anybody but the OAU — to do something about them

Africans, a Russian diplomat remarked with some exasperation, did not understand "the new situation" For instance, he said, they want to be forgiven the huge debt they owe the former Soviet Union because they say the empire is no more But they also want Russia, as the inheritor of the Soviet State machinery, to continue honouring the commitments made to them by the deceased empire

Creation

The one issue which we were told would be the benchmark of this summit was the creation of some mechanism to contain or stop civil wars in Africa Such a measure, if accepted, would have changed the whole character of the OAU it would have given the organisation some teeth At the moment it is a toothless dinosaur sitting with some ancient problems which it cannot solve because it lacks the mechanism to do so

Some countries felt such a change would require an amendment of the OAU charter, which meant that the organisation's most sacred doctrine — non-interference in the internal affairs of member states — would have had to go This they were not prepared to entertain

The resolution was "accepted on principle" Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim was asked to make a thorough study and prepare a report for the next summit Which means they have a year to come up with another subterfuge The issue is effectively dead

Mr Salim put on a brave face, declaring the outcome a victory. He had lobbied hard for the resolution But some countries suspect that he may be trying to build a soapbox for himself Boutros Boutros-Ghali's age may not allow him to stand for another term as United Nations secretary-general That would allow Mr Salim a second stab at the job he wants more than any other With the Cold War over, the Americans, who thwarted his bid a decade ago, may relent this time round □

ANALYSIS Security Council to assess views of SA leaders and help end logjam

ANC president Nelson Mandela

PAC president Clarence Makwetu

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe

> "Most of these organisations are agreed on International Involvement, but differ on the form it should take"

UN to hear views on SA

Sowetan 14/7/92

(230)

POLITICAL BODIES

favour international help but differ sharply on the nature of its extent and functions:

By Themba Molefe

SOUTH Africa s disparate politics unfold at the United Nations headquarters tomorrow where the Security Council listens to views the country s politicians

The emergency meeting was requested by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

Leaders from the ANC, PAC, Government Inkatha Freedom Party and Bophuthatswana have left the country and are due to address the world body

The world body is expected to assess the views of these leaders and then decide what to do to help the country s transition to democracy

Tomorrow s sitting is an intitiative of the ANC and PAC after presidents Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Clarence Makwetu asked the OAU to step in as a broker between the liberation movements and the UN as a matter of urgency

Most of these organisations are agreed on international involvement, but differ on the form it should take

Present views

Azapo has sent a memorandum to UN secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali expressing its desire to present its views

These would be that the UN send a peacekeeping force immediately to take over security operations while South African forces are confined to barracks and quarantined

The UN should arrange a neutral venue and chairman for negotiations to take place and that all agreements reached should be enforceable

Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe summed up the organisation's stance "Agreement should be binding on all negotiating parties This will ensure that participants do not renege on decisions they were party to

The ANC believes in international monitoring rather than involvement

Said Mandela It is important to have monitoring groups in the country to see for themselves what is happening '

The ANC also wants an international peacekeeping force deployed at unrest areas

The Government and the IFP are opposed to involvement - what the Government terms international control

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha reiterated this before he left for New York yesterday

He said the Government welcomed foreign advice but it is not outsiders but South Africans who should determine the country s future

Last month Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi rejected the findings of a panel of international jurists that the IFP was largely responsible for the violence in the country

Patriotic Front

The PAC wants the international world to help the liberation movements form a Patriotic Front

In the short term it wants the UN to send a team to monitor the violence in the country and in the long term wants its intervention, and that of the OAU, in chairing talks between Government and the liberation movements

The PAC believes negotiations should take place at a neutral venue and under a neutral chairman

Makwetu has told OAU heads of states and Boutros Ghali that unity of the "organisations of the oppressed was paramount and that the world bodies should help reconvene the Patriotic Front the PAC initiated jointly with the ANC in 1991

PAC director of information Mr Waters Toboti said 'Now that the Codesa farce is over the need has never been so urgent for a neutral chairman and venue so that genuine negotiations can begin "

World body

The UN Security Council is regarded as the "inner Cabinet" of the world body because it has veto powers and at the end of the debate will decide whether the "South African situation" warrants its intervention

For decades the UN's respectability waned to an extent that cynics called it "the theatre of the absurd '

The tide turned when its peacekeeping force Untag was highly succesful during the Namibian independence transition in 1989

The UN Security Council's stature was enhanced even further in 1990 when it reached unanimity in agreeing with President George Bush that Iraq could not annex Kuwait

Presently the UN is engaged in the Bosnia Herzegovina conflict where it has deployed more than 1 000 troops in and around Sarajevo airport and continuing to send supplies in spite of UN carriers being attacked

The Security Council comprises 15 permanent member nations Five of these are drawn from the European Community and the Security Council is dominated by African and Asian countries The current monthly chairman is Jose Jesus, UN ambassador to Cape Verde

UN directory

The UN recognises the ANC and PAC as legitimate South African liberation movements who have permanent observer missions and are listed in the UN directory

The South African Government was unseated from the UN General Assembly in the 1970s for its apartheid sins and has yet to be readmitted

Bophuthatswana and other homelands are regarded by the UN as products of apartheid, an ideology the world body has declared a crime against humanity So, essentially, the homelands and the Government attend the meeting as participants in Codesa

Botha last week requested the UN to allow Codesa participants to air their views at the special sitting

> "Bophuthatswana and the other homelands are regarded as products of apartheid, an ideology the world body regards as a crime against humanity"

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FOR BARGAINS IN USED CARS

New generation of African leaders chosen by people

230

STAR 14/7/92

The diversity of faces at the OAU summit reflects a continent in turmoil. By MICHELLE FAUL.

AFRICANS are shaking off military and one-party rule, but the army captain who seized power in Sierra Leone found plenty of company from the barracks when he strode into a continental summit.

Military men rule half of the Organisation of African Unity's 51 member nations.

Captain Valentine Strasser, just 27, spoke well and passionately, defending his seizure of power on April 30 from a civilian government he said had impoverished the country. Like other military leaders before him, and presumably those waiting their turn, he promised democracy as soon as possible.

This year's OAU summit also included five new democratically elected presidents. There were soldiers who have abandoned their uniforms for tailored suits or traditional robes, as well as patriarchs The five new presidents are a third generation of African leaders brought to power by strikes and protests that are sweeping away dictators.

Valentine Strasser . . promises democracy

President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia, chosen in that nation's first free elections in 24 years, spoke of missing faces "Many illustrious sons of Africa who had a great deal to do with the birth of our organisation have died either at the hands of gun-wielding African 'revolutionaries' or have passed away quietly in the silent solitude of exile Peaceful change of government is a concept we are only now beginning to grasp."

Sassou Nguesso of Congo and some others, including General Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo, retain the title of president and command armies that may threaten transitions to democracy, but no longer run governments

So far, Nicephore Soglo of Benin is the only president chosen in an election resulting from a national conference Many hope for more like him — well-educated technocrats who have worked for international institutions and have the ability to repair shattered economies

They would be the new corps of successors to revered nationalists and revolutionaries such as Kwame Nkrumah, who became Africa's first black president when Ghana achieved independence from Britain in 1957 Nkrumah led the African experiment with "democratic socialism", which began with dreams of glory and ended in disaster

He and several other African leaders leave the legacy of a continent near ruin, politically and economically bankrupt Africa's wealth of minerals and other primary resources made millionaires of corrupt rulers, but was never used to develop industry that would provide good jobs.

The diversity of leaders at the summit reflected the turmoil Africa is undergoing as it turns towards democracy — Sapa-AP □

UN council meeting on SA kicks off

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR 16/7/92

230

South African political leaders last night began addressing a crucial United Nations Security Council meeting in New York, called to focus on the ongoing violence in this country.

The special meeting, requested by the Organisation of African Unity, is expected to be a marathon affair with 40 speakers scheduled to take part

At the time of going to press, it was planned that the meeting would be addressed first by nine OAU foreign ministers, followed by members of the Security Council. Thereafter, there would be addresses from representatives of countries which are not members of the Security Council, and finally the South African leaders present.

In addition to Foreign Minister Pik Botha, those who will address the meeting include ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, PAC president Clarence Makwetu, Ciskei military ruler Oupa Gqozo, Transkei ruler Bantu Holomisa, Democratic Party national chairman Ken Andrew and Dr J N Reddy of the National People's Party.

The meeting is expected to continue at least until tomorrow, but it could spill over into Friday.

It was reported earlier that a tentative consensus had been reached among the 15 members of the Security Council, whereby a resolution would be proposed that was acceptable to both the Government and ANC

● More reports — Page 17

OAU mission to spend three weeks in SA

STAR 8/9/92

(230)

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

A high-level delegation of the Organisation of African Unity will arrive in South Africa this week on a three-week fact-finding mission, Pan Africanist Congress publicity secretary Barney Desai said in a statement yesterday.

The OAU "Mission of Experts", part of whose brief will be to monitor violence in the country, will include two officials from the its general secretariat and representatives from Senegal, Cameroon, Egypt, Tanzania and Zambia

Mr Desai said the PAC, which was informed by the OAU about the visit, had called on the organisation to get involved in the monitoring of violence

The OAU visit will come a week after a high-profile visit by a troika of Ministers from the European Community, which decided to send 15 observers to South Africa to monitor violence and to send representatives to the Goldstone Commission's committees

In another development, reports from Harare yesterday said PAC president Clarence Makwetu would meet ANC counterpart Nelson Mandela in Bulawayo tomorrow in an attempt to revive the Patriotic Front formed in Durban in October last year.

The Zimbabwean News Agency said the meeting, to be chaired by President Robert Mugabe, was also expected to be attended by OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim

Mr Makwetu confirmed he would attend the meeting, but ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma — who said he was aware of the meeting requested by Mr Mugabe — could not say whether Mr Mandela would attend

SA nearing zone of intensive care

230

STAR 10/9/92.

Stanley Uys reports from London

FOR a Government that for more than four decades furiously resisted foreign interference in its domestic affairs, Pretoria suddenly has become remarkably accommodating. Soon you will scarcely be able to turn a street corner without bumping into a foreign observer.

A very good thing it is, too. In the aftermath of the Ciskei massacre, particularly, South Africa needs all the help and guidance it can get It can stop pretending, too, that the observers are there just to observe If they can mediate or conciliate or in any way assist the warring sides to find their way out of the mess they are in, they should be free to do so

At least South Africa is not in intensive care yet, with a UN peace-keeping force flown in to patrol no-go zones.

There are 12 such peace-keeping forces in the world at present, and if there is one more Boipatong or Ciskei, the clamour will go up for a 13th force to be sent to South Africa The UN has done as much peace-keeping in the past four years as in the past 40. This is the way of the world these days, and may there be more of it.

Before long, there may be 50 UN observers in South Africa and some 15 from the European Community In May, a five-member team from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was admitted, the Commonwealth has sent its emissaries, and the National Peace Committee has invited ex-President Kenneth Kaunda and ex-President Julius Nyerere to mediate in the remorseless conflict between the ANC and Inkatha.

Less realistically, the ANC has proposed that the new Southern African Development Community (ex-SADCC) should intervene as a regional monitor to assist in the transfer of power to the black majority (a faint hope), and some OAU members, against internal opposition, want the organisation to create a Bureau of the Summit to intervene in continental conflicts Involvement is now the name of the game

The arrival of foreign observers in South Africa has taken place with the consent of both the Government and the ANC — because there is common cause both among the observers, and also between them, the Government and the ANC, to keep negotiations on track until a settlement is reached It is a fairly unique situation, and one South Africa should make the most of

Not only are the numbers of foreign observers increasing, but the ambit of their involvement is widening. By invitation, a British criminologist, Dr Peter Waddington, has delivered a report that may well turn out to be a catalyst in dealing with the whole question of violence. The Government is also showing a willingness to allow its policemen to be retrained by foreigners.

Sceptics ask what useful purpose foreign observers can possibly serve in South Africa The answer should be obvious. South African politics have become a kind of spaghetti junction, and a neutral observer may be just the kind of person to help unravel it But then both sides must play by the rules. There are influential figures in both the National Party and the ANC who resent the intrusion of foreign observers and they should not be allowed to make these observers feel unwelcome

The function of foreign observers, it seems to me, is to ringfence the political disputants, and then gradually tighten the ring They can do this without transgressing South Africa's sovereignty (President de Klerk has acknowledged that their behaviour so far has been circumspect) or by showing partisanship against the ANC (the ANC, after all, was primarily responsible for inviting them).

Britain's Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd spelt out some of the priorities as foreign observers see them time is not on South Africa's side, there is a limit beyond which a sliding economy will not easily recover, for recovery to begin there must first be a political settlement, the starting point for such a settlement is to deal with township violence, and Inkatha is just as crucial for successful negotiations as the ANC are.

These priorities are well known to South Africans, but the specific function of the observers (through the UN, EC, etc) can be to keep telling the warring sides to keep their eye on the ball. Actually, there are no loopholes through which either the ANC or the Government can escape. Sooner or later, the fence will close around them.

This is the overriding mission of the observers — to get the Codesa parties (and others) back to the negotiating table And now that they are in the country they should not easily go away, however inhospitable the climate may become

The wording of the Security Council resolution on the pivotal issue of violence is their marker they will remain involved in the matter until a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa is established □

OAU visitors

230

AN Organisation of African Unity party of eight arrives in SA on a fact-finding mission tomorrow. S/Times 13/9/92

The visit follows discussions between Pan Africanist Congress leader Clarence Makwetu and OAU Secretary-General HH Salim Ahmed Salim in Jakarta recently.

The team will be led by Mr Ousmane Camara, Senegal's ambassador to Zimbabwe

NEWS UN and OAU observers here to m

UN mission arrives in SA

(230)

Sowetan 14/9/92.

■ **FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT** International

groups to play role in peace process in SA:

SOUTH AFRICA's difficult and violent political transition yesterday officially opened up to international scrutiny.

The first group of an expected 50 United Nations observers arrived in South Africa yesterday and an Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU) mission of eight experts arrives here today

Both groups will help monitor violence crippling the peace process

Yesterday's pilot party of 18, led by a UN official from Tanzania, Mr Ismat Steiner, was met on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport by Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Aziz Pahad of the ANC's department of international affairs, and the National Peace Secretariat's Dr Anthonie Gildenhuys and Mr Corrie Bezuidenhout

Pahad said the arrival of the UN team was particularly significant in that it gave South Africa's traumatic transition "an international dimension" and was sure to have "a positive effect on the transition"

The PAC's secretary for Relief and Aid, Ms Patricia de Lille, said "the objective" of liberating black people in the country was being blurred by the continuous violence

She said: "The PAC (and ANC) have become so busy with funerals and bringing peace to the country "

The remaining UN observers are due in the country at various intervals over the next month and will ultimately be headed by Jamaican UN official Ms Angela King.

Today's arrival of OAU officials follows consultations between the president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, and OAU Secretary-General H H Salim Ahmed Salim in Jakarta recently

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OAU's trade fair a farce, say exhibitors

(230)

HARARE — Cameroon, Libya and Sudan didn't show up, Togo lost all its exhibits and SA haggled for hours with Zimbabwean customs officials over duties on worthless display cards B/DAY 14/9/92.

In fact, said Nigerian economist Dayo Adeagbo, last month's All Africa Trade Fair reflected trade on the continent chaotic, inefficient and hamstrung by bureaucracy, excessive tariffs and transport failures.

"Doing business in Africa is an ordeal. No one seems to understand what free trade means," said Adeagbo, a visitor to the trade expo in Bulawayo, the OAU's sixth.

"I should have known this would be a frustrating trip when the OAU office in Lagos had no information on the fair," he said

More than 30 nations attended the nine-day event, held every three years. Zimbabwe's trade ministry said it resulted in tentative deals worth $1m, but many exhibitors were unimpressed.

Togolese officials lost the container with all their exhibits in transit and never found it.

Zimbabwe waived duties on exhibits only three days before the show ended, after plenty of heated debate.

By the time the fair closed on August 10, few exhibits had been sold because prospective buyers didn't have enough hard currency

According to Zimbabwean business leader Guy Georgias, several countries brought little more than colourful cloth, baskets and crafts to Bulawayo

"It's been a flop," he said. "Some of these countries are merchants, not manufacturers"

OAU officials say trade between African countries accounts for as little as 5% of the continent's total trade.

The rest is mainly the loss-making exchange of African raw materials for oil and finished goods from the former European colonial powers, the Middle East and Asia.

"Africa in general has given a low priority to industrialisation," OAU official Brownson Dede said.

Mauritian exhibitor Tales Suhatoo said the fair only heightened his awareness of "the disorderly manner" of African trade and communications.

He noted that Niger brought French perfume no one could afford, as well as textiles to Zimbabwe, one of Africa's biggest textile producers — Sapa-AP

(230) HRW 15 1992

Mandela accuses OAU

'Some liberation movements overrate popularity'

LUSAKA — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela has accused the Organisation of African Unity and the Frontline States of unconsciously creating problems in South Africa

Mr Mandela claimed the OAU and the Frontline States created problems for the South African political scene by treating all the liberation movements on equal footing

He made the accusation in Lusaka yesterday before holding official talks with Zambian President Frederick Chiluba.

Mr Mandela charged "Some South African liberation movements claimed to have big support after holding consultative talks with the OAU and the Frontline States That is not correct"

The ANC, he said, had tried to bring all the liberation movements together so that democratic forces could speak with one voice, but had failed lamentably because some organisations had overrated their popularity

Saying that the ANC had the capacity to bring about the transfer of power from the white minority to the black majority, Mr Mandela regretted that President De Klerk "frustrated all the peaceful efforts"

He added "However, we are doing everything to reach a compromise for the benefit of all South Africans"

More mass protests were in the offing, the next target being Bophuthatswana However, he conceded the ANC had failed to convince Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to accommodate the liberation movements

Mr Chiluba offered support to the ANC and other liberation movements He offered unqualified support for Mr De Klerk's efforts in getting Codesa afloat as the best means of transforming South Africa into a truly democratic country

Mr Chiluba said Zambia would soon meet representatives of the Pan-Africanist Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the South African government

● An eight-member delegation of the OAU arrived in South Africa on a three-week fact-finding mission

The delegation, led by Senegalese ambassador to Zimbabwe Mr Ousmane Camara, includes police and security experts from Tanzania, Zambia, Cameroon and Egypt

Speaking after the group's arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday, Mr Camara said the mission was a result of a decision taken by the OAU's Council of Ministers in June last year

Mr Nelson Mandela

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ANTHONY DOMAN, Motoring Editor

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month)

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OAU here for talks only

(230)

CT 18/9/92

PRETORIA — Organisation of African Unity delegates said yesterday they were here only to assist in getting talks restarted, not to discuss South Africa's possible OAU membership

OAU official Mr S Ibok said the OAU had sent the team to South Africa following the Boipatong massacre because it was concerned by the escalation in violence.

OAU mission in city for talks on violence

(230) ARG 24/9/92

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

WAYS to end violence are at the top of today's Cape Town agenda for a team of Organisation of African Unity experts

The eight-member team, led by Senegal's ambassador to Zimbabwe, Mr Ousmane Camara, was welcomed at at D F Malan airport last night by the regional chairmen of the ANC and PAC, Dr Allan Boesak and Mr Theo Mabusela respectively.

Picture ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus

TEAM ARRIVES: ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak welcomes OAU official Ms Christine Mfula to Cape Town.

The OAU shares international concern over violence and finding ways to end it has been the focus of the experts' mission.

Dr Boesak said he welcomed the OAU visit because it "heightens the presence and influence of the international community, and international attention, on the situation in South Africa"

He added· "I believe the more international attention and co-operation we get, the better

"The OAU mission will clearly be having broad discussions with everybody involved, including the government, and that should give them a good idea of what is happening. We welcome this."

PAC secretary for relief and aid Ms Patricia de Lille said the delegation would meet the regional executives of the PAC and ANC, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and representatives of the Transport and Omnibus Workers Union, the Transport and General Workers Union and Codeta to discuss issues related to violence.

The delegation is on a three-week visit to South Africa.

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The delegation is on a three-week visit to South Africa.

'Shattering lessons' for mining

Staff Reporter

(248) ARG 24/9/92

SHARING profits and power with workers has brought about "fundamental" change in the mining industry, said Anglo American executive director of public and industrial relations Mr Bobby Godsell

Speaking at the Cape Town Civilian Blind Society's annual meeting last night, Mr Godsell said his company learned "shattering lessons" during the past few years.

A formula whereby workers would share in profits in case of a gold price rise had restructured economic relations fundamentally.

It created "psychological ownership" by making workers feel part of the company

Initial problems with power-sharing had disappeared and there were at least 80 to 90 successful agreements for every strike in South Africa

Unemployed in bus depot demo

Staff Reporter

(385) ARG 24/9/92

ABOUT 200 members of the Western Cape Unemployed Workers' Union (Wecuwu) have demonstrated inside the Golden Arrow Bus Service depot in Woodstock

After briefly toyi-toying, the group handed a memorandum to the management of the company.

The memorandum called for the unconditional reinstatement of 222 workers the Union claims were fired during the recent strike.

The union also demanded "free transport for the unemployed", for fares to be reduced to "affordable levels", concessions for students and that vacancies be filled by Wecuwu members.

OAU team on visit to Ciskei

STAR 230
24/9/92

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A delegation from the Organisation of African Unity yesterday visited the site of the September 7 massacre at Bisho in Ciskei.

The eight-member delegation is on a fact-finding mission to investigate the violence and the feasibility of deploying monitors

Led by the Senegalese ambassador to Zimbabwe, Ousman Camara, the group includes three members of the OAU secretariat and representatives of Egypt, Nigeria and Tanzania.

It was accompanied on its tour of Ciskei by officials of the PAC and the Ciskei government

On Tuesday the delegation held talks with the Ciskei Cabinet in Bisho and yesterday met Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo

Delegation spokesman San Ibok said they had held a "useful" meeting with Brigadier Gqozo, who gave them "his side of the story regarding the massacre"

They had already met the deputy minister of foreign affairs and constitutional affairs and held talks with the SAP, SADF, ANC, PAC and the National Peace Secretariat. — Ecna.

OAU: Hope for SA talks

(230)

CT 25/9/92

Political Staff

THE Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has not lost hope about a resumption of negotiations, its spokesman for its mission to South Africa, Mr Sam Ibok, said in Cape Town yesterday.

"We believe there is a general willingness on the part of the parties to resolve the problem peacefully," he said.

However, the OAU was not happy with the situation on the ground and it would send observers to South Africa to help reduce violence.

The leader of the fact-finding mission, Mr Ousmane Camara, Senegal's ambassador to Zimbabwe, said the organisation wanted to help in the removal of all obstacles in the way of a resumption of negotiations.

Mr Ibok said the mission was willing to meet anyone who wanted to see them.

OAU 'will try to help in quest for peace'

(230)

ARGT 25/9/91

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE Organisation of African Unity will seek to strengthen the hands of peacemakers in South Africa, a spokesman for its mission of experts said in Cape Town

Mr Sam Ibok, OAU assistant executive secretary and a member of the eight-man mission on a three-week fact-finding tour, said South Africa must resolve its problems peacefully and urgently for the sake of the region and the continent

The OAU would try to help in this process, he said at a news briefing in Athlone yesterday.

"We have had a deeper perception of the effect of the violence and of the differences between political organisations and the government," he said

"We intend to strengthen the hands of the peacemakers, instead of those talking war and violence."

This was important because a strong, unified South Africa appeared to hold the key to many problems in southern Africa and the rest of the continent

Mr Ibok said the team was reasonably optimistic about South Africa's future. "We have not lost hope. It is our desire that there should be peace in this region South Africa is a big country with a lot of potential and enough room for everybody

The delegation leader, Mr Ousmane Camara, Senegalese ambassador to Zimbabwe, said the team's task was "to listen and to find out what is happening in the region so that after our return we will have a clearer picture of the whole situation".

It would present its report to the OAU secretary-general and a decision would be made on what further role the organisation could play in South Africa.

The team, which has already visited Johannesburg, Durban and the Ciskei, returns to Johannesburg today for further meetings over the next 10 days with government ministers, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, the ANC, PAC and other organisations

OAU visit to Ciskei

W/Mail 25/9-1/10/92

A DELEGATION from the Organisation of African Unity this week visited the site of the Bisho massacre and other areas affected by violence in Ciskei.

The eight-member delegation is on a fact-finding mission to South Africa to investigate the violence and the feasibility of deploying monitors.

230

Led by the Senegalese ambassador to Zimbabwe, Ousman Camara, it includes three members of the OAU secretariat and representatives of Egypt, Nigeria and Tanzania.

The delegation held talks with the Ciskei cabinet in Bisho and met Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Delegation spokesman San Ibok said a report of their findings was to be submitted to the OAU secretary general and presented to the OAU's ad-hoc committee on South Africa when it met in October.

STAR 30/9/92

OAU 'wants to assist SA parties'

(230)

The Organisation of African Unity intends playing a positive role in assisting South African parties, particularly those of blacks, to come together to seek a future for the country, OAU Mission of Experts official Sam Ibok said in Pretoria yesterday.

Speaking before a meeting between the mission and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Mr Ibok said the delegation was in South Africa to strengthen the hands of those who sought a peaceful resolution of the country's problems

"We expect that we shall benefit from a strong, united and powerful South Africa," Mr Ibok said

The mission was in the country to encourage the peace process and to see an end to the violence, he added — Sapa.

ANC 'will keep meeting government'

Citizen 16/10/92

GABORONE — The ANC was determined to continue bilateral meetings with Pretoria to find a solution to SA's problems, ANC president Nelson Mandela told the OAU ad hoc committee meeting on southern Africa in Botswana's capital yesterday.

Before meeting government the ANC would have talks with other "patriotic front" organisations to evolve a common position.

Codesa would have to reconvene once the round of bilateral discussions was completed, paving the way for structuring an interim government.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu told the committee violence had not subsided in SA because the root causes had not been addressed adequately.

He accused the state of sponsoring violence through mercenaries from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

"These mercenaries must be expelled under international supervision. Until this is done there will be no end to violence."

The PAC was offering itself as a mediator because it desired to end the violence. It awaited a response from the ANC In that spirit, the PAC had met Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and would meet government soon.

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim recommended that OAU observers be sent to SA to monitor the situation. — Sapa.

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Interest per debenture (cents)
Dividend and interest per combin (cents)
Combined units in issue
Balance Sheet
Capital employed
Share capital
Debentures
Debenture premium
Retained income
Deferred taxation
Employment of capital
Fixed assets
Current assets.
Debtors
Cash resources
Current liabilities·
Creditors
Unit holders for distribution

OAU team will monitor violence

(230)

GABORONE — The Organisation of African Unity is to send observers to monitor violence in South Africa, Secretary-General Mr Salim Ahmed Salim said on Thursday ARG 16/10/92

A one-day meeting here of the OAU's ad hoc committee on southern Africa also agreed that President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe should contact political leaders in South Africa to seek a peaceful resolution to its problems.

It was not clear from the communique or comments by Mr Salim whether Mr Mugabe's contacts would include the government, of which he is the bitterest African critic

Mr Salim told a news conference that an OAU mission which had just completed a visit to South Africa had recommended sending the observers.

He said they would initially number between 10 and 20 and would work in co-operation with United Nations and other observers.

In order to defuse tension in the country, Mr Salim said, the committee had decided Mr Mugabe "should take the necessary initiatives to set up mechanisms, including contacts with political actors in South Africa such as the Inkatha Freedom Party, that will commit all of them to a peaceful resolution of the problem facing the country".

The OAU committee meeting included six government heads and ministers from five states, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and President Clarence Makwetu, of the Pan Africanist Congress — Sapa-Reuter

OAU observers for SA stint

230

JOHANNESBURG — The Organisation for African Unity has appointed a special representative and a team of 11 observers who are to arrive here by mid-November. CT 31/10/92

Mr Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, Botswana's permanent representative to the UN, has been named as the special representative who will co-ordinate the work of the observers — Sapa

NEWS Mandela, Mugabe meeting 'without Makwetu' ● Tip-off leads cops to arms

Vital meeting in Harare

Sowetan 3/11/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter (230)

■ Mugabe in quest to find common ground between African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress:

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu meet Zimbabwean leader Mr Robert Mugabe in Harare tomorrow.

But the ANC insists it will be separately, according to spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma yesterday.

He said the meeting would be private, between Mugabe and Mandela only. Nor would the ANC leader meet Makwetu, Macozoma said.

Mugabe has invited the two leaders in terms of a resolution taken at the Organisation of African Unity summit in Senegal in June.

The OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, which met in Gaborone on October 15, endorsed the Senegal resolution after Mugabe cancelled, at the last hour, a meeting he had scheduled for September 9 in Bulawayo.

This was because Mandela would not attend following the Bisho massacre of September 7.

As chairman of the Frontline States, Mugabe's mandate is to discuss the reconvening of the Patriotic-United Front of liberation movements, specifically to urge them to find common ground in negotiating with the Government and formulate strategies to end the violence.

The ANC and PAC are officially recognised as observers by the OAU and United Nations and the OAU itself insists that the two's unity, albeit principled, is important in championing the total unity of South Africa's majority.

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Gora Ebrahim said Makwetu had been invited to a meeting with both Mugabe and Mandela.

"The invitation is in keeping with the OAU mandate for Mugabe to pursue the question of a united front of the liberation movements," said Ebrahim.

To add humour to your day, Sowetan cartoonist Len Sak uses his sharp pen to take a look at a slice of South African life

Arms in a vehicle

■ 53-year-old man held:

Sowetan 3/11/92

A TIP-OFF from a member of the public led to the seizure of an arms cache in a car outside a hotel in Nelspruit on Sunday.

The police special investigation found eight AK-47 rifles, nine magazines, 256 rounds of 7,62 AK-47 ammunition, 27 rounds of VZ26 7,62 ammunition and one VZ26 magazine.

A 53-year-old man was detained.

Two more men were arrested. An AK-47 and two magazines were confiscated at a four-way stop in nearby Carino.

SAP Regional Commissioner Maj-Gen JJ van Zyl asked the public to give information to curtail arms smuggling - *Sapa.*

news

OAU man on way

CT 4/11/92 (374) (230)

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Sam Ibok of the Organisation of African Unity's secretariat will arrive in South Africa today to prepare for the visit of an OAU violence-monitoring team — Sapa

Rains will end some drought aid

B/DAY 17/11/92

THE national drought committee expects to end drought relief by the end of the year to many of the 130 magisterial districts now receiving aid

This follows recent good rains in many parts of SA

A decision would be taken by the end of the month, said Koos Smit, Department of Agriculture director of financial assistance and deputy chairman of the national drought committee

"The decisions will be implemented by Januray 1, maybe earlier," he told Sapa yesterday

"I am quite confident a lot of those areas receiving drought relief will be taken off our list," he said

The department, which budgeted R60m for drought relief this financial year, is now expected to spend between R80m and R85m on drought aid, Smit said

"At present we are paying out money in almost all the 130 magisterial districts listed as needing drought relief" SA has a total of 320 magisterial districts.

Smit warned, though "If we take a few areas off our list, others apply. The drought never ends in this country — it is always shifting"

At present, for instance, it was moving from the eastern Cape to the northern Cape. There were also "a lot of problems" still in the Lowveld and northern Transvaal.

"Just this weekend I received information from the Lowveld that the situation there was still very serious," Smit said, adding "the northern Transvaal has been a disaster area for the past eight years".

Explaining the procedure for ending drought relief in a magisterial district, Smit said the Department of Agriculture "does not act one-sidedly". It ends drought aid only once a request has been received from an area, he said

Letters were sent last week to all local drought relief committees — these are chaired by local magistrates — requesting them to reassess the situation

They had until November 27 to reply, Smit said — Sapa.

OAU running out of money

B/DAY 17/11/92

ADDIS ABABA — The OAU could run out of money in four months unless its 51 states paid $60m in membership arrears, Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim said yesterday (230)

The arrears threatened the OAU's attempts to help end conflicts

Documents show that Libya and Sudan are the biggest non-payers Tripoli owes $4,7m and Sudan $4,6m Only Malawi, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Gabon, Senegal and Mauritius are paid up.

Halfway through the financial year only $6,2m of a budgeted $27,9m had been paid — Sapa-Reuter

Call for strategy to fight drought

B/DAY 17/11/92

LLOYD COUTTS

A STRATEGY to combat drought is urgently needed in SA, say Development Bank analysts.

In a recently published paper, Johan van Rooyen, Nick Vink and Mosebjane Malatsi, of the bank's Centre for Policy Analysis, said the present drought had emphasised the fragility of the agricultural industry

They called for a strategy aimed at agricultural restructuring and rehabilitation, and immediate relief strategies serving rural and urban areas through multisectoral support programmes

"The present drought ravaging the southern African subcontinent emphasises a further dimension of the agricultural industry. The weakly developed 'early warning systems' from a technological, management and institutional perspective compounded the impact"

There was a need for climatically sensitive production management practices, drought-resistant farm technologies and "nature-friendly" farming systems supported by appropriate policies

While present regional co-operation indicated positive trends, a subcontinental approach should be developed to investigate early warning systems, and restructuring and emergency relief strategies.

They also warned of the environmental impact of SA agriculture, saying there was increasing evidence of environmental degradation.

"This can be ascribed to inappropriate policies in the area of pricing, subsidisation and technology development as well as population settlement policies resulting in unsustainable farming systems and settlement patterns in both the commercial and subsistence farming sectors.

"These are features which cannot be ignored in future policy formulation," the analysts said.

OAU chief monitor in SA

THE head of the OAU observer team to SA, Legwaila L J Legwaila, arrived in Johannesburg last night. (230)

Legwaila, who is Botswana's ambassador to the UN, said his brief for his initial three-month stay in the country was to assist in creating conditions conducive to the earnest resumption of negotiations for a "new SA". B/Day

"However, those conditions can be created only by the people of SA — not by the OAU, not by the UN, not by the Commonwealth nor by any outsider," Legwaila said after his arrival

"All we are coming here to do is to help the people of SA create those conditions," he added 18/11/92

Legwaila's deputy, Sam Ibok, from Nigeria, arrived in SA on November 5 and the remaining 11 members of the OAU observer team are expected to arrive on Saturday. — Sapa.

Mandate for OAU reps

■ **Observers in South Africa can talk to the Government and other parties:**

Sowetan 26/11/92. (230)

Sowetan Africa News Service

ADDIS ABABA - The Organisation of African Unity has given its observers, who are in South Africa to monitor violence, a broader mandate to consult all parties, including the Government, officials here said on Tuesday

The OAU's assistant secretary-general, Ahmed Haggag, told a group of South Africans that it was important that the violence in South Africa's black townships be stopped as soon as possible so that negotiation towards a more democratic constitution could proceed

The OAU team in South Africa, led by Mr Legwaila Legwaila, has therefore been given specific instructions to speak to the SA government although the organisation has no official links with it

"This is a golden opportunity which should not be missed If this opportunity is not utilised there will not be another in future," an OAU official said

The South African group, which is on a tour of East Africa, is led by Mrs Shelagh Gastrow of the Institute for a Democratic SA It has already visited Kenya and is spending a week in Ethiopia, talking to officials from governments and aid agencies before flying to Eritrea

PAC must bear full responsibility for Apla's deeds, says the OAU

B/DAY 8/12/92

(230)

BILLY PADDOCK

THE OAU yesterday rejected the PAC's contention that it was not responsible for its military wing Apla's activities

The OAU reaction came after Apla allegedly claimed responsibility for the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks, and the claim that it had "declared war" on white South Africans

After the attacks, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander claimed his national executive council had no control of — and therefore no responsibility for — Apla's operations Yesterday the PAC flatly refused to discuss Apla further

The OAU also rejected any impression that by funding liberation movements, the OAU financed acts of terrorism Liberation movements alone bore the ultimate responsibility for their day-to-day activities and those of their structures

"The OAU unconditionally and categorically condemns all violence against civilians, be they black or white, and will never condone or endorse such attacks," OAU special representative Legwaila J Legwaila said in a statement in Johannesburg

Legwaila said the OAU supported unreservedly the quest for a peaceful negotiated settlement, which was why it sought international intervention in the form of observers to end the violence

President F W de Klerk welcomed the OAU statement, and called on all members of the international community to condemn the "blatantly racist actions and violent threats of Apla and to deny the organisation refuge or any form of assistance"

De Klerk labelled the threat to target whites or any other race as "absolutely unacceptable and reprehensible"

Government would do everything in its power to bring the perpetrators of recent crimes to justice and to prevent Apla from carrying out its threats, and was "urgently considering what further measures should be applied to deal with this situation effectively", he said

He gave his assurance that, when apprehended, those responsible for the recent violent deaths "not only of whites in King William's Town, but of black South Africans in Natal, the PWV and throughout the country, will be punished according to the full rigour of law"

PAC

B/DAY 8/12/92 (230)

☐ From Page 1

The UN mission said in a statement that the UN, OAU, the Commonwealth and the EC wanted to emphasise that statements by the Apla spokesman were provocative. They urged the PAC's leadership to co-operate with Goldstone

The UN mission also condemned retaliatory threats by right-wing organisations

The ANC — the PAC's erstwhile patriotic front partner — also condemned the acts of terror and the threat to target white civilians.

Sapa reports that a senior ANC member travelling with president Nelson Mandela in Namibia said that once the ANC was in power, it would "smash" Apla "We will find them and lock them up We will smash them," he was reported as saying.

However, in its official response the ANC immediately "repudiated the statement and the unnamed source". Spokesman Carl Niehaus said there was no proof that Apla had committed the acts, but that those who had should be brought to book. "We are not in favour of the destruction of Apla We want them, the PAC and other parties included in the peaceful negotiations process," he said

Niehaus said the kind of violence at King William's Town was not a sudden development, as it had been happening in the black community for some time "It is very sad that it has taken these attacks to make whites realise the gravity of the violence in SA. It is exactly this outraged response from the white community following an attack on whites that fuels huge resentment in the black community"

SACP general secretary Chris Hani also expressed his "unambiguous condemnation of the attacks" He said the struggle for liberation was never a struggle directed at whites but at dismantling apartheid

"Acts of anti-white terrorism can only serve to provide pretexts to those on the other side who want to provoke a race war to delay majority rule"

DP law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow said the simple test for the PAC's stand on the acts of terrorism by "its own creation, Apla, is whether the PAC is prepared to distance itself from Apla's acts"

The CP called for Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to be sacked for failing to protect whites, and demanded that the PAC and Apla be banned immediately

CP law and order spokesman D S Pienaar said Kriel had failed in his political responsibility by not informing people in the region of potential attacks by Apla He called on whites to mobilise and form home guards to protect themselves

The SA Agricultural Union urged government action to defuse the threat of terrorism spreading to farming areas

☐ Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa yesterday suggested that recent attacks in the Border area could be the work of disgruntled members of Military Intelligence. He said he had no knowledge of Apla's activities in his territory.

● Comment: Page 8

Yesterday the UN observer mission in SA and other international observer teams also deplored the escalation of violence and particularly "the irresponsibility shown by a spokesperson of Apla that certain sectors of the community are legitimate targets for their military operations"

Last week Judge Richard Goldstone appealed to the UN and the international community to put pressure on the PAC to submit Apla to investigation by his commission

☐ To Page 2

Chorus of censure from OAU, ANC and SACP

Apla stands condemned

STAR 8/12/92

(230)

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) yesterday stood alone as the Organisation of African Unity and left-wing groups in South Africa joined in the chorus of condemnation of its terror campaign.

Strong statements were issued yesterday by the OAU, the United Nations, the ANC, the SA Communist Party, and the breakaway Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC. They followed angry condemnation of Apla, military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, by the Government and right-wing groups

Foreign diplomats yesterday added their weight, promising "diplomatic activity" aimed at ensuring the PAC was fully committed to a negotiated settlement

And, in a new statement on the Apla campaign, President de Klerk warned that "further measures" were being considered to meet the Apla threat

The OAU reacted strongly to allegations that it was financing Apla acts of terror

The OAU special representative in South Africa, Legwaila J Legwaila, said his organisation's support of liberation movements "had never implied supporting attacks on innocent people and soft civilian targets, as occurred last week"

In a joint statement, the UN, OAU, European Community and Commonwealth described statements reportedly made by Apla cadres inside the country effectively declaring war on whites — as "provocative"

The ANC said the targeting of civilians was "reprehensible and must be opposed"

New security measures in Cape – Page 3

Apla steps out of MK's shadow – Page 15

The organisation challenged the PAC leadership to clarify the status of anonymous claims made on behalf of Apla, and the PAC's attitude towards its armed wing's actions

PAC spokesmen have steadfastly refused to distance themselves from Apla's alleged activities, insisting that Apla had "operational independence"

SACP general-secretary Chris Hani yesterday expressed "unambiguous condemnation" of the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks The struggle for national liberation had never been directed against whites, but against oppression

"Acts of anti-white terror can only serve to provide pretexts to those on the other side who want to provoke a race war to delay majority rule," he said

De Klerk said yesterday the Government was urgently considering what further measures to take to prevent Apla carrying out its threats

"I want to give the assurance that when apprehended, those responsible for the recent violent deaths of South Africans — not only of whites in King William's Town, but of black South Africans in Natal, the PWV and throughout the country as well — will be punished according to the full rigour of law," De Klerk said

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the PAC must either repudiate Apla in clear terms or take responsibility for all that Apla did or said

Afrikaner Volksunie chairman Moolman Mentz demanded that the Internal Security Act be implemented fully

● The fate of tomorrow's Government-PAC talks is uncertain, since Pretoria said it would boycott them unless the PAC leadership provided a satisfactory response to the Apla issue

● A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said the Government was contacting the Transkei and Zimbabwean governments about reports that their territories were being used for Apla operations

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira said the PAC would under no circumstances be allowed to use his country as a springboard for hostilities in South Africa

ANC PWV region chairman Tokyo Sexwale, centre, inspecting Meadowlands hostel yesterday. Picture ROBERT BOTHA

UN, OAU tour hostel

ADRIAN HADLAND

SOWETO's troubled Meadowlands hostel was visited yesterday by UN observers and OAU representative Shaddy Sibajene in an effort to comprehend the violence that has reduced large sections of the hostel to a burnt-out shell.

The visit comes in the wake of a recent agreement signed by the ANC's PWV region and the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association in which reconciliation between hostel dwellers and nearby communities was deemed essential before upgrading and development could be undertaken

ANC PWV region chairman Tokyo Sexwale said joint rallies between hostel dwellers and members of surrounding communities would be organised as a way to encourage the peaceful reintegration of the region's 32 hostels.

Sexwale reiterated the demand of the association/ANC agreement that funds earmarked by government for hostel upgrading be transferred to the National Housing Forum.

He called on business, the churches and the UN to contribute to the upgrading programme and said visits to other hostels were to be arranged.

Meadowlands hostel chairman Wesley Dlamini, who showed the UN, OAU, ANC and media representatives the condition at the hostel, said the hostel issue had to be depoliticised if any progress was to be made

OAU peace bid for Angola (230)

THE head of the OAU said in remarks published in Luanda yesterday that Unita rebels should abandon their return to arms and accept the democratic path in Angola C/Press

OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim described as unacceptable statements by Unita leaders that local commanders acting without orders occupied several areas following a dispute over September elections. 13/12/92

He said a high-level OAU delegation – comprising himself, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and Cape Verdean President Antonio Mascarenhas – was due to visit Angola soon to try to help resolve the crisis.

FOCUS *Why does the OAU allow America to usurp its function?*

focus on Somalia

Sowetan 17/12/92.

The Organisation of African Unity has been silent about the suffering and death in Somalia. But the local representative of the OAU has been quick to condemn the killing of four whites in King William's Town **Mathatha Tsedu** asks why

"CRY AFRICA, CRY" Was it poet Ingoapele Madingoane who wrote those lines?

Or was it Don Mattera in his lament over the Nkomati Accord when he also said 'Was hunger so great that you had to eat the crumbs from the tables of these brutes?

These thoughts have been haunting me since US troops landed on the shores of Mogadishu in a blaze of publicity

In a nutshell, this is what has been giving me sleepless nights Where the hell is the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), that body that brings together all African states to preserve life and limb on the continent?

Somalia disintegrates

We have witnessed as if in slow motion the disintegration of Somalia

Bare bones, or as one man put it walking corpses that look like death warmed over were paraded on international television screens day in and day out

Warlords took over the country and made it impossible for relief to be distributed to areas of need

And indeed the emaciated and dying children came to represent the face of Somalia, with the only physically strong and well fed people in that country seemingly the gunmen in their jeeps

International aid organisations tried yes they tried to bring in relief but it ended up in the stores of the gunmen who ruled Mogadishu airport and harbour

And the OAU did nothing As more and more people died, it was left to Butros Butros Ghali, the UN secretary general, to call for armed aid from afar

And so we see today American troops landing in Mogadishu in a blaze of publicity and the gunmen disappear from the scene

It is like the recolonisation of Africa

These American troops land in Somalia and disarm the gunmen They are cheered by the emaciated thousands and seen as saviours

OAU nowhere to be seen

And the OAU is nowhere to be seen Is it impossible for the OAU to muster an army that could go into Somalia and do what the Americans did?

I always thought that Africa may be impoverished in many respects but the soldiers were always there How do African leaders feel when they see Africans cowering before these G-men and their armaments?

What are the psychological effects of this invasion by America? As the gunmen disappear from the scene we see sleeping men being rudely awakened from their sleeping beds

A Somali, in disagreement with the military intervention in his country, argues with a heavily armed US Marine in Mogadishu

A lone man tries in vain to stand up and speak about how he does not want to be shoved around by strangers and foreigners but even the caption says he argued briefly

It was the picture of this man that really touched my heart Here was a solitary man making a stand that was to have been made by the OAU as far as I am concerned

But they were not there Instead here at home, we see an OAU representative, Mr Lekgwaila Lekgwaila waffling loftily about the deaths of four whites in an attack in King William s Town

OAU concerned about peace

The OAU, he pontificated, was concerned about peace and life Hence their condemnation of the King William s Town attack Like hell, I think, they are concerned but is it the lives of whites that they are worried about and not the Somali gunmen who were effectively killing thousands?

Lekgwaila went on to speak against armed struggle as if this country was already free and under a democratically elected government

Principles thrown overboard

Long-standing principles and positions of the OAU and contact and recognition of the settler minority and racist regime here are being thrown overboard in an apparent scramble to embrace the white oppressors of this country

Legitimate struggles by black people against economic exploitation and political oppression are being criminalised in the name of peace Whatever happened to justice being the prerequisite of peace

Where was Lekgwaila and the OAU when Savimbi refused to accept the results of a democratic election in Angola

Instead we saw Pik Botha the messenger of aggression suddenly wearing the mantle of peacemaker with the OAU sidelined

One could go on about the OAU and speak about Liberia Mozambique and Sudan But the Somali invasion by America takes the cake

OECD predicts UK public spending cuts

Guardian/W in W/mail 23/12 - 29/12/92 #6 (230)

THE Government may have to take the axe to public spending to rebuild its anti-inflation credentials after sterling's enforced departure from the exchange rate mechanism in September, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development warned last week.

In its six-monthly health check on the world's economies, the Paris-based OECD said devaluation had removed some obstacles to recovery in Britain, but the loss of credibility involved meant the scope for further interest rate cuts was limited by the risks of higher inflation and the ballooning budget deficit

In a downbeat assessment of the world economy, the OECD forecast growth of 1 3 per cent for Britain next year, the first year of expansion since 1990, but insufficient to prevent unemployment from rising to almost 11 per cent, or well over 3 million

Overall, the OECD assumes the brighter outlook in America will cancel out the deeper retrenchment in Germany and Japan, and that growth in the OECD as a whole will be 1.9 per cent in 1993 That compares with a forecast of 3 per cent growth at the time of the last report in June Growth this year is now put at 1 5 per cent

It said that the decision to float the pound meant that Britain was less affected by the tightness of German monetary policy than other European countries and that short-term interest rates were likely to

By Larry Elliott

remain well below those in Germany Together with the fall in sterling, this was likely to "produce an upturn in both demand and inflation in 1993 However, the need to restore credibility in financial markets and put inflation expectations back on track may ultimately put a floor below UK interest rates, even as rates in other European countries come down"

Concern about sterling's devaluation feeding through into higher inflation meant UK long-term interest rates, as measured by bond yields, remained above those in Germany, and there was a risk of further upward pressure towards the end of next year

As a result, the OECD said a "significant reduction of the structural budget deficit may be required to convince markets of the Government's commitment to a medium-term strategy of low inflation"

Global inflation is expected to fall to 2 5 per cent by 1994, its lowest level since 1960 It has been on a downward trend ever since the oil price shock of 1973. However, the return to the price stability enjoyed in the immediate post-war period is being accompanied by levels of unemployment not seen since the 1930s

After the latest downgrading of growth forecasts, rapid expansion can only be found among the emerging nations of the Pacific Rim Whereas France's deflationary monetary policies of the past decade can only offer growth of 1 6 per cent next year, Taiwan's gross domestic product will rise by 7 per cent in both 1993 and 1994 China is growing even faster — at some 11 per cent this year — and now takes the same share of world trade as Britain or France

OAU team in bid to avoid new Angola war

STAR 28/12/92. (230)

LUANDA — A high-level delegation from the Organisation of African Unity arrived in Luanda yesterday in a bid to haul the country back from the brink of a new round in its 16-year civil war.

The delegation, headed by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, met Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos at the presidential palace, Futungo, yesterday afternoon.

Dos Santos laid out his conditions for meeting his arch rival, Jonas Savimbi, leader of the opposition Unita movement.

Implementation

Dos Santos said his MPLA party was ready to complete the implementation of the Bicess Peace Accord, which signalled the end of the war

But he stressed that the talks would go ahead only if Unita accepted the first round of legislative elections, withdrew its troops from northern towns and the military air base it had seized since the elections, and helped re-establish government authority in those areas.

Dos Santos blamed Unita for disrupting the formation of a united army

He said Unita had also violated the peace accord, which he believed still served as the basis for the solution to the country's political crisis

Informed military sources said Unita had withdrawn 40 of its nearly 500 troops which were still occupying the northern town of Uige and the Negage military base

The OAU delegation includes Cape Verde President Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro and OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim

The delegation is not scheduled to meet Savimbi during its two-day programme

The committee is, however, due to meet leaders of the other political parties with seats in the new parliament

Savimbi has been holed up in his provincial stronghold in Huambo in the south ever since the disputed elections in September.

The peace mission was launched at the request of Dos Santos after a summit of the Frontline states — consisting of Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Namibia, Malawi, Angola and Tanzania — in Harare early this month

After talks with Dos Santos, Mugabe called on Savimbi to open himself to dialogue

While he had committed himself to a peace process, Savimbi had to realise it was now "very wrong" of him to resume fighting, Mugabe said.

He said he hoped that after talking to Dos Santos and other parties, the OAU delegation could focus Savimbi's mind on the "peace process and emphasise that there was no need to resume fighting".

"Savimbi should therefore be persuaded to accept democracy in full," said Mugabe, who called on Unita to accept the election results and withdraw troops from areas they had occupied.

Unita forces now control around 60 percent of Angola after government troops forced them out of the capital in the wake of the contested presidential and legislative polls. — Sapa-AFP.

● Angola poll may not have been so free and fair — Page 9

O. A. U.

1993

A visit to sexy South Africa is a nice junket

STAR 19/1/93.

230

Out of Africa

BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI

AS the country emerges from its long enforced hibernation, there is a tendency by our leadership to want to hug everybody and everything in sight We're hungry for friends Pik Botha loves to refer to his "fellow Africans" on every platform He was at it again in Paris last week

The priority now seems to be to make peace with the United Nations. That is as it should be To tell the UN to "go to hell", as Pik Botha apparently gave his diplomats liberty to do so a few years ago, was one of the most stupid things done by this government

The Nigerian chief, Emeka Anyaoku, is busily elbowing his way to a position of some prominence in South African affairs with the hope, obviously, that should things work out well here, the reward for his energies would be South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth

As the international furore over the Boipatong massacre raged in June last year, Anyaoku met the ANC and PAC at the OAU summit in Dakar, Senegal, and beseeched them to pour out their grievances to him as he was catching the next plane to South Africa to see President de Klerk. He made the trip, but nothing came out of his visit I sometimes wonder whether it wouldn't be worth his while to turn some of his attention to his homeland, which is in a much sorrier state politically than we are

One senses though that taking the country back to the Commonwealth is being seriously considered by some organisations here. In my humble opinion Commonwealth membership would be of no value at all to this country The Commonwealth is a fossil, a leftover, from a very unhappy past for a lot of people It is a body that frankly should have died with colonialism Why should, for instance, a leader of any self-respecting country bend a knee in front of a foreign woman unable to even control her own brood?

All English-speaking African countries, it is true, are members of the club, and Namibia, although never a colony of imperial Britain, is a new addition The Mozambicans are also polishing their English They can't wait to take tea with the Queen

You can therefore argue that African countries, after attaining their independence, had decided on their own volition to stick with or maintain some kind of concrete relationship with the Mother country. But the less said about Africa's independence the better. Flag independence has only been good to the African elite. They wine and dine at summits every four years, and a private audience with the Queen is the cherry on top.

South African politicians, I'm sure, would want to get in on the action. Like all politicians, they like to fill their stomachs before they could think of yours and mine When Verwoerd decided to pull the country out of the Commonwealth, he put the matter to a referendum Likewise those who want us back in should take their case to the country.

The body for us to join is, of course, the OAU. That will be the final seal of approval It would be an indication that we have been purged of all sins That yesterday's leper is now welcomed in the community of nations

But save for this symbolic value, the OAU is a wretched little circus undeserving to be dignified by membership of any country with serious business at hand The sores of this continent — Somalia, Liberia — have been left to foreign treatment. Even Boutros-Ghali and George Bush have been to Somalia Where is Salim Ahmed Salim, I ask? Sitting in his air-conditioned office in Addis Ababa, I'm sure, Salim can hear the wail of the hungry across the border in Mogadishu

A few OAU observers have joined the tourists from the UN and the Commonwealth on their all-expenses-paid stay in SA But SA is a "sexy" subject and therefore hogs the headlines That is the lure It's also a nice junket

What the continent needs are small regional organisations promoting trade and economic development SA can go in there and say We will join but only if certain conditions are fulfilled □

policeman during a robbery in Cape Town

dignity and physical care By means of this programme additional prisoners are re-

ing 2 245 in Boksburg would be commissioned shortly

Former leaders to see FW

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will on Friday meet seven former heads of state attending the Inter-Action Council's "Africa summit" B/DAY 19/1/93

The group, headed by former British prime minister Lord Callaghan, will also meet ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi during their three-day meeting in Cape Town this week.

Council co-ordinator Dr Hans d'Orville said the group had hoped to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela, who is attending this week's inauguration of US President-elect Bill Clinton in Washington.

Callaghan is accompanied by Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (Portugal), Gen Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria), Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia), Daniel Lisulo (Zambia), Kamal Hassan Ali (Egypt) and Malcolm Fraser (Australia)

The 36-member Inter-Action Council was established in 1983 to harness the skills and experience of former statesmen to address international political and economic problems.

This week's meeting, from Thursday to Saturday at the National Gallery, will focus on strategies to counteract the political and economic marginalisation of Africa.

Meanwhile, OAU observer team head, secretary-general and Botswana ambassador to the UN Legwaila J M Legwaila visited Transkei yesterday.

Legwaila met Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa and Transkei government officials on the political situation in SA

Holomisa said the deployment of UN armed forces in SA was long overdue He called for tough timeframes for SA's transition to democracy, saying these should be binding on "white South Africa" and enforceable by the UN Security Council

This was the only way to allay black fears of possible backtracking by the NP government, he said.

International observers had been rendered "toothless and ineffective in curbing violence" by the watering down of the OAU's resolutions, Holomisa said

He questioned why the international community "allows itself to be seen as a paper tiger by SA blacks when it acts swiftly and decisively against leaders and countries viewed as threats to Western national interests"

Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga on Monday called on SA liberation movements to revive the patriotic front and approach negotiations as one.

Africa could not accept the division of "democratic forces", he said.

Mwaanga met PAC president Clarence Makwetu in Johannesburg yesterday

Mwaanga said he would meet Mandela before travelling to Namibia. — Sapa

Mandela and police hold frank talks

BILLY PADDOCK

ANC president Nelson Mandela met senior officers of the SAP and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel on Saturday to discuss force attitudes that needed to change in a new SA, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday

He said it was an informal meeting to discuss a wide array of topics, with combating of violence being the major focus

The meeting, at the request of Kriel, was apparently very frank. Mandela was accompanied by MK chief Joe Modise and national executive member Joe Nlanhla B/DAY

According to Niehaus the discussion centred on trying to improve the understanding between the police and the ANC 19/1/93

"Mandela discussed the changing situation in SA and the attitude changes that will have to come on the part of the police to win the trust of the whole community in their ability and will to do their job," he said.

Both sides discussed the problems they had with each other, with Kriel expressing concern over the number of violent incidents in which the ANC was involved. In response the ANC expressed its concern at police methods of combating violence and crime.

PEANUTS By Charles Schulz

rate still

Hope that govt will end securities tax

B/DAY 17/2/93. (230)

GRETA STEYN

JSE President Roy Andersen yesterday expressed hope that government would reduce or eliminate marketable securities tax (MST) in the Budget.

Speaking at the Frankel, Pollak, Vinderine conference, Andersen said MST was a major reason for the lack of liquidity on the JSE. The total tax collection to the fiscus from MST was only about 0,2% of annual revenue.

"It is therefore hoped that government will fulfil its promise made two years ago and either reduce or eliminate MST altogether in this year's Budget," he said.

Aside from MST, other factors putting a damper on liquidity in the market were tax uncertainty and the disappearance of the small investor.

Many investors still believed tax assessors automatically assumed the sale of shares held for less than five years would be taxable

There was a lack of clarity on whether a "safe haven" choice applied to the entire portfolio or only to a particular share.

Referring to the Katz committee on the future structure of the JSE, he said the committee's findings would be released in three to nine months time. The research phase of the project had been concluded and a start had been made with drafting key chapters of the report.

Once the draft report had been finalised it would be tabled for the JSE committee to consider whether to recommend changes to the structure of the market.

"During the 1993 session of Parliament, the Stock Exchanges Control Act will be amended to permit, but not compel, dual capacity trading and corporate membership. It will then be up to the JSE Committee to determine whether or not to change the JSE rules," Andersen said.

Some of the chapters being considered for the Katz committee's report included limited versus unlimited liability, trading methods, capitalisation of broking firms, surveillance, derivatives and international investors, Andersen said.

NEWS IN BRIEF

B/Day 19/2/93 (230)

OAU plans peace force

OAU foreign ministers in Addis Ababa yesterday endorsed a plan to set up the first pan-African peace-keeping force despite a shortage of money They approved a resolution saying it was "in the continued interest of member states to have the force established as soon as possible"

The resolution will be forwarded to an OAU summit in Cairo in June, which will also discuss the organisation's parlous financial situation caused by the non-payment or late payment of membership dues totalling $70m

Housing ripe for investors

B/DAY 24/3/93.

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — Property offered a good investment, with weak house prices and relatively low bond rates, Boland Bank economist Louis Fourie said yesterday.

Fourie was speaking at a Cape Town Chamber of Industries seminar on the effect of the Budget on the construction industry

He said the current weak price of existing houses was apparent from the 20% deficit between the cost of existing houses and new ones of the same size — despite low building costs which had not kept pace with inflation

As the property market lagged behind the economy by 12 to 18 months, and there was no indication of an economic upturn, any improvement in the property market was unlikely for some time

Fourie said that during the period 1970-1991, no region in SA had recorded annual house price increases higher than the rate of inflation.

Residential building plans passed and buildings completed looked poor but not bleak, Fourie said, but the non-residential property market was weak and getting worse.

"I am worried about the future of the non-residential building sector over the next two years"

Study 'a victory for environmentalists'

B/DAY 24/3/93.

RAY HARTLEY

RICHARDS BAY — Moves to discredit the CSIR's environmental impact assessment of mining and tourism at St Lucia could cause "the greatest harm done in any country" to environmentalism, Richards Bay Minerals officials said yesterday

Company PRO Barry Clements said the study had been a victory for environmentalists "whichever way the decision went" Inferences that the report had favoured Richards Bay Minerals were totally without grounds because 52 scientists involved had acted independently

Clements said part of the study had been carried out by the Natal Parks Board and there were "possible buyers on both sides"

The company would compile its objections to the report and submit these to the CSIR It preferred not to discuss them with the media, he said

Clements said the report had been misinterpreted to mean that only R153m would be earned by mining the St Lucia dunes This was a discounted figure. The mine would, at today's rand value, earn R1,1m a day during its 17-year life

It would generate about R7bn in foreign exchange earnings, R1,3bn in taxes and a further R100m in royalties, Clements said.

The mine would support the firm's entire operation for five years, keeping its 2 500 workers employed and creating 159 new jobs at the mining site

Richards Bay Minerals mine and works senior GM Jack Goedhals was confident that when mining started in the year 2000, if government gave the go-ahead, the minerals would still be in demand.

"Richards Bay Minerals has a product that is in very big demand internationally. This demand is growing even in recession."

Suggestions that radioactive monozytes would create a health hazard for workers processing mineral from the dunes were exaggerated, he said

Monozyte levels at St Lucia were "very, very much lower than the west coast of Australia" where problems had been experienced with radioactivity

Exposure of workers to the radioactive substance was less than 40% of accepted international limits and conformed to the Council for Nuclear Safety requirements

Of the 2 500 workers in the plant, only eight worked in the controlled area where such exposure occurred, he said.

Retailers raise prices before VAT increase

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Consumer organisations said yesterday that some retailers had already begun to raise prices ahead of next month's VAT and petrol increases.

Some of the price increases had even affected basic foodstuffs scheduled to be zero-rated B/DAY 24/3/93

The prices of cool drinks, cigarettes and alcoholic beverages as well as some basic foodstuffs had already been raised at some outlets, the organisations said

Shelves were being cleared in some cases to mark up old stock to new prices, said a Housewives' League representative

A Consumer Council spokesman announced that incidences of retailers putting up prices on zero-rated foodstuffs in order to announce reductions on April 7 had also been reported 230

Calling on consumers to be vigilant and to report incidences of profiteering, the Consumer Council, SA National Consumer Union and the Housewives' League had all stepped up price-monitoring surveys

OAU support for just ideals

CT 25/3/93

A SENIOR Organisation for African Unity official could not comment on whether or not the organisation still funded the PAC and the ANC

Speaking in Cape Town yesterday chairman of the Foreign Ministers' Council Mr Djibo Laity Ka said the OAU had supported the ANC and the PAC politically so that their ideals for a just, democratic society could be realised

As President F W de Klerk was "going in this direction" the OAU was also lending him support.

(230)

He is to meet PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

OAU VISITOR . . . OAU official Mr Djibo Laity Ka with with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in Cape Town yesterday. Picture STUART COLMAN

13/4/93

OAU weighs up force

230

ABU DHABI — The OAU may deploy military forces in a plan to end civil wars in Africa, its secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said on Sunday

Salim said he expected member states to adopt at a June 28-30 summit the plan he proposed at their summit in Senegal last year

(230)

OAU lays down rules

SA must form a transitional government and distance itself from white minority rule in other ways before it would be welcome in the OAU, Egypt's foreign minister said in Cairo yesterday. Egypt hosts the next OAU summit on June 28. Foreign Minister Amr Moussa said the agenda would include discussions on whether SA could join. Foreign Minister Pik Botha arrives in Cairo on Sunday to meet Moussa and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

B/DAY 21/5/93

Egypt sets conditions for SA to join OAU

CAIRO — South Africa must form a transitional government and distance itself from white minority rule in other ways before it will be welcome in the Organisation of African Unity, Egypt's foreign minister said yesterday

Egypt hosts the next OAU summit on June 28 Foreign Minister Mr A Moussa said the agenda would include discussions on whether South Africa could join Upon formation in 1963, the OAU called upon members to sever diplomatic ties with apartheid South Africa

CT 21/5/93

● Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha arrives here on Sunday on the first official visit by a South African foreign minister in 35 years — Sapa-AP

230

30 years old, but OAU has little to celebrate

HARARE — As the OAU celebrated its 30th anniversary yesterday, its leaders conceded that the continent remained disorganised and disunited Wars, political upheavals or religious tensions plagued many of the 51 member states, most of whom also reported declining economic growth (230)

"We have an urgent need to have the means to overcome not only the disputes between states but also internal conflicts," said OAU chairman Abdou Diouf of Senegal

In a message marking the anniversary, distributed in African capitals, Diouf cited economic growth as one of Africa's most pressing needs and said better economic ties within the continent, along with international debt relief, were vital for development.

OAU members have a foreign debt of about $250bn Interest and repayments gobble up more than 30% of export earnings, according to the African Development Bank. The continent attracts less than 1% of global foreign investment, largely because of political instability, the bank says. B/DAY 26/5/93

OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim said in Addis Ababa that great strides had been made to eradicate apartheid, but there was "a conspiracy to abort the peace process" in SA

He said SA remained the OAU's greatest concern and pointed to the April 10 murder of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani as evidence of a plot to derail democracy

He called on the SA government to assume fully its responsibilities for establishing a united, nonracial and democratic country

In the past two years the gradual dismantling of apartheid has allowed the OAU to shift its focus to the continent's economic decline — an African common market has been mooted — and wars dogging its development. — Sapa-AFP-Reuter.

Input needed from business in economic debate, says Lyman

B/DAY 26/5/93.

GAVIN DU VENAGE

BUSINESS was being overtaken in economic planning by organisations like Cosatu and the ANC, US ambassador to SA Princeton Lyman told an American Chamber of Commerce function in Johannesburg yesterday

He said a number of organisations had set up think-tanks to prepare for an economic future with many hidden challenges, but business had yet to make its voice heard

These organisations were identifying the major problems the next government would face, including the lack of competitiveness, the need for research and development, and the ineffective relationship between different facets in the economy

Although these studies were making a valuable contribution to the economic debate, Lyman said business had to make its own input to provide government with a broader view

"Business ought to be sponsoring studies so that the debate starts taking on a broader form," Lyman said "What we are seeing is how little is coming from business"

Speaking on the coming transition, Lyman said the US government would provide substantial financial and technical support to SA's electoral process

"This is our most important priority over the next year," Lyman said The US would help with voter registration and to set up an independent electoral commission

He said the US expected a call for a large monitoring presence, but warned that outside assistance was no substitute for a local commitment to democracy.

"A South African election must be first and foremost legitimised by people inside the country, rather than outsiders in the country."

Lyman said he expected violence to continue during the transition

People who called for an end to violence before they would take part in negotiations would only play into the hands of spoilers.

Sapa reports Lyman said SA should develop financial instruments aimed at luring the huge resources of American institutional investors

The US's large pension funds and private funds were critical in enforcing sanctions against apartheid-SA but they should now be persuaded to move into a post-sanctions era

Lyman said an example of the clout institutional investors had was the size of the Californian Pension Fund, which had resources of $100bn It had not invested in companies active in SA, or in SA-based firms during the santions era

SA's political leaders would have to embark on a campaign for the repeal of sanctions once a transitional executive council had been formed and an election date had been set

"You can't afford to go through the Namibian experience, where some states (in the US) four years later, after its independence, still upheld sanctions against the country"

Lyman mentioned other sources of funding SA could expect, for example about $1bn yearly from multilateral lending agencies like the World Bank and African Development Bank But their lending would not be concessional, he said

Another source would be the US government, at about $80m annually However, this was not likely to increase, Lyman said. Instead, it would be heavily focused on technological development and skills and education promotion.

African institutions call for peace and 'debt forgiveness'

(230) 2/7/93

ADDIS ABABA — Africa had to find ways to end its wars and improve its economies and the international community should help by forgiving debts, the heads of three regional organisations said yesterday

The statement was issued by the chief executives of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the UN Economic Commission for Africa and the African Development Bank following a one-day conference to review the major issues facing Africa.

The three executives noted that many of Africa's 52 nations were burdened by low economic growth and high population growth and that real capital income was lower than it was before the continent's independence movements of 30 years ago.

It will take 10 years of strong economic growth to recover to the economic levels of the '80s, they said.

But economic improvement would be seriously jeopardised if conflicts and wars continue unabated on the continent, they said.

Conflict prevention, management and resolution was an area where Africa's weakness had been most pronounced and where the continent continued to depend on the outside world, at times even for initiative and leadership, they said

The principle of African solutions to African problems had to be given a new lease on life, they said, urging nations to support a proposal that the OAU help set up a permanent programme for resolving disputes

They also urged that.

- More nations should support a two-year-old treaty on the formation of an African economic community. It has been ratified by 26 countries, eight short of the required two-thirds majority.
- Nations should encourage private investment and discourage public consumption so that domestic savings rates would rise.
- International creditors who hold $282bn of African debt should forgive publicly guaranteed bilateral debt so that countries could concentrate on multilateral payments — Sapa-AP

Star 25/5/93

No rush to join OAU — Pik

CAIRO — South Africa already had "virtually normal" ties with most African countries and would not actively push to join the Organisation of African Unity, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday during his visit to Cairo

Botha said South Africa was now looking for a location for a trade office in Cairo and a high-level Egyptian business delegation would visit the country next month.

But Cairo has made clear it will open diplomatic ties only as part of an OAU initiative.

"We have virtually normal relations with the majority of African states already. I have opened 19 offices in Africa, and except for (Egypt) I doubt whether I would be able to justify opening any more offices in Africa," he added. — Sapa-Reuter.

'Masterbond gave kickbacks to Urban Foundation staff'

B/DAY 27/5/93

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — Masterbond agents gave Urban Foundation employees kickbacks to invest R15m of the foundation's money in Masterbond, the Nel commission into the collapse of the Masterbond group heard yesterday

A former Masterbond agent in the Transvaal, Mark Galbraith of Galbraith & Associates, said the foundation's employees were paid "commission" for monies invested with Masterbond.

RAY HARTLEY reports that Urban Foundation CEO Sam van Coller said yesterday the matter of a R15m investment in Masterbond by the foundation's treasury unit, of which R10m had been recovered, had been referred to the SAP's Commercial Crime Unit.

"The investment in Masterbond was made by the manager of the treasury unit contrary to the investment criteria laid down by the foundation's investment committee at the time," he said.

Van Coller said the R15m did not involve money donated to the foundation, but consisted of money "from treasury trading operations which were linked to the foundation's housing operations at that time".

The foundation had submitted an insurance claim for the unrecovered R5m.

Galbraith also told the commission how at a convention in October 1990, life assurer Fedlife's representatives had promoted an equity participation scheme involving Masterbond investments He said the scheme was described as a safe investment offering substantial returns

The representatives said Fedlife had earmarked R40m of annuity and pension fund money for investment in the scheme.

Galbraith said that on the basis of these representations, agents for IPC, which was associated with assurance brokers Galbraith & Associates and which owned 40% of Masterbond Holdings, had begun marketing the scheme. However, he said in a letter to Fedlife he established that Fedlife's investment division had cautioned against taking part in the scheme.

Fedlife invested R18m of "sacred pension fund money" in the scheme, using IPC to sell it. Galbraith said Fedlife had, since Masterbond's liquidation, reached an agreement with investors on the funds.

Galbraith told how he spent three hours with former Masterbond chairman Kops Jonker the day before the group was provisionally liquidated. Jonker made no mention of the pending court action, assuring Galbraith Masterbond had a bright future.

Another witness, Sidney Goodwin, who was Masterbond's main agent in the Transvaal, told the commission how a R30m bond was registered over Mykonos Weskus in October 1990, about a year before the property was valued at R47m.

He suspected that the valuation had been structured to accommodate the two-thirds bond rather than to reflect the value of the property.

He claimed Financial Services Board executive officer Piet Badenhorst authorised the early payment of Masterbond funds deposited with Pretoria Bank on condition that the money was invested in a specified way. In fact, R12m was invested in a noninterest-paying Fancourt Holdings bond The funds, Goodwin said, were not used for development but to repay R12m of a debenture bond into the short-term debenture bond pool.

SA will not push to join OAU, says Pik

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CAIRO — Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday SA already had "virtually normal" ties with most African countries and would not actively push to join the OAU.

His three-day groundbreaking trip to Cairo was the latest stage of a charm offensive by Pretoria to normalise ties with Arab countries before nonracial elections.

Botha said SA was looking for a location for a trade office in Cairo and a high-level Egyptian business delegation would visit SA next month

But Cairo has made clear it will open diplomatic ties only as part of an OAU initiative.

"We're looking forward to the day we can take our place (at the OAU) but it's not a matter we are going to push," Botha told a news conference

Botha said trade between SA and other African countries had doubled in the past two years

He described a UN oil embargo, still in force although now openly flouted, as a total failure. — Sapa-Reuter.

OAU marks 30 years of unity

(230) ARG 29/5/93

■ This was an auspicious week for most African countries — and yet, in South Africa, the occasions passed almost unnoticed **BURTON JOSEPH,** Govan Mbeki Research Fellow at Fort Hare University, explains why.

MAY 25 is known throughout the continent as Africa Day, a day set aside to commemorate the liberation of the continent from colonialism Many countries have declared it a public holiday.

Yet, in South Africa this day goes largely unnoticed as it is given insufficient coverage by the media

Least not because the country is yet to be liberated from colonial rule, a condition for its membership of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

This week, Africa Day marked the 30th anniversary of the OAU During the three decades spanning its existence it has played an important role in the continent's struggle against colonialism

The importance of this organ was best exemplified by the statement by Mr Samora Machel, the late president of Mozambique, when he said "The OAU, born from the fusion of common experiences of colonisation, is the instrument for unity and cohesion among African countries in their struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and all other forms of domination

"The Frelimo Party regards the OAU as one of Africa's greatest conquests As long as there is colonialism and racism on the continent, the essential reasons for founding the OAU remain valid"

The reasons for the formation of this organ, as set out in Article 2 of the OAU Charter, are noble and commendable indeed Promotion of unity and solidarity of African states, co-ordination and intensification of efforts to achieve a better life for Africans, defence of territorial integrity, promotion of international co-operation and the eradication of all forms of racism from the continent

However, the principles which guide its functioning — especially those which advocate non-interference in "internal affairs" and respect for "territorial integrity" of member states — have greatly emasculated the powers and status of this organisation

In a sense, it has sanctioned the corrupt rule of the Mobutus, Bandas and arap Mois that this continent has produced These dictatorships, with their accompanying baggage of financial embezzlement, political repression and economic decay, have contributed to Africa's woes

□ **IN SESSION:** Organisation of African Unity (OAU) foreign ministers meet at a session of the OAU Council of Ministers in Nairobi

For the OAU, it was the preoccupation with the South African question which provided much ammunition in the battle against apartheid The events following the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 galvanised this structure into calling for the international isolation of South Africa in the spheres of politics, economics and culture In this regard, there has been an enormous amount of success

South Africa was either expelled or forced to withdraw from major international organisations — the International Labour Organisation, and the Food and Agricultural Organisation in 1953, Unesco (1956), while its voting rights in the World Health Organisation were suspended, its delegation was expelled from the 1969 Congress of the Universal Postal Union, the Plenipotentiary Conference of the International Telecommunication Union in 1965

In spite of these measures there was no alteration of South Africa's domestic policies On the contrary, the government tended to ignore attempts by "outsiders" to interfere with its "internal affairs" and subsequently ignored resolutions, requests, ultimatums and inquiries which violated its stance

South Africa did not take this battering without any response In order to defuse the hostility of African states and undermine the OAU, it embraced the policies of "dialogue" (1970) and "detente" (1974) respectively

The establishment of African links was considered vital in relieving itself from international ostracism and isolation and re-entering the international arena In spite of marginal success, the majority of African countries remained resolute in their refusal to deal with South Africa

The failure of co-optive strategies during the 1970s was replaced with those of active destablisation in the 1980s Under the pretext of what South Africa called a "total onslaught" from Moscow, through its surrogates in the region, a "total strategy", which included a mixture of diplomatic, military and economic strikes against neighoburs, was devised During 1980, all neighbouring countries were attacked and cross-border raids continued during 1982 and 1983

The common explanation given for attacks on southern African countries was the need to prevent "terrorist attacks" emanating from these territories In reality, South Africa wanted to reassert its political and economic hegemony and emphasise to these countries their economic dependence on South Africa

The political situation in the world and South Africa has changed rapidly in recent years The emergence of a united Europe has been accompanied with anti-immigration hysteria and a resurgence of fascism in these countries

The United States has emerged as the policemen of international politics, its energies geared themselves towards the subjugation of the oil-rich Middle East under the guise of "curbing rising Muslim fundamentalism"

The disintegration of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has marginalised Africa and South Africa from the international political arena, as development efforts are geared towards the consolidation of the emerging ethnic states in Eastern Europe South Africa, itself, gradually is moving towards a majoritarian order.

Has the OAU kept abreast of these developments? How have they informed the OAU's own direction? How does it interpret the political developments inside South Africa?

Although it has not supported Codesa as such, it has supported the mechanisms necessary to facilitate majority rule, the election of a constituent assembly and the drafting of a new constitution

Given present attempts to resolve the political situation inside this country — an issue which has to a large extent unified African opinion, it needs to be seen how the OAU will continue to function in the context of these new international developments

The central issue which confronts the OAU is its structural and qualitative transformation from an organ comprised of heads of state to one which addresses the political and economic concerns of its membership countries

In this regard, there is no clear indicator at present Rather, present concerns relate more to the campaign for reparations for the slavery holocaust and the process of colonial occupation Claims will be sought for

- Rents on lands expropriated by foreign settlers during the last 500 years,
- Compensation for material and social destruction during the slavery holocaust,
- Indemnities for all wars and all campaigns waged by the slavers and colonisers on black peoples and nations,
- Compensation for lives lost — the hundreds of millions of Africans who died through slavery, invasion, colonisation and the wars of decolonistion,
- Compensation for the destabilisation and eradication of African cultures through forced Europeanisation,
- Punitive damages for the defamation of the black race,
- Opportunity cost for what Africans would have made of the people and re sources of which Africa was forcibly de prived, and
- Interest on the total compensation fo the above items

The issue is not so much the reparati campaign, but the shopping-list approac the organ has adopted in securing its fu ture Unless the OAU dynamises itself an confronts head-on the political, social an economic crises with which the continent faced, there is no need for its continued ex istence in a changing world order

Sowetan 3/6/93

ANC on peace moves

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

■ INITIATIVE WELCOMED Mugabe's attempts to bring factions together are appreciated:

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS has welcomed initiatives by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe to bring an end to violence in South Africa

At the same time it dismissed "insinuations" that its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, was not keen on meeting Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

"The insinuation is incorrect and misleading," the ANC said yesterday

Buthelezi met Mugabe officially for the first time in Harare this week Among issues discussed was violence in this country

"The ANC welcomes President Mugabe's initiative to bring an end to violence, which has stalked our country and its people for many years"

It said Mugabe's move followed a decision by the Organisation of African Unity's ad-hoc committee to assist in bringing the carnage in South Africa to an end

Concern of Africa's leaders

The organisation believed Mugabe and the OAU ad hoc committee could help accelerate a Buthelezi-Mandela meeting

"This initiative indicates the concern of Africa's leaders about the senseless bloodletting which has left many of our compatriots dead, maimed or displaced," it said

The organisation felt, however, that all initiatives taken to end violence should be influenced by present programmes within the country

The ANC's national executive committee had, therefore, decided that Mandela and Buthelezi should meet to discuss the issue of violence only after thorough preparations had been made to ensure the success of the meeting

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Police methods worry OAU representative

(230) Sowetan 4/6/93

By Isaac Moledi

A REPRESENTATIVE of the Organisation of African Unity observer mission in South Africa yesterday attacked the way police were handling legal marches in the country

Addressing a peace meeting in Muldersdrif, Legoaila J Legoaila said South Africa's unprecedented level of violence was getting out of hand and it was the duty of the police — as in any civilised society — to maintain law and order

He said while he thought it was possible to achieve peace, he was worried by the way police handled marches

Legoaila said two months before the assassination of the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Chris Hani, the OAU and the UN observer missions enjoyed the respect of the police Police co-operated with various political organisations and the observer missions before and after marches

■ Legal marches not properly handled:

He said he was surprised that police did not respect marchers who had been granted permission by a magistrate

The head of the UN observer mission, Miss Angela King, said it was necessary that national peace secretariat structures be expanded in order to take a firm hand in developing a peace initiative She said the peace secretariat should develop guidelines for protest action

She said children under 14 should not take part in such marches

ANC, PAC demands set poser

CAIRO. — African foreign ministers will have to choose between African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress standpoints when they meet to discuss the South African situation in Cairo today.

The ANC would ask the Organisation of African Unity to lift sanctions once an election date was officially confirmed and an interim committee was established to supervise the transition, said ANC representative Stanley Mabizela.

He accused the PAC of delaying the transition. "The PAC is delaying the process of our liberation. (Our differences) will place the OAU in difficulty, but it is up to the OAU to decide what to do."

PAC representative Ahmed Gora Ebrahim said: "We have been the ones that have been the true custodians of the OAU position that there must be mutual cessation of hotilities. We cannot see how the OAU cannot applaud that position of the PAC."

Proposals adopted by the foreign ministers will be presented to African heads of state at the 30th OAU summit at the end of the month. — Sapa.

Help Mozambican refugees, says OAU

By Joe Latakgomo
Star Africa Service

CAIRO — The Organisation of African Unity Council of Ministers has appealed to the international community to assist Mozambique in the repatriation of over 1,5 million refugees and the integration of more than 4 million displaced persons within the country.

The council resolved at the weekend to call upon the parties in Mozambique to scrupulously observe the spirit and letter of the General Peace Agreement as an essential condition for the restoration of lasting peace

On the situation in Angola, the council said it was deeply concerned about the catastrophic situation faced by the population due to the resumption of war by Unita's army

The OAU has once more called on Unita to accept the results of the elections of September 1992 and "strongly condemns Unita for its escalation of military actions and for the persistent occupation of towns and villages which endanger the peace process"

The council appealed to Unita to return to the peace talks with the Angolan government, and to sign a durable ceasefire in order to ensure the implementation of the peace accords

● SA under OAU spotlight — Page 7

Eritrea puts O

Star 19/6/93

Secession could spark African ethnic rows

(230) (W)

HANS-PETER BAKKER
Africa News Service

ASMARA — Ancient Eritrea has become Africa's newest state, but in doing so has raised fears that this will open up a can of worms for the Organisation of African Unity.

Eritrea has been admitted to the United Nations and is now waiting for acceptance as a member of the OAU at that body's annual conference in Cairo next month This is expected to be a formality — but it could at the same time create problems for that body.

A founding principal of the OAU was adherence to colonial boundaries, even if those borders cut across homogeneous groups or grouped bitter enemies together

Precedent

The acceptance of Eritrea as a member is likely to be seen by many African secessionist movements as a precedent for renewing their own claims to independence

There is no doubt that Eritrea had a strong case for secession Not only was it an autonomous Italian — and later a British — colony earlier this century, but it was never subjugated throughout a 30-year-long struggle for independence

Foreign Minister Mohammed Sharif believes the OAU charter actually supported his country's right to independence "The OAU calls for respect of colonial boundaries," he says, "and that is what we were calling for respect for Eritrea's colonial boundaries Our struggle was not in opposition to, but is consistent with, the charter"

But Sharif does believe the time for blind adherence to the charter should come to an end "There must a novel way of looking at it Inequalities between different ethnic groups in a number of African countries must be seriously addressed The demands and aspirations of local populations must be taken into account within a national framework It is only by addressing injustices and inequalities within borders that the African states and the African nations can grow stronger"

The Eritreans are more concerned with their own problems than with any they may throw into the lap of the OAU, however Having won their long and vicious war for independence, they are now concentrating on not losing the peace

The ousting of Somali President Mengistu in May 1991 led to the ascendancy in Addis Ababa of an Eritrean ally, Meles Zenawi, whose government backed an April 1993 referendum on Eritrean independence

The referendum result was overwhelmingly in support of independence, and was accepted immediately by Zenawi's government, but not without some resentment in Ethiopia

Recognition by Eritrea's other neighbours, Sudan and Djibouti, and by the United States followed shortly afterwards Most of the rest of the world, including South Africa, supported the Eritrean secession after the formal declaration of independence last month

But Eritrea cannot afford to bask in the sun of its new-found freedom

Eritrean President Issayas Afewerki has promised multiparty elections within four years He talks about having a liberal constitution and laws regulating party politics ratified before then, but the details of the process are vague

The leaders are planning a modern democracy and a free-market economy But it will have to be forged out of a country that has been wasted by decades of particularly vicious warfare

The capital Asmara is deceptively orderly and clean Buildings are intact, the roads are in reasonably good condition, and at first sight it appears that business is booming

But Nerayo Teklemichael, of the Eritrean Relief and Rehabilitation Agency, says Asmara is not the real face of the war "The centre in Addis Ababa gave in, and time caught up with the Ethiopian occupiers who had talked of destroying Asmara before withdrawing from it"

The government plans to restructure and sell the country's nationalised industries, many of which use obsolete machinery and run at a fraction of their capacity, surviving only on large overdrafts

The agricultural sector, on which more than 85 percent of the population depends, has also been severely affected by the war But, says Teklemichael, "after two years of peace and good rains, local production is supplying half the country's food requirements — a tremendous improvement on 1991, when less than 10 percent of the population was fed from

UPLIFTED: White-robed women leaving a church symbolise Er

'AU in quandary

Eritrea's hard-won freedom. ● Photograph: HANS-PETER BAKKER

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local production"

But he warns "Yes, the harvests were good and peace has had a very significant effect on the psychology of the population, who have been too disturbed to cultivate their lands, but we must be careful not to blow things out of proportion"

The former Italian colony is fortunate not to have inherited massive foreign debt, which is the blight of most other African countries And as the newest member of the UN it will soon qualify for outside assistance

However, government ministers are fearful of developing a dependency on aid One senior official, who asked not to be named, said his government was determined to build a strong institutional capacity to prevent multinational organisations assuming the functions of government

month — Sapa-Reuter.

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n Belet Uen, 300km north of
e arrival of 1 500 UN soldiers

Mohamed

● Ships carrying about 2 500 US marines arrived off the coast of Mogadishu yesterday, as US warplanes flew over the Somali capital, a UN military spokesman said — Sapa-Reuter-AFP

OLD WORLD

ARG 21/6/93 (230)

OAU plan for conflict prevention

PARIS — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) will try to establish a mechanism for preventing conflicts in Africa at its annual summit meeting opening in Cairo today

A plan for conflict prevention drawn up by OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim has already gained approval from Denmark, which holds the European Community presidency

The leaders will also discuss the rising tide of Islamic fundamentalism and extremist violence in North Africa

In the latest incident seven people were killed and 20 wounded on Friday when a bomb packed with nails exploded in Cairo Police blamed Muslim fundamentalists

Faced with their failure to resolve conflicts such as the civil wars in Liberia and Angola, African leaders have directed criticism at the international community and the UN

African diplomats have also expressed disappointment with what they describe as the "cold" international response to the tragedy in Somalia

● South Africa will be absent from the summit, despite having normalised its relations with many African states and opened diplomatic missions in 19 of them

African leaders say the transition to a democratic and multiracial society in South Africa has not yet gone far enough — Sapa-AFP

OAU may fund ANC, PAC voter education

CAIRO. — Special voter education funds might be given to the ANC and PAC, if the Organisation of African Unity accepts recommendations by its liberation committee.

A report issued at the weekend suggests a fund be established to channel money directly to the ANC and the PAC for voter education

The two organisations already receive continuing support from the OAU's liberation fund which has a shortfall of nearly $15 million (about R45m).

ANC representative Mr Stanley Mabizela said he had emphasised the importance of support for the election — Sapa

(239) CT 21/6/93

ANC and PAC at OAU

Sowetan 22/6/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

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THE broad liberation movement has retained its status at the Organisation of African Unity and the Government has been excluded

OAU summit

Representatives of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress are presently attending the OAU summit in Egypt and will continue representing South Africa until elections towards a constituent assembly have been held.

An ANC source confirmed yesterday that the OAU had approached the liberation movement for clarity on the matter

Elections

"We said that we thought the ANC and PAC should retain their status in the OAU until elections towards a constituent assembly were held," the source said

The SABC yesterday reported that the OAU meeting was under way in Egypt and said that South Africa was not represented there.

Both the ANC and PAC are recognised by the OAU and have always attended its summit meetings as observers.

OAU's quest to keep Africa relevant

B/Day 22/6/93

CAIRO — African foreign ministers met in Egypt yesterday to prepare for the 30th anniversary summit of the Organisation of African Unity, searching for ways to stop Africa being forgotten in the new world order

Egyptian Prime Minister Atef Sedki told the opening session of the week-long meeting "Africa is now at a crossroads Either it becomes a vital and influential part of the modern world, or we ourselves allow our continent to be marginalised"

Liberian Foreign Minister Gabriel Baccus Matthews told the meeting "Our continent is going through a major transition, perhaps the most significant since the independence struggle of the '60s and '70s"

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"How do we deal with the new realities of democratisation and social and political inclusiveness to ensure the stability of the African continent? How do we advance human and people's rights How do we prevent or otherwise manage internal conflicts and civil strife?"

Sedki, Matthews and Ugandan Foreign Minister Paul Ssemogerere urged delegates to support the OAU's two proposed answers a "mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution" and the establishment of an African economic community.

Progress towards black majority rule in SA is weakening the one African issue that has attracted constant world concern

Gora Ebrahim, foreign affairs secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, appealed to the delegates not to relax sanctions against SA until there was more progress towards black majority rule — Sapa-Reuter.

Govt critical of OAU fund plan

(230)

Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday criticised OAU plans to funnel foreign funds directly to political parties for voter education. CT 22/6/93

The Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, told a media briefing that all overseas money for voter education should be handled by the multiparty Independent Electoral Commission which was still to be formed

Star 23/6/93

Now for the big problem

(230)

Perhaps for the last time, apartheid is high on the agenda of the Organisation of African Unity annual summit in Cairo. But, reports JOE LATAKGOMO, Africa's economic woes are still the main challenge

TWO issues will top the agenda of the Organisation of African Unity's current conference in Cairo and the heads of state summit which follows next week. White minority rule in South Africa — the single biggest issue for 30 years — and Africa's economic woes will again come under the spotlight.

This could be the last time apartheid is a major concern, however If the negotiations in South Africa remain on track and result in some form of democratic representation by next year's summit, apartheid will cease to be the clarion call it has been for African states.

Indeed, the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation Movements of Africa, a specialised OAU agency set up to provide financial and military aid to nationalist movements in dependent countries, may have exhausted its mandate. The disappearance of apartheid as an issue will also mean its disappearance as the major — some say the only — unifying factor in the OAU

Last month the OAU celebrated its 30th anniversary and African leaders are united in the view that there is little to show for those years of endeavour The continent is still plagued by wars, political and religious tensions and even the virtual political disintegration of some African states like Zaire and Angola.

Outgoing OAU chairman Abdou Diouf of Senegal said recently that Africa had "an urgent need to have the means to overcome not only the disputes between states, but also internal conflicts"

The OAU is largely seen as a toothless watchdog It was the caution in its founding principles that has made the organisation so toothless, particularly Article 111 of the OAU charter, which obliges member states to respect the sovereignity of other member states and not to interfere in their internal affairs.

This principle has seen the OAU turning a blind eye to blatant human rights abuses, flourishing dictatorships, military coups which have put illegitimate governments in place and have led to the subversion of democracy

In partial response to this, Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim has drawn up a plan to deal with conflicts, which has gained much support.

Africa, he said, did not have the resources to establish a mechanism for resolving conflicts such as those in Liberia, Somalia, Angola and Zaire (which has virtually ceased to exist as a formal country). He also expressed concern about the rise of Islamic fundamentalism.

The OAU has been consistently successful, however, in maintaining the principle of recognising colonial borders If this were not so, there would have been far more border disputes than there have been. One dispute, the issue of Western Sahara, almost led to the break-up of the OAU

In 1982, the 19th heads-of-state summit, which was to have been held in Tripoli, Libya, failed to materialise because 19 states boycotted the proceedings over the admission of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (Western Sahara) Morocco terminated its membership of the OAU in protest and the issue has still not been resolved.

So far, the SADR has refrained, at the request of certain African states, from taking its seat in the OAU It will be interesting to see whether the SADR will now demand to take its seat following the acceptance last month of Eritrea as the newest member of the OAU after it successfully seceded from Ethiopia.

South Africa has been pressing for some form of recognition by the OAU Just before last year's summit in Dakar, Senegal, Foreign Minister Pik Botha appeared on the scene to lobby for reacceptance of South Africa into the community of African nations.

His efforts were thwarted and the OAU called for continued sanctions against South Africa. This year, Botha appeared in Cairo and once more seemed to be lobbying for some reward for South Africa's efforts at democratisation.

But most African countries, despite a recognition of progress made — and in some cases normalising relations with South Africa — do not believe the time has come for such a reward. In fact, both the ANC and the PAC have opposed any moves towards recognition of the Pretoria government.

Looking beyond the liberation struggle it has so long supported, the Liberation Committee has recommended that the ANC and PAC be given funds for voter-education projects.

The committee also recommended an extension of the mandate of the OAU observer mission in South Africa until elections are held.

Both the PAC and ANC are represented at the OAU, and it is expected that the presidents of the two organisations, Clarence Makwetu and Nelson Mandela, will attend the summit next week.

It is the economic decline of Africa, however, that will take up most of the deliberations. The conference is expected to renew the call African countries have been making since 1985 for a special conference of creditors and borrowers to seek a solution to the problem of the continent's heavy debt.

According to the African Development Bank, OAU members now have foreign debts of R825 billion and interest and repayments use up more than 30 percent of export earnings Interventions by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have done little to ease the difficulty and some states have found the prescriptions of these bodies politically unacceptable.

The marginalisation of Africa in world economic terms has meant that Africa will have to look inward, and develop markets and economic cooperation policies that will transcend existing barriers

The democratisation that has swept Africa in recent years may give African leaders the legitimacy to deal constructively and effectively with the problems that beset Africa. With some form of accountability, these leaders know that unless they deliver, voters will judge them harshly Given this, and also a recognition by the IMF and World Bank that there may be some truth in the criticisms of their prescriptions, the long-sought conference of creditors and African debtors may yet materialise. □

B/Day 24/6/93

The jury is still out on Gencor's unbundling

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MATTHEW CURTIN

SANKORP chairman Marinus Daling is unperturbed by the far from electric performance of Gencor shares since the group gave the green light to unbundling in May "The jury is still out," he says

It has been difficult for the market to assess the success of a manoeuvre which is yet to take place The enabling legislation on which unbundling depends was tabled in Parliament only on Monday

Daling says it is the question of market rating which has driven Sankorp's determination to separate and focus its industrial portfolio in Gencor, Murray & Roberts, and Malbak The multiple uses to which the term "unbundling" has been put have perhaps obscured Sankorp's and Gencor's aims

He says although the exercise has been geared towards the specific circumstances of the Sankorp investments, it is underpinned by a number of principles Unbundling is neither a fad, nor simply a question of "horses for courses"

The initial impetus in the late '80s when Derek Keys took over as Gencor chairman may have been to unlock the significant discount to which Gencor shares trade to their net asset value The issue was clouded by the perception of a political dimension to the issue, with talk of nationalisation followed by Sanlam's move towards spurring black economic empowerment.

"These reasons are not strong enough to justify an exercise as large as the one we have embarked on, if only because they would bring only one-off benefits," Daling says

"Our deeper concern was to ensure the businesses could continue to add value, and for that they need a solid and sustainable market rating That is the basis for attracting capital, and you need capital to grow."

He says institutions rather than the man in the street have determined the ratings of companies in the US and UK The ordinary punter puts his savings into trusts and policies, funds which are then reinvested in equity

"The institutional investor prefers to make up his own spread of investments He does not need a listed company to make that decision for him," Daling says.

The crux for a business is therefore "focus". Institutions want shares whose behaviour is predictable in relation to the economic cycle. A conglomerate such as Gencor simply cannot meet that demand because, first, it performs at best at the same rate as the economy as a whole, and second, any major transaction it makes may suddenly alter its risk profile to the consternation of existing and potential investors.

Daling is convinced unbundling solves this problem. Sankorp has now established three distinct businesses. Gencor is the "commodities player", M & R is the gross domestic fixed investment stock, and Malbak the consumer-based business.

He says the rash of leveraged buyouts of conglomerates in the US in the '80s would have been impossible if they had been better focused. The buyouts led to the conglomerates being stripped down and refocused by new management

Focus is also the best way to adapt to a fast-changing business environment where, Daling says, the old adage that a good manager can manage any business has become outdated Successful businesses are driven by knowledge and decision-making, and the two — line management and the boardroom — have to be as close together as possible "You can't centralise knowledge, you can only decentralise decision-making."

Sankorp has striven for a "decentralised culture" in its operations and those of its investments Unbundling makes that claim more credible because Sanlam has swapped absolute for indirect control

Daling says the change is not cosmetic The Sanlam/Rembrandt voting pool will have at most a one-fifth representation on the boards of Gencor, Sappi, Malbak and so on. Any loss in the cross-fertilisation of ideas bred by having a number of different businesses under one roof will be compensated for by the addition of non-executive directors.

If Sankorp held an "ideological or political" stance on unbundling, it might have gone the whole hog, breaking up Genmin, Malbak, and M & R into their constituent parts However, that would have compromised the companies' viability Relevant size (Gencor has to be big to compete) and access to capital (Sanlam and Rembrandt retain that role) are the critical factors.

Daling says focus will also stimulate foreign investment A potential partner for, say, Foodcorp must benefit from having to deal only with the Malbak board, rather than the existing Malbak, Malhold, Gencor, Gencor Beherend pyramid

In addition, the new structure brings the Sankorp portfolio in line with structures prevalent in North America and the EC "The easier it is for foreign investors to recognise the sort of businesses they are dealing with, the more likely it is they'll be ready to consider them as partners."

For the international institutional investor, the political climate and currency may be the principle factors influencing its investment in SA.

However, Daling is confident that "a North American investor, who would not have invested in Engen through Gencor when it could have bought a stake in a Shell or BP, may now be attracted by Gencor as a pure mining spread".

LAW REPORT

OAU praise for leaders over talks

Star 25/6/93

By Joe Latakgomo
Star Africa Service

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CAIRO — The Organisation for African Unity has commended the ANC and IFP leaders for their "ice-breaking" meeting this week and has encouraged them to meet again

At the same time Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister, speaking at the OAU Council of Ministers meeting in Cairo, has called on South African "liberation" movements to reach unanimity on the issue of violence.

Assistant Secretary-General Ahmed Haggag said the OAU welcomed the talks between ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi

"Even though nothing substantive was agreed upon, the meeting served to break the ice and clear the way for future meetings," Haggag said

Both the ANC and PAC told the plenary session of the Council of Ministers conference that sanctions against South Africa should remain in place

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira said the Harare Declaration stated South Africa's position would be reviewed once an interim government was in place But was the envisaged TEC the same as an interim government?

He said the so-called Frontline states would continue to seek guidance from the "liberation" movements on the question of violence and urged that these movements adopt a united position on the issue.

Mandela and PAC president Clarence Makwetu are due in Cairo on Sunday for the opening of the heads of state summit on Monday

OAU states hold off

EGYPTIAN Foreign Minister Amr Moussa said yesterday OAU countries would not establish diplomatic ties with SA until after general elections scheduled for April 27 had been held.

He told reporters in Cairo that progress had been made in SA's political negotiation but that OAU countries would hold off until "the situation has actually changed".

B/Day 25/6/93 (230)

Star 28/6/93

SA under OAU spotlight

(230)

B Joe Latakgomo
Sir Africa Service

CIRO — The South African Government should be pressred to accept joint control o security forces to deal vth violence and the threat fom the right wing, a report to the Organisation of frican Unity's Co-ordinatig Committee for the Libration of Africa has recomiended.

The report, which was tabled a committee meeting, also ecommended that liberation iovements be assisted in their reparation for voter mobilisaon and an election campaign, hat these movements be peruaded to form a coalition for oter education and participaion, and that the issue of the nonitoring of South Africa's ransition be placed on the inernational agenda.

Even though some progress had been made in the multiparty talks, many substantive issues still had to be dealt with by the participants in the negotiaton process, the report said.

Among the issues were the demand by the Concerned South Africans Group that the new constitution be drawn up by the multiparty conference rather than by an elected constituent assembly, the demand by right-wing Afrikaners for self-determination, violence and the emergence of extremists opposed to negotiations.

Violence, the report said, remained the dominant feature of the general political situation in South Africa

It highlighted a link between progress in the negotiation process and an escalation of violence.

"Apart from the tension in the PWV, KwaZulu-Natal and eastern Cape regions, the clampdown by the South African security forces on the PAC and the demands of Cosag were identified as the greatest threats to negotiations."

All the delegations that spoke during the debate expressed support for the process under way in South Africa, and many noted the reiteration by the leader of the PAC delegation that his movement was committed to and would remain in the talks.

Both the ANC and PAC were urged to remain in the forefront of the search for a negotiated settlement.

A call was made to the two organisations to resolve their differences so that they could attain the common goals of the struggle.

The committee proposed the endorsement by the OAU of April 27 1994 as the election date, and to continue to put pressure on all parties to respect the date.

The committee also recommended the setting up of a special election fund similar to that set up for Namibia to assist the ANC and the PAC directly.

Sam Ibok, the executive assistant secretary of the committee, said that the situation in Angola and Mozambique remained a source of concern following the lack of progress in efforts to bring peace to the people of those countries and the region as a whole.

The committee, and all members of the OAU, were requested to bring pressure on the South African Government, Unita, and Renamo, to co-operate with the international mediators so that peace could prevail in Angola and Mozambique.

The OAU was urged to appeal to the United Nations Security Council, the international mediators — including the US, Russia, Portugal and South Africa — to intensify their mediation efforts "to bring an end to the suffering in Angola".

Monday June 28, 1993

Africa in brief

30th OAU summit

CAIRO — African leaders meet in Cairo today for the 30th anniversary summit of the Organisation of African Unity, searching for a role in a world which increasingly ignores their continent 28/6/93

Egyptian Prime Minister Atef Sedki said "Africa is now at a crossroads Either it becomes a vital and influential part of the modern world, or we ourselves allow our continent to be marginalised" (230)

AFRICA

Eritrea criticises OAU for failing to help Africans

B/Day 29/6/93

CAIRO — The OAU summit opened yesterday with an unexpected tirade of bitter criticism from new member Eritrea's President Issaias Afeworki.

In his speech, Issaias blasted the OAU for failing to stem Africa's "growing poverty and backwardness".

"The sad fact remains that the OAU has become a nominal organisation that has failed to deliver on its pronounced goals and objectives," he said.

Stressing that his criticism was not motivated by the OAU's failure to support Eritrea's bloody 30-year struggle for independence, Issaias said OAU membership was "not spiritually gratifying or politically challenging".

Eritrea became the OAU's 52nd member after it formally proclaimed independence last month.

The harsh words from Issaias contrasted with the opening address by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, who was voted in as the new OAU chairman.

Mubarak praised the OAU for fighting Africa's increasing economic marginalisation and struggling to throw off "the last shackles of colonialism" in SA.

Long derided by its detractors as an empty talking shop, the OAU, celebrating its 30th anniversary this year, was trying to strengthen its peacekeeping role.

But OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim has admitted that a chronic shortage of money is hindering the OAU's efforts to settle Africa's numerous conflicts.

In Liberia, it has been overshadowed by the Economic Community of West African States, while the US and the UN have led intervention in Somalia. (230)

Last week Salim said OAU efforts to end Rwanda's civil war would culminate in a peace accord "For the first time we have had an operation that has succeeded," he announced, only to face a barrage of embarrassing questions from reporters when the peace negotiations collapsed hours later without an agreement.

Assistant secretary-general Ahmed Haggag said he hoped the UN would help fund OAU peacekeeping. But a UN official at the summit said the UN was reluctant to fund operations "outside UN command". — Sapa-AFP

INTERNATIONAL NEWS Summit will adopt 'Cairo Declaration' ● Pop star in hospital

'Don't allow Africa to be forgotten'

Sowetan 29/6/93

■ DIFFICULT PERIOD OAU urged against attempts to marginalise Africa:

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CAIRO — President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, incoming chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, urged at the opening of the organisation's summit yesterday that Africans fight marginalisation of their continent

"The world is still undergoing a difficult transition period," Mubarak told the opening session of the OAU's 30th anniversary summit in the Egyptian capital

"We must stand against the attempts by the world community to marginalise the continent," he said

Presiding chairman President Abdou Diouf of Senegal opened the meeting on a positive note, by asking that President Isayas Afewerki of the newly formed state of Eritrea, the OAU's 52nd member, be seated in the cavernous conference centre

But Mubarak hammered on the difficulties the continent faces, noting that Africa is embroiled in civil wars, regional conflicts and tribal feuds

He also condemned what he called "sinful terrorist organisations" which he said were controlled by foreign powers The summit is due to adopt a "Cairo Declaration", reviewing achievements of the OAU since its foundation in 1963 and setting its future course

The declaration mentions both an African Economic Community and a mechanism for conflict prevention — two of the areas in which the continent has lagged most severely — *Sapa-Reuter*

Resolve conflicts in Africa – Mubarak

Star 29/8/93

By Joe Latakgomo
Star Africa Service

CAIRO — The African continent must fight to ensure that it does not get marginalised by the world community, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak said yesterday

Speaking at the opening session of the Organisation of African Unity's Heads of State Summit, Mubarak said Africa was embroiled in wars, regional conflicts and tribal feuds, and called for these to be resolved

He condemned what he called "sinful terrorist organisations" which, he said, were controlled by foreign powers

Mubarak, who will be OAU chairman for the next year, was referring to recent terrorist attacks by Muslim fundamentalists in Egypt

UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali said the UN had noted the democratisation process in Africa, and had provided assistance through the UN Electoral Assistance Unit "Since the establishment of the unit, the UN has provided electoral assistance to 46 member states"

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PAC president Clarence Makwetu said African people had a legitimate right to ask whether President de Klerk and his government had a genuine desire to find a democratic, negotiated settlement

In three years, very little substantive progress had been made in the negotiation process.

He said that in the past months, the Government had engaged in acts to undermine the negotiation process, among them the assassination of Chris Hani and the swoop on PAC leaders and members.

The "barbaric and uncivilised attack and occupation" of the World Trade Centre was also an attempt to endanger the negotiation process

"The fact that the regime's police and security men simply stood by in the face of racist barbarism places in question whether the World Trade Centre is safe for constructive negotiations," he said

ANC president Nelson Mandela said "We owe our liberty to the enormous amount of time, effort and resources expended by the OAU to secure our emancipation"

He said that when South Africa achieved freedom, the OAU could proudly say that the total liberation of Africa had been achieved

He added. "We cannot forever be in debt We cannot forever be in wars. We cannot forever provide pitiful pictures of starving children for the television screens of the West" A new offensive for the rebirth of Africa was necessary

Litany of Africa's woes

B/Day 30/6/93

CAIRO — The OAU discussed ways yesterday to help end the continent's endless wars, hampered by lack of money to pay for peacekeeping and fears by some governments of interference in their internal affairs.

(230)

Leaders of countries embroiled in some of the continent's longest-running wars, including Angola, Liberia and Mozambique, recited a litany of woes to the OAU summit and to reporters in the corridors outside the conference hall.

Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano charged the former rebel movement Renamo, with which he has signed a peace pact, with reneging on ceasefire terms.

Liberia's President Amos Sawyer accused rebel leader Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia, which launched a rebellion in the west African country almost four years ago, of a massacre of more than 600 people whose bodies were found this month at a rubber plantation in Harbel.

"We would like this organisation (the OAU) to take an interest in urging the UN to investigate .. and that those investigations should lead to the beginnings of a war crimes tribunal," Sawyer told reporters.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said: "We will not stand by with arms folded ... we are taking the initiative and are appealing to the world community to defend legality, democracy and the institution of the state." Angolan government troops are fighting a resurected civil war with Jonas Savimbi's Unita after Savimbi rejected election results last year.

During the course of the conference yesterday Unita said it had recaptured the north-eastern diamond mining town of Chingufo after a seven-day battle. On a separate front 500km away, the government said it had pushed Unita 30km back from the northern city of Malanje, under siege since November.

However, because of a shortage of money, a previous OAU decision that the organisation should have a role in conflict resolution has been set aside for the time being.

Many OAU members are far in arrears on dues and owe the organisation a total of $60m. Another reason for dropping the conflict resolution role was that several leaders rejected anything they perceived as meddling in internal affairs.

OAU sources said the issue was to be taken up in closed session. — Sapa-Reuter.

Tragi calls for

Acid attack on OAU

Sowetan 30/6/93

■ BACKWARD LOOK Champions of lofty ideals have not delivered:

CAIRO — The Organisation of African Unity had become a nominal organisation which had failed to deliver on its pronounced objectives and commitments, the president of Africa's newest state, Eritrea, told the opening session of the OAU heads of state summit here yesterday

In an unprecedented attack, President Issaias Afewerki said that the Eritrean people have achieved national independence denied them for a century through a costly liberation struggle "which was testimony to their tenacity to endure untold suffering in Africa's longest war for the cause of freedom, justice and human rights"

He said that through this period, the OAU had not responded to the Eritrean people's call for intervention

"Although Africa and the OAU chose to ignore the ordeal and repeated petitions of our people in the past, they can rejoice in their current achievement because this is, in the final analysis, an African achievement," he said

Although the OAU had championed "the lofty ideals of unity, co-operation, economic development, human rights and other worthy objectives, it has failed to seriously work for their concrete realisation "

President in bitter attack on OAU

By Joe Lakakgomo
Star Africa Service

CAIRO — President Ali Bongo Ondimba of Gabon has described the Organisation of African Unity as a nominal community of African states, the president told the newest OAU Heads of State Summit in Cairo yesterday.

In an unprecedented attack, President Bongo said the people of Africa had achieved a century of independence during which they had suffered most from the cause of freedom and human rights.

He said the OAU had not responded to the people's call for unity and liberation struggle a cause of freedom, which was tenacity to endure for a century of independence, "Which has lasted for a century, but

OAU agrees to tackle conflicts

Star 1/7/93

CAIRO — Africa's leaders agreed yesterday on the outlines of a mechanism to deal with the continent's many conflicts, in spite of reservations by Sudan and Eritrea

Diplomats said heads of state at the 30th anniversary summit of the Organisation of African Unity approved the resolution at the end of a closed session which lasted until well after midnight (R. 220)

The agreement gives OAU secretary-general Salem Ahmed Salem certain powers to take initiatives in preventing, managing or resolving conflicts, such as appointing eminent people as special envoys.

The diplomats said the agreement also allows for money to be raised outside Africa to pay for conflict observers and peacekeepers The OAU has no money. Member states are $60 million (about R200 million) behind in contributions.

But it is feared that money from outside could give foreigners influence over OAU decisions. — Sapa-Reuter.

New peacekeeping powers for OAU

B/Day 17/7/93

CAIRO — African leaders yesterday voted to give the OAU new peacekeeping powers in spite of reservations by Sudan, Eritrea and Kenya.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, chairman of the OAU's 30th anniversary summit, told the closing session. "We have agreed during this meeting to do our utmost to resolve conflicts which arise in the continent by peaceful means

"To this end, we have established a mechanism within the organisation to enable us to move effectively to contain conflicts that arise between brothers and drain their energies and potential."

Diplomats said the leaders had appointed a committee of 11 OAU members to work out the details (230)

The resolution, aimed at strengthening the pan-African body's powers to stem the continent's numerous bloody conflicts, was passed early yesterday.

Freshly independent Eritrea, the OAU's newest member, expressed doubt about the organisation's ability to intervene in Africa's many civil wars.

Eritrean president Isayas Afewerki has bitterly criticised the OAU, which turned a blind eye to Eritrea's 30-year independence war with Ethiopia.

The misgivings of Sudan, wracked by a 10-year civil war, were expressed in a speech by head of state Omar el-Beshir.

He said the OAU charter called for non-interference in the internal affairs of member states.

Kenyan president Daniel arap Moi said he would oppose the formation of a permanent OAU peacekeeping force because of "administrative" difficulties in controlling its operations and fears that it would be too expensive for the OAU, owed $62m in arrears by member states.

The OAU's first initiative for peace in the tiny central African state of Rwanda, wracked by nearly three years of civil war, had so far failed.

Meanwhile Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko rejected any suggestion yesterday that his country desperately needed outside help.

Mobutu said he had voted in favour of an OAU resolution expanding its role in resolving African conflicts. But he said he did not want the OAU to mediate in tribal turmoil in parts of Zaire.

Mobutu defended the democratisation process he began three years ago which had left Zaire politically fractured. Zaire has 350 registered political parties and two competing governments, one headed by his appointed Prime Minister Faustin Birindwa and the other by longtime rival Etienne Tshisekedi.

Mobutu has become something of an international pariah since being barred entry to France and having his country cut off from most Western aid. The Zairean leader stayed away from the 1992 OAU summit in Senegal, but showed up in Cairo as head of his country's delegation.

Mobutu said that while he took full responsibility for what took place in Zaire, outside forces were responsible for the economic collapse — fuelled by inflation — that has made a dollar worth millions of zaires.

"The economic situation in Zaire is not specific to Zaire alone; even in the countries that colonised us, the economic situation is not very bright," he said. — Sapa-AFP-Reuter.

Mandela calls for a rebirth of Africa

C Press 4/7/93

(230)

STRONG words were used by ANC president Nelson Mandela when he called for "a rebirth of Africa" at the OAU summit conference in Cairo last week

"All of us know the brutal reality of a continent awash with hungry children, plagued by wars that devour human lives, confronted by millions of refugees, economies in crises, disproved theories and broken dreams

"Everything around us cries out that a new offensive is called for a rebirth of Africa," he said

Mandela called for a total effort to stop Africa's downward spiral. But, as OAU Secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said nothing would come of the organisation's ambitious plans to promote economic development through an African common market unless there was the necessary funding

☐ MONEY TALK

Even efforts to intervene to prevent conflicts could achieve very little without sufficient financial resources

Africa possesses enormous resources and should be playing a far greater role in the world.

It is calculated that Zaire has the capability of producing enough food to feed the entire continent Yet Zaire is a net importer of food.

Zaire even buys large quantities from South Africa, which has a very limited agricultural potential as most of its territory consists of desert or semi-desert areas.

Politics is at the root of Zaire's problem.

The country is constantly at war with itself

Unfortunately we in SA cannot point a finger at the rest of Africa

Are we not in many respects at war with ourselves? Our economy is steadily weakening and while many of our economists are hopeful that we will experience a turnaround sooner or later, our politics seem to become more complicated and difficult by the day.

It is time that we as a people wake up and start demanding that the various political movements stop damaging our economy on which we all depend for our livelihood.

If they do not, we may well join the ranks of the frightening scenarios described by Mandela.

OAU plans to send troops to townships

LUSAKA — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) plans to send peace-keeping troops to troubled South African townships to quell the violence there, Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa said

Violence in the black townships has spiralled in the past few months since it was announced that the country would hold non-racial elections next April

Mr Moussa said a meeting of African foreign ministers and ambassadors resident in the troubled countries would be held in November to discuss implementation of the plan.

"This will be a major step towards implementing a mechanism for preventing, managing and resolving conflicts on the continent, as agreed at the last summit in Cairo," Mr Moussa said — Sapa-AFP

ARG 28/8/93

Star 18/8/93

'Uganda arms MK'

Lusaka — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused Uganda of fuelling political violence in South Africa by training the armed wing of the ANC.

Speaking at the Lusaka Press Club, the KwaZulu leader accused Organisation of African Unity members of supplying arms to the ANC

"The OAU has betrayed the aspirations of many South Africans by supplying arms to ANC cadres at a time of negotiations. Uganda is training thousands of ANC cadres to kill our people," Buthelezi said (HB)

He called on the OAU to disarm the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The chief appealed to the press to give a clear perspective of events in South Africa.

He said the IFP had been accused of opposing the setting of next April's election date because "of our disdain for democracy and insistence that an unelected council should write the constitution. That is slanderous propaganda."

He said the IFP insisted that any future elections must take into account the diversity of South African society (230)

Buthelezi is in Zambia on a two-day visit to consult with the government. — Sapa-AFP

OAU invites Mbeki, Ebrahim

Sowetan 31/8/93

By Themba Molefe

THE Organisation of African Unity is to host a meeting between the foreign affairs heads of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress in Cairo, Egypt, next week

Also invited to Cairo is Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, who will later meet Egyptian Foreign Minister Mr Amir Moussa separately to discuss, among other issues, political violence in South Africa

Sowetan has been reliably informed that both ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki and PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim had been approached by the OAU for a meeting on September 8 Both men, sources said, had agreed to the date

Ebrahim confirmed he would attend, saying the meeting was a "vigorous pursuance of forging a patriotic front of the ANC and PAC as liberation movements"

He pointed out that the resolution was taken at the OAU's recent summit in Senegal (230)

OAU lifts anti-SA economic sanctions

(230) CT 30/9/93

NEW YORK — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) decided yesterday to lift economic sanctions against South Africa with immediate effect

"A resolution has been passed by the (OAU) ad-hoc committee (on Southern Africa) supporting the appeal we (ANC) have made for the lifting of (economic) sanctions," ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said after the meeting at the OAU headquarters here

"We have asked for the immediate lifting of sanctions and they have supported that," he said.

The OAU decision came as the European Community yesterday signalled the full restoration of relations with South Africa.

And the first Ireland-South Africa Trade Association was opened in Dublin amid hope that bilateral trade would increase rapidly

The establishment of formal diplomatic relations is expected to follow soon

● Cyprus said yesterday it was lifting economic and trade sanctions against South Africa

● Yesterday a US consulate commerical officer, Ms Vicky Eicher, said although US companies had shown an interest in South Africa as a possible market since the lifting of sanctions, few have taken positive steps to invest

● The British consulate's commercial vice-consul, Mr Edward McEvoy, said in Cape Town yesterday that British companies had shown very little reaction to the lifting of sanctions — Sapa

SANCTIONS

OAU decision shows dilemma it is facing

GERALD L'ANGE, Argus Africa News Service

230 ARG 30/9/93

IN lifting economic sanctions against South Africa but maintaining a ban on diplomatic ties, the Organisation of African Unity has demonstrated the dillemma it faces over these issues

The OAU has been caught between the conflicting demands of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress on the issues

The economic sanctions imposed in 1976 were lifted by the OAU's ad hoc committee on Southern Africa yesterday at the request of the ANC The committee in effect rejected the PAC's position that the sanctions should remain in place

However, the committee supported the PAC stance in resolving that diplomatic sanctions remain in place until after the April 27 election

The ANC, through Nelson Mandela's UN address last week, had called for the lifting of all sanctions, diplomatic as well as economic, except for the oil and arms embargoes

Thus the OAU appears to have tried to resolve its dilemma by giving each side something of what it demanded but not all

The decision to lift economic sanctions was almost certainly made in recognition of the ANC's view that it is necessary to swiftly remove the trade and loan embargoes that have been strangling the South African economy so that it can begin to get back on its feet even before the present government is put out of office

The decision may, however, have more symbolic than practical significance since most of the major African countries have begun trading openly with South Africa regardless of sanctions since the De Klerk reforms were instituted

Last year, according to Department of Trade figures, trade between South Africa and Africa amounted to R7,2-billion, of which R6,1-billion were South African exports to the continent

The formal lifting of sanctions is nevertheless likely to open the trade doors even wider, making possible the removal of formal bars such as Egypt's refusal to allow South African merchant ships to enter its ports

South Africa is believed to be anxious to cement formal ties with Egypt, including diplomatic links, as that country is seen as one of the most prosperous and stable in Africa and potentially a major trading partner

Cairo may now decide in view of the ad hoc committee's resolution to withold full diplomatic recognition until after the April election

Since it holds the current chairmanship of the OAU, it cannot openly flout OAU resolutions But the way is now open for free trading with the Republic and Cairo will undoubtedly find ways to get round the obstacle of not having a mission in the country.

Other African countries will probably feel themselves less bound to observe OAU formalities and may open trade offices in South Africa — which usually function as consulates anyway

The whole issue of trade between South Africa and the rest of the continent will continue to be overshadowed, however, by the fact that most countries simply cannot afford to buy South African goods and cannot offer much for sale to this country

Major opportunities will nevertheless still be found in the large amounts of foreign aid that are being given to African countries and which require the buying of goods and services that South Africa is well placed to provide

SA businessmen hail move

Argus Correspondent MICHAEL CHESTER reports from Johannesburg.

ARG 30/9/93 (230)

BUSINESS leaders broke into warm applause when the lifting of sanctions by the Organisation of African Unity was confirmed at the annual banquet of the South African Chamber of Business in Johannesburg.

The news was given to African National Congress national chairman Thabo Mbeki, who was the main guest speaker at the banquet, in a telephone call from ANC president Nelson Mandela in New York.

Sacob deputy director-general Ron Haywood said the OAU move would now allow far faster progress towards economic union in the sub-continent.

Not only would imports and exports be unfettered, but a more significant role could now be played by the African Development Bank in the establishment of more joint business ventures in the region.

Mr Mbeki said the removal of sanctions marked the moment when business should join in the elimination not only of political apartheid but also of economic apartheid

Among issues that needed serious attention was the continuing flight of capital that was draining millions of rands out of the economy — "in many cases through extra-legal means".

The Reserve Bank should plug the numerous loopholes used to violate exchange control regulations for the illegal transfer of capital out of the country

Mr Mbeki told the businessmen "It would not be correct that the attitude you assume is that all you seek is en enabling environment to continue business as usual

"Rather, we want you to join in defining the objectives and the parameters of the common effort directed at ensuring that we end apartheid not only in politics but also in the way in which our country functions and operates"

Turning to the withdrawal of the Afrikaner Volksfront from talks with the government and the ANC, he said: "We are committed to continue the dialogue with them in search of agreements that will both ensure as peaceful a transition to democracy as possible and make the Afrikaner, like all other South Africans, feel that the change that must come is not a threat but the guarantee of a better future

"We are equally determined to continue our bilateral discussions with the Inkatha Freedom Party and address the matters that have been agreed should be on our common agenda — the issue of violence and the new political and constitutional order"

The remarks applied equally to other members of the Concerned South Africans Group.

Star 1/10/93

Africa's SA dilemma

(230)

BY ending economic curbs while retaining the diplomatic boycott, the OAU gave the ANC and the PAC something of what they demanded but not all, reports Gerald L'Ange of Star Africa Service

In ending economic sanctions relating to South Africa but maintaining a ban on diplomatic ties, the Organisation of African Unity has demonstrated the dilemma it faces.

The OAU has been caught between the conflicting demands of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress

The economic sanctions imposed in 1976 were lifted by the OAU's ad hoc committee on southern Africa at the request of the ANC. The committee in effect rejected the PAC's position that the sanctions should remain in place.

However, the committee supported the PAC stance in resolving that diplomatic sanctions remain in place until after the April 27 election.

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The formal lifting of sanctions is nevertheless likely to open the trade doors even wider, making possible the removal of formal bars such as Egypt's refusal to allow South African merchant ships to enter its ports.

But Cairo may decide, in view of the ad hoc committee's resolution, to withhold full diplomatic recognition until after the April election.

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The whole issue of trade between South Africa and the rest of the continent will continue to be overshadowed, however, by the fact that most African countries simply cannot afford to buy South African goods and cannot offer much for sale to this country.

Major opportunities will nevertheless still be found in the large amounts of foreign aid that are being given to African countries and which require the buying of goods and services that South Africa is well placed to provide

NCE

l spill in river

\ — Leftist guerril- up Colombia's big- line causing 1,6 mil- f crude oil to spew tatumbo river and d Venezuela's Lake

e-owned Ecopetrol id it was attempting lick

Armenians homeless

5 YEREVAN (Armenia) — On the eve of the fifth anniversary of Armenia's earthquake, which killed more than 25 000 people and demolished densely-populated areas, the state department for refugees said 1,1 million of the former Soviet republic's residents were without permanent homes

1,4-m children 'forced to work'

ARG 7/12/93

6 RIO DE JANEIRO — About 1,4 million children aged between 10 and 14 are forced to work illegally in Brazilian cities They contribute 30 percent of the income of poor families, says a report by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics

R5,8m old master paintings stolen

7 LONDON — Old master paintings worth more than R5,8 million were stolen from an art gallery here, police said The thieves escaped with 15 works by artists including David Teniers, Jan van Goyen and Pieter Brueghel the younger

Mexican 'drug kingpin' arrested

8 MEXICO CITY — Mexican police have arrested Javier Arellano Felix, a suspected drug kingpin wanted in connection with the slaying on May 24 of a Roman Catholic cardinal in the western city of Guadalajara

Brown urges US firms to invest in SA

□ Call to scrap codes of conduct

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — United States Commerce Secretary Ron Brown has called on states and counties not to impose codes of conduct on firms doing business with South Africa

It was important that the new leadership in South Africa made its own rules and regulations and that America did not do so for them, Mr Brown said in an address here yesterday to the Centre for National Policy about his trade and investment mission to South Africa which ended last week

He was asked whether he would urge Massachusetts, in partcular, to change its policy

This year Massachusetts repealed its sanctions but replaced them with a policy whereby US companies doing business there would be monitored to ensure they complied with a code of conduct obliging them to devote some resources to uplifting blacks

Mr Brown said he would urge Massachusetts and others to change their approach

One of the businessmen on the South Africa mission had told him that he was going to have to fight within his company to get it to invest in South Africa rather than China or Latin America

"He told me that if there were obstacles or impediments which made South Africa less enticing he was going someplace else," said Mr Brown

He said the Clinton administration had an important responsibility to urge state and local authorities to lift remaining sanctions, which were as much of an impediment to investment as federal sanctions had been

He hoped his visit had sent that signal.

At an earlier briefing Mr Brown said he was convinced that every one of the 25 companies which had taken part in his mission would decide to do some form of business with South Africa

Mr Brown disclosed that the Administration was discussing the possibility of granting South Africa preferential trade status under the US's Generalised System of Preferences, which lowers trade tariffs for developing countries

He declined to put a dollar figure on what this might mean

SA left out of war-law talks

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa is not represented at a milestone meeting of African armies taking place in Nairobi because it is not a member of the Organisation for African Unity (230) ARG 7/12/93

The five-day workshop, on the law of war, has been organised by the OAU and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)

ICRC representative in South Africa Nic Sommer said South Africa's non-participation was only because of its non-affiliation to the OAU

Renamo keeps monitors waiting

Argus Africa News Service

MAPUTO.— While a number of Renamo soldiers have arrived at assembly points from which they will be demobilised, none has yet checked in with the United Nations monitors, a Mozambican government official said. ARG 7/12/93

UN officials reported that by Sunday 1 580 government troops had arrived at their designated assembly points and 1 423 had checked in.

Mozambican Labour Minister Teodato Hunguana said he found the low Renamo turnout of 423 worrying.

O. A. U.

1994 - 1995

Wooltru consigns dark days to the dustbin

Star 18/2/94

230

BY JOHN SPIRA

Wooltru continued to emerge from its 1991-92 earnings slump to chalk up a strong profit gain in the six months to December.

Continuing investment in strategic initiatives in all divisions boosted earnings by 30 percent to 286,5c a share.

The interim dividend has been increased by the same percentage to 100c

The group also announced a 10 to one share split to make investment in the company accessible to its customers Wooltru shares are currently trading at R111 a share

Group results, which include Dions for the first time, reflect sales up 16 percent to R3,5 billion and pre-tax profit 35 percent higher at R171,5 million.

Despite the Dion's acquisition, gearing fell sharply — from 26 to 16 percent — demonstrating Wooltru's inherently strong cash-generating capability.

Chief executive Colin Hall says the extension of SRG's outstanding track record was enhanced by the successful repositioning of Woolworths and the growth of Massmart

Off an already high base, SRG boosted taxed profit by 17 percent

Truworths improved its previously excellent sales and profit record, while Topics' profits grew well ahead of a 32 percent increase in sales

Colin Hall . . . repositioning.

Leading Concepts was now firmly entrenched in the home shopping sector.

Woolworths's taxed profit increased by 54 percent off last year's low base, thanks to:

- Improved merchandise controls nationally
- The successful pilot launch of the Woolworths charge card in the Western Cape.
- Ongoing investment in store development, systems, marketing and people

Massmart delivered record earnings — the result of Makro having doubled its profits, a steady performance from Shield and a first-time contribution from Dion Excluding Dion, its taxed profits grew 62 percent

Hall says notwithstanding the potential for lost trading owing to possible disruption during the election, earnings are expected to grow slowly in the second half because:

- The benefits flowing from the launch of the Woolworths card will only partially offset the costs incurred to June
- The acquisition of Dion accentuated Massmart's earnings, which were in any case disproportionately weighted to the first half of the year

The results are likely to have met market expectations, the share having doubled over the past 12 months

The historic yield is a thin 1,8 percent, though the higher interim dividend points to a prospective return of around 2,3 percent at the ruling share price. That's about in line with the average for the stores sector, suggesting that scope for further appreciation exists

SA expected to join OAU in June and play leading role

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — SA is likely to join the OAU in June.

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim this week told the TEC's foreign affairs subcouncil on its visit to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, that SA was expected to take up full membership of the OAU and to play a leading role in Africa.

While the decision on membership must be made by the post-election government, the first opportunity for joining the OAU is its next full session in Tunis this June.

After talks with the subcouncil on SA developments, Salim said the OAU would be sending a large number of observers to assist in monitoring the April election.

The subcouncil's visit to the OAU in Addis Ababa was of "symbolic and political significance", he said. (230)

The TEC subcouncil, which returned this week from its trip to Africa, also met Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi and Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, and a delegation from the Economic Commission for Africa.

Moi told the subcouncil he would soon appoint an ambassador to SA, while Zenawi said Ethiopia would do likewise.

The TEC was also invited to send a delegation to the Economic Commission for Africa's next meeting in May.

The subcouncil is to undertake two further trips overseas before the election as part of its brief to secure appropriate international agreements that benefit SA as a whole and not any political party.

The subcouncil also said SA had been invited to take part in the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in September 1995.

Report by A Hadland, TML, 216 Vermeulen St, Pta

OAU reassured by SA leaders

(230)

CT 28/2/94

ORGANISATION of African Unity secretary-general Dr Salim Ahmed Salim says his visit to South Africa has left him more confident of the country's future

Speaking after meeting with President FW de Klerk at the weekend, he reiterated the OAU's continued support for the democratisation process

Dr Salim saw a broad spectrum of South African leaders during his visit last week

He said Saturday's discussions with Mr De Klerk had been "reassuring" — Sapa

focus on DEMOCRACY

Sowetan 15/4/94

Democracy in South Africa must work — not only for South Africans but for the entire African continent, says the Organisation of African Unity. **Lulama Luti** reports:

(230)

WHILE it is financially hamstrung, the OAU has nonetheless thrown its full weight and resources behind the transitional process in this country

This is significant in the sense that the economic stability and prosperity of Africa depends largely on the resolution of the Southern African political conflict

South Africa, for instance, is the richest country in the region and perhaps all Africa

According to OAU political adviser and deputy head of the OAU observer mission in South Africa, Sam Ibok, the country holds hopes for the resolution of the continent's problems

"What happens in South Africa can be a very good lesson for the rest of the continent — if we have a successful transition to democracy here, that experience can be replicated in many parts of Africa

"For us this is a measure of faith, an experiment — it is as if Africa is on trial We have come here determined to have South Africa succeed because if things work out here, they will anywhere else on the continent

"If this fails — then it will set us back many years," he said

Largest observer mission

So important is this experiment that the OAU has sent its largest ever observer mission to any one country to help oversee the process

Headed by Botswana ambassador Legoaila J Legoaila, the OAU observer mission currently comprises 130 members who have been deployed in all nine regions countrywide This number will have increased to 200 by April 27

The OAU observer mission was set up in November 1992 in terms of United Nations Security Council Resolution 772

They will remain in the country for a few weeks to monitor the post-election period

Ibok points out that OAU involvement in South Africa dates back to 1963 when the organisation established a Liberation Committee during the first meeting of the heads of state

"This committee was formed to assist Africans who were still under colonial rule in their struggle for liberation

"It is the most successful organ of the OAU in that most of the countries which were still under colonial rule from the time of the OAU formation, have achieved their independence

"And we regard South Africa as the 'last walk' for the Liberation Committee after Namibia," says Ibok

He adds that it was envisaged that the committee would be wound up this year after the elections and the establishment of a new government in South Africa

Apart from having hosted PAC and ANC exiles in Africa, OAU member states, particularly countries like Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe, provided military and academic training for the exiles and helped them establish contacts abroad

Political adviser and deputy head of the OAU observer mission in South Africa Mr Sam Ibok.

"The survival of these countries, which have borne the brunt of the struggle here (viz cross border raids) depends on the changes taking place in the country," Ibok says

"Our commitment to South Africa has been strengthened by the fact that we feel that the continent can never be free unless this country is free

"We think the resolution of the South African problem will unlock the doors for the southern African region — the conflict in Angola and Mozambique can be traced back to South Africa

Developmental issues

"We believe if we can help solve the South African problem we will undo some of the problems that we have in the region And people's energies will then be spent on regional developmental issues "

There are 52 OAU member states and South Africa will be the 53rd state if the country joins the organisation after the elections

Ibok says the OAU is disappointed at not being part of the mediation process between the IFP and the ANC

"What happens in South Africa can be a good lesson for the rest of the continent — if we have a successful transition to democracy here, that experience can be replicated in many parts of Africa"

It feels it is unfortunate that an African problem should need to be resolved by non-African mediators

All-inclusive solution

"None of the major mediators is an African, not even from the region Maybe the two organisations would be in a better position to explain why Africa was left out," Ibok says

"However we are fully behind this process because we support all initiatives geared to finding an all-inclusive solution that would ease the trauma that our fellow Africans are going through "

He is optimistic about the situation in the country which, he says, has great potential

"We are distressed at the carnage going on and we do not understand why there has to be so much killing for people to attain a political objective

"We have supported the struggle against apartheid because we believe a united South Africa could be the strong force for change and development on the continent

"We do not believe that a fragmented South Africa would have the capacity to play the role which this country has the potential to play in Africa and globally "

(Report by L Luti, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg)

SA 'set for major role in Africa'

Star 14/5/94

(230)

GERALD L'ANGE, AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

A MAJOR role is envisaged for South Africa in the Organisation of African Unity by its secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim — including peacekeeping operations in Africa

Salim made these points in an interview in which he predicted "enthusiastic support" for South Africa's admission to membership at the OAU summit in Tunis next month

He said he hoped President Nelson Mandela's Government would use its influence to help prevent Africa becoming marginalised and to get a better deal in international economic exchanges

He believes South Africa's admission to "the African family" will strengthen Africa's bargaining position in dealing with an international community that is forming economic blocs "We would expect South Africa to bring to the organisation its immense influence and authority and to play an important role in the promotion of stability, security and development in the continent"

SALIM AHMED SALIM
Africa will be stronger

■ See Page 6 and Spectrum on Page 11

While the OAU, he said, was looking forward to South Africa becoming part of the solution to Africa's problems rather than being part of its problems, he was not especially concerned that South Africa would dominate southern Africa economically, because its leaders knew from their own experience that domination did not work.

They would in any case be preoccupied, initially, with tackling South Africa's own tough economic and social challenges

"In the struggle to refuse marginalisation and to have an impact on Africa's own priorities and interests on the world agenda, I think the addition of South Africa into the family of African nations will be invaluable," he added

◆ OAU role

Star 14/5/94

Envisaging that South Africa would play an important part in "peacemaking and peacekeeping" efforts in Africa, Salim strongly criticised the United Nations for its attitude to African crises, such as that in Rwanda

He described as "incomprehensible" the UN Security Council's decision to scale down its peacekeeping presence in Rwanda "at the height of the crisis" The UN needed to reconsider its position and establish a credible force in Rwanda, and he believed African countries were prepared to contribute to it

"But the UN cannot shy away from its overall responsibility If it does, it sends a very serious and wrong signal to Africa and to Africans, because we haven't seen the UN showing less concern or showing tendencies towards a de-escalation of the crises in Bosnia, Cambodia and El Salvador

(230)

"In all those crises Africa has supported the UN presence. Rwanda should not be treated as a pariah and Africa as a continent which people can turn their backs on when it has a serious crisis"

Welcome SA, says OAU

Star 24/5/94

Addis Ababa — South Africa was formally accepted as the 53rd member of the Organisation of African Unity yesterday after attaining the support of a majority of member states, the OAU announced

"To commemorate the admission of the Republic of South Africa as a member, a special flag-raising ceremony will take place on Wednesday at the OAU headquarters," the office of secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said.

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo will fly to Ethiopia tomorrow for the ceremony, to be held on the organisation's 31st anniversary

The announcement came after an SA Government official said Nelson Mandela would make his first overseas trip as South African president to Tunis for an OAU summit next month (230)

Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans said Deputy President Thabo Mbeki would also be in Addis Ababa tomorrow to attend the ceremony, at which the new South African flag is to be officially hoisted at the OAU's headquarters. — Sapa-AFP.

OUT O

SA accepted as 53rd member of the OAU

ARG 24/5/94 (230)

☐ Flag to be hoisted in Addis Ababa tomorrow

ADDIS ABABA — South Africa has been formally accepted as the 53rd member of the Organisation of African Unity after attaining the support of a majority of member states, the OAU has announced.

"To commemorate the admission of the Republic of South Africa as the 53rd member state of the organisation, a special flag-raising ceremony will be held tomorrow at OAU headquarters here," the office of secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said

South African foreign minister Alfred Nzo will fly to Ethiopia tomorrow for the flag-raising ceremony, to be held on the international organisation's 31st anniversary

The announcement came after a South African government official said President Mandela would make his first overseas trip as South African head of state to Tunis next month for an OAU summit

Foreign ministry director-general Rusty Evans said Mr Mandela would attend the OAU summit from June 13 to 15

The summit will be preceded by an OAU ministerial meeting from June 6 to 12 at which South Africa will be represented by Mr Nzo

Mr Evans said Mr Mandela's first deputy-president, Thabo Mbeki, would also be in Addis Ababa tomorrow to attend the ceremony

Mr Evans said South Africa's return to the Commonwealth was "a foregone conclusion" and that discussions were under way for the resumption of the country's full membership of the United Nations — Sapa-AFP

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Membership for SA may be costly

CT 24/5/94

(230)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE price of joining the Organisation of African Unity and rejoining the Commonwealth and the United Nations could be high for taxpayers

Joining the OAU would cost South Africa between R8 million and R13m, depending on how the membership fee is calculated.

South Africa will be welcomed into the African fold for the first time tomorrow at a flag-raising ceremony attended by Foreign Minister Mr Alfred Nzo at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa.

Rejoining the UN as a fully-fledged member has potentially the greatest financial implications, as South Africa, which has not paid the world body its dues since 1974, is more than R350m in the red.

However, several countries have asked the UN's credentials committee to waive the readmission fee.

Foreign Affairs sources are confident that South Africa's debt will be overlooked.

It is not yet clear whether South Africa will attempt to join the Non-Aligned Movement, as the future of this once-powerful international lobby is to be discussed in Egypt at the end of this month.

SA welcomed at UN, OAU

CT 26/5/94 (230)

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia — South Africa proudly took up its place in world affairs yesterday as its flag was raised at the OAU, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki prepared to address the UN, and the UN got set to lift its arms embargo

South African representatives also took their seats alongside other UN members at the Yokohama conference for the first time since SA was expelled from the UN general assembley 20 years ago

The new South African flag took its place alongside those of 52 other African nations at the Organisation of African Unity's 31st anniversary gathering in the Ethiopian capital

Foreign Minister Mr Alfred Nzo and OAU secretary-general Dr Salim Ahmed Salim presided over the flag-raising ceremony in a square outside OAU headquarters

Dr Salim, who warmly welcomed the South Africans, said South Africa's membership marked the end of Africa's decolonisation

The struggle against apartheid had finally come to an end and the OAU could now concentrate on development throughout the continent

"We welcome South Africa, the 53rd member of our organisation, and we say to our brothers and sisters in South Africa, black, white and brown, welcome to your African family"

The OAU chief paid tribute to President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President F W de Klerk, and welcomed the new government's policy of reconciliation

Mr Nzo said the government's foreign policy would be shaped by domestic needs and objectives, but South Africa would contribute to African development through continental and regional organisations

Liberation

"We are now finally part of Africa We are coming home to Africa, and together with our brothers and sisters thoughout this vast continent we will work purposefully towards the ultimate goal of true liberation for all of Africa's people"

● The Yokohama conference on disaster reduction, set up by the assembly, is the first UN-related body since then to give South Africa a full role in its deliberations The assembley appears certain to allow South Africa to resume its seat, suspended in 1974

● **SA ready for Africa peace role — Page 5**

NEWS

Star

Welcome to African family – OAU

Addis Ababa — The new South African flag took its place alongside those of 52 other African nations at the Organisation of African Unity's 31st anniversary gathering in the Ethiopian capital yesterday 26/5/94

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo and OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim presided over the flag-raising ceremony in a square outside OAU headquarters.

Congolese President Pascal Lisouba, Ethiopian Foreign Minister Syium Massffin and the entire diplomatic corps in Addis Ababa attended the proceedings

Dr Salim warmly welcomed the South Africans, saying their membership marked the end of Africa's decolonisation. He said the OAU could now concentrate on the development of member states

"We welcome South Africa, the 53rd member of our organisation, and we say to our brothers and sisters in South Africa, black, white and brown, welcome to your African family." (230)

Mr Nzo said the government's foreign policy would be shaped by domestic needs and objectives, but South Africa would contribute to African development through continental and regional organisations — Sapa

TPA bid to allay officials' fears

B/Day

WILSON ZWANE

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) has mounted a campaign to allay fears of its many officials that they would lose their jobs once the administration was, along with homeland administrations, incorporated into new provincial structures.

TPA director-general Len Dekker said the administration had convened seminars at which new developments were discussed. "In many cases, fear is based on a lack of knowledge ... uncertainty is the biggest cause of fear and once there is certainty, fear vanishes," he said. 26/5/94

Although he could not say what the future held for the TPA, Dekker said he took it for granted that personnel would be absorbed into new provincial structures.

He said he was proud of the TPA's officials, who he said were in step with developments.

On operations, Dekker said until the Budget was announced next month, his administration was allowed to use 1% of last year's budget a month. The total expenditure should, however, not exceed 45% of the previous budget.

He said the TPA would also give "factual information" to a select committee, which the PWV legislature had appointed to look into the fate of the administration's assets.

New SA flag raised at OAU gathering

B Day 26/5/94

230

ADDIS ABABA — The new SA flag took its place alongside those of 52 other African nations at the OAU's 31st anniversary gathering yesterday.

SA Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo and OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim presided over the flag-raising ceremony in a square outside OAU headquarters in the Ethiopian capital.

Congolese President Pascal Lisouba, Ethiopian Foreign Minister Syium Massffin and the entire diplomatic corps in Addis Ababa attended the proceedings.

Salim, who warmly welcomed the South Africans, said SA's membership marked the end of Africa's decolonisation. The struggle against apartheid had ended and the OAU could now concentrate on development throughout the continent.

"We welcome SA, the 53rd member of our organisation, and we say to our brothers and sisters in SA, black, white and brown, welcome to your African family."

The OAU chief paid tribute to President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President FW de Klerk and welcomed the new government's policy of reconciliation.

Nzo said government's foreign policy would be shaped by domestic needs and objectives, but SA would contribute to African development through continental and regional organisations.

"We are now finally part of Africa. We are coming home to Africa," he said.

SA had to consider humanitarian aid to refugees displaced by civil war in Rwanda, Nzo said yesterday in an interview en route to Addis Ababa

He said possible military intervention in Rwanda by SA troops would have to be carefully considered by government

"There is no plan so far of any military action. But the spirit to assist and desire to help is there"

Nzo said SA would play a role in conflict mediation efforts in Africa in consultation with the OAU and the UN

He warned against exaggerated expectations of economic benefits arising from SA's admission to the OAU

"Charity begins at home. SA also has large foreign debt and must do everything posible to end that debt."

He said SA's membership of the OAU was "the culmination of a dream that one day SA will take its rightful place alongside the independent states of Africa"

SA would assist the continent in asserting itself in international politics and there was an increased potential for trade links with other African states

Nzo emphasised, however, that SA's foreign policy would be guided by the priority of improving the lives of South Africans "We are not going to foster big brother relations with the rest of Africa We are for mutual co-operation to help uplift the other countries of Africa."

The South Africans will return home today. — Sapa

Tuning in . . . Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo listens to debate during the conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in Cairo. PICTURE AP

Double-edged life for SA in OAU

Star 31/1/94

SOUTH Africa may be expected to give more than it gets from the OAU, reports Gerald L'Ange of the Star Africa Service

(230)

When South Africa takes its seat for the first time in the Organisation of African Unity on Monday it will be welcomed as a prodigal son coming home to its own family of nations But what a son! A giant, dwarfing every member, even the biggest, in every measurable form of wealth and power.

Though its vote will count for no more than those of, say, little Lesotho or Benin, its influence in the corridors will be immensely greater With an economy and military strength vastly bigger even than those of Nigeria and Algeria, South Africa will take over the role of dominant nation in the OAU

Membership of the OAU will bring more responsibilities than benefits, however Whatever benefits there are will be largely political and symbolic but the responsibilities could be quite onerous

Coming in from the cold of more than 30 years of isolation in Africa and the rest of the world, South Africa will gain new international status from its OAU membership Symbolic though it will be, the membership will open new trade and other doors and legitimise those that were opened surreptitiously during the years of sanctions

South Africa will now be free to form economic and political alliances and to influence continental processes and decisions to its own advantage OAU membership will strengthen its influence in the wider world, boosted by its return to respectability in the UN and the Commonwealth as well

The concomitant responsibilities will not always be welcome in Pretoria, however South Africa will be expected to stand with the African bloc in international affairs and to vote with it in the United Nations and other multi-national forums While it will always retain the option of putting its own political interests first if these clash with those of the bloc, it will do so at the risk of offending its African brethren

Escape from poverty

In a world tending to form into economic groupings, South Africa will be expected to stand with the Africans in economic affairs as well, even though it might not always be advantageous to be lumped with the world's poorest and most backward continent And as the continent's economic superpower, it will be expected to shoulder a special responsibility to help other African countries to escape from poverty

As the military superpower it will be expected to play a main part in continental peacekeeping activities — but probably not until the new political dispensation in South Africa becomes more firmly established. In Rwanda, for instance, it is more likely to despatch a field hospital than contribute troops to the African peacekeeping force

Later, however, it will almost certainly be asked to earmark troops for the standby pan-African force that OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim envisages as a future means of preventing and limiting conflict

With conflict raging in Rwanda, Angola, Sudan, Liberia and elsewhere, the effort to bring peace to Africa is likely to dominate the proceedings at Tunis At last year's OAU conference in Cairo, final agreement was reached on a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention and Resolution, but it has not yet been made effective and attempts will be made this year to firm up the concept

Tied in with this to some extent will be the perennial and vexed question of OAU members failing to pay their dues, leaving the organisation in the red and handicapped in carrying out its functions

A major reason for the defaulting is that most member states are hard-pressed for funds This ties in with what will be another main item on the agenda co-operative efforts to halt Africa's backward slide into poverty and under-development and its growing dependence on foreign aid at a time when "donor-fatigue" is increasing

As a newcomer, and one still preoccupied with giving form to its new democracy, South Africa may neither want to nor be expected to take the lead in any OAU initiatives at Tunis Most other members will probably just be happy that South Africa is at last with them in the auditorium

President Mandela will get another warm welcome when he takes South Africa's seat at the summit of Heads of State and Government from June 13-15 He is no stranger to OAU deliberations, having attended the 1992 conference in Dakar as a guest

If not at the Tunis conference, South Africa is likely to take a forceful part in OAU affairs at the next conference Whether it will make the organisation any more effective than it has been up to now is debatable, however Like the UN, the Commonwealth, the Organisation of American States and other multi-national organisations, the OAU has been criticised for being basically a talk shop, long on rhetoric but short on accomplishment

It was aptly described in a publication of the South African Institute of International Affairs in 1992 as "essentially a collective security system" that "does not exist primarily to act (but) to limit designs and actions by its member states that would undermine regional peace and order"

It has no equivalent of the UN Security Council, which can require UN members to implement its decisions Like the UN General Assembly, the OAU has no coercive powers It cannot even expel a recalcitrant member It can take collective military action but has never done so effectively

Its defenders argue, however, that if no better than the General Assembly it is no worse If it did not exist it would have to be invented And shortcomings should be blamed on basic human nature, expressed collectively They argue that Africa might be a worse place without the OAU, just as the world might be without the UN

South Africa's role in the OAU will be something like that of the United States in the UN — an unchallengable top dog but one whose ability to dictate to the organisation is limited. However, whereas the US provides the bulk of the UN's revenue from dues, South Africa will contribute no more to OAU revenue than other major African countries

Like income tax, UN dues are assessed essentially on national income, the OAU does the same but expects no member state to pay more than 20 percent of the organisation's annual budget South Africa has not yet been assessed but is expected to pay about R16 million in dues in its first year — about the same as Egypt and Nigeria

Whether it gets value for its money is likely to be much debated in the future as the new government in Pretoria struggles to meet the expectations of its long-deprived people.

SA seeks interaction among neighbours

Star 7/6/94

■ BY GERALD L'ANGE
STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Tunis — South Africa will seek to become part of a movement to create a new form of economic and political interaction in southern Africa, based on the principles of mutual benefit and interdependence, Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo said yesterday

He was delivering South Africa's first address to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) since it became a member last month

"We will join hands with all nations who seek peace, freedom and prosperity, and whose primary motivation is respect for the dignity of the human person.

"We are painfully aware that in pursuit of those noble objectives we have much to do within our own borders

"That is why we regard it as of critical importance that a culture of human rights be established and promoted in South Africa and throughout our continent"

Nzo was given a warm welcome when he took the podium on the opening day of the foreign ministers' meeting that precedes the OAU heads-of-state summit

"For us in South Africa it is a wonderful feeling to know that we are at last part of Africa," Nzo said

Opening the conference, OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim noted that despite great efforts by Africans, the socio-economic situation of the continent had continued to decline

He called on Africans to pool their efforts and resources to activate programmes that had already been formulated, and to build an African economic community. (230)

Salim appealed to members and the international community to contribute generously to the OAU peace fund to enable it to respond efficiently to conflict.

He said the OAU had to continue to insist that the UN shoulder its responsibilities "and not make exceptions when it comes to situations of conflict in Africa"

Turning to Rwanda, Salim said "It has again brought to the fore the limitations of the ability of the international community, and of course Africa, to respond promptly and decisively to a crisis of such magnitude and intensity."

Star 10/6/94

'Solve problems the African way'

BY GERALD L'ANGE
STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Tunis — South Africa will not intervene unilaterally in political crises in Africa but will act in concert with regional and international organisations, says Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo

In an interview in Tunis, where he is attending the Organisation of African Unity conference, Nzo confirmed that the Cabinet had decided to provide humanitarian assistance in Rwanda, but had not yet decided on the form it would take

The decision, he said, might be influenced by proposals emanating from the OAU conference, which might assign specific tasks to certain member states

The Minister said the types of assistance contemplated by South Africa included helping to ease the burden imposed on Tanzania's resources by the influx of thousands of refugees from Rwanda This could include food and medical aid

While South Africa was not ready to contribute to any international military force sent to enforce peace in Rwanda, it would inevitably become involved in such operations in future crises, he said (230)

Much greater emphasis would be placed on mediation, recognising that peace could not be imposed from outside, as had been demonstrated in Somalia

"That would be the ideal — for African countries themselves to try to resolve their problems in an African way, which would mean that mediators should come from African countries

"We have expert negotiators in our country who could very well be deployed to assist in negotiations"

Asked whether these negotiators might become involved in the Angola dispute, Nzo said this might happen if the Angolans wanted it The recent upgrading of diplomatic relations between South Africa and Angola enhanced the opportunity to discuss the situation with Angolan government representatives

Giant prodigal son comes home to rule the family

(230) ARG 11/6/94

■ South Africa will be given a special welcome at its first OAU conference but it may be expected to give more than it gets from the organisation. This report by ***GERALD L'ANGE***

WHEN South Africa takes its seat for the first time in the Organisation of African Unity on Monday it will be welcomed as a prodigal son coming home to its own family of nations

But what a son, a giant dwarfing every other member, even the biggest of these, in every measurable form of wealth and power

Though its vote will count for no more than those of, say, little Lesotho or Benin, its influence in the corridors will be immensely greater With an economy and military strength vastly bigger even than those of Nigeria and Algeria, South Africa will take over the role of dominant nation in the OAU

Membership of the OAU will bring more responsibilities than benefits.
Whatever benefits there are will be largely political and symbolic, but the responsibilities could be quite onerous

Coming in from the cold of more than 30 years of isolation in Africa and the rest of the world, South Africa will gain new international status from its OAU membership. Symbolic though it will be, the membership will open new trade and other doors and legitimise those that were opened surreptitiously during the years of sanctions and boycott

South Africa will now be free to form economic and political alliances and to influence continental processes and decisions to its own advantage. OAU membership will strengthen its influence in the wider world, boosted by its return to respectability in the United Nations and the Commonwealth as well

The concomitant responsibilities will not always be welcome in Pretoria, however South Africa will be expected to stand with the African bloc in international affairs and to vote with it in the United Nations and other multi-national forums. While it will always retain the option of putting its own political interests first if these clash with what are seen to be those of the bloc, it will do so at the risk of offending its African brethren.

In a world tending to form into economic groupings, South Africa will be expected to stand with the Africans in economic affairs as well, even though it might not always be advantageous to be lumped with the world's poorest and most backward continent. And as the continent's economic superpower, it will be expected to shoulder a special responsibility to help other African countries to escape from poverty.

As the military superpower, it will be expected to play a main part in continental peacekeeping activities, but probably not until the new political dispensation in South Africa becomes more firmly established In Rwanda, for instance, it is more likely to despatch a field hospital than contribute troops to the African peacekeeping force that is being assembled under UN auspices.

Later, however, it will almost certainly be asked to earmark troops for the standby pan-African force that OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim envisages as a future means of preventing and limiting conflict.

With conflict raging in Rwanda, Angola, Sudan, Liberia and elsewhere, the effort to bring peace to Africa is likely to dominate the proceedings at Tunis At last year's OAU conference in Cairo final agreement was reached on a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention and Resolution but it has not yet been made effective and attempts will be made this year to firm up the concept

Tied in with this to some extent will be the perennial and vexed question of OAU members failing to pay their dues, leaving the organisation in the red and handicapped in carrying out its functions

A major reason for the defaulting is that most member states are hard-pressed for funds This ties in with what will be another main item on the agenda· cooperative efforts to halt Africa's backward slide into poverty and under-development and its growing dependence on foreign aid at a time when "donor-fatigue" is increasing.

As a newcomer, and one still preoccupied with giving form to its new democracy, South Africa may neither want to nor be expected to take the lead in any OAU initiatives at Tunis Most other members will probably just be happy that South Africa is at last with them in the auditorium

South Africa made its formal entry into the organisation at OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa last month when Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo attended the flag-raising ceremony It seems unlikely therefore that any special ceremony will be held in Tunis to welcome Pretoria's first black representatives but they will certainly be given a big hand when the delegation led by Mr Nzo take their seats in the Ministerial Council, the gathering of foreign ministers who conduct the main business of the conference They meet from June 6 to 11

President Mandela will get another warm welcome when he takes South Africa's seat at the summit of Heads of State and Government from June 13-15 He is no stranger to OAU deliberations, having attended the 1992 conference in Dakar as a guest

If not at the Tunis conference, South Africa is likely to take a forceful part in OAU affairs at the next conference Whether it will make the organisation any more effective than it has been up to now is debatable Like the UN, the Commonwealth, the Organisation of American States and other multi-national organisations, the OAU has been criticised for being basically a talk shop, long on rhetoric but short on accomplishment It was aptly described in a publication of the South African Institute of International Affairs in 1992 as "essentially a collective security system" that "does not exist primarily to act (but) to limit designs and actions by its member states that would undermine regional peace and order."

It has no equivalent of the UN Security Council, which can require UN members to implement its decisions Like the UN General Assembly, the OAU has no coercive powers It cannot even expel a recaltricant member It can take collective military action but has never done so effectively

Its defenders argue, however, that if it is no better than the General Assembly it is at least no worse If it did not exist it would have to be invented And its shortcomings should be blamed on basic human nature, expressed collectively They argue that Africa might be a worse place without the OAU, just as the world might be a worse place without the UN.

South Africa's role in the OAU will be something like that of the United States in the UN, an unchallengable top dog but one whose ability to dictate to the organisation is limited. However, whereas the US provides the bulk of the UN's revenue from dues, South Africa will contribute no more to OAU revenue than other major African countries do Like income tax, UN dues are assessed essentially on national income

the OAU does the same but expects no member state to pay more than 20 per cent of the organisation's annual budget South Africa has not yet been assessed but is expected to pay about R16-million in dues in its first year — about the same as Egypt and Nigeria

Whether it gets value for its money is likely to be much debated in the future as the new government in Pretoria struggles to meet the expectations of its long-deprived people

Cash-strapped OAU looks to SA

S/Times 12/6/94

Reports by CHERILYN IRETON in Tunis

SOUTH Africa has been ushered into the Organisation of African Unity even as the body reels from a financial crisis

Forty of the 52 members have not paid their dues and the accumulated backlog of more than R200-million is suffocating moves to put the continent on a path of growth and reconstruction, and to bring some stature to the much-maligned Pan African institution

Many African countries see South Africa's entry as the 53rd member as the panacea to the organisation's financial and credibility problems

South African officials are trying desperately to temper unrealistic demands — for financial and moral leadership and as a peacekeeper — stressing that the government's immediate priorities are domestic

Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo said SA would pay its dues in the hope that more countries would follow its example

This year the OAU has managed to collect just a quarter of the R85-million it will spend Some countries like Chad and the Comoros, are more than 10 years behind in their payments

Nonetheless, these delegations are still taking part in the summit of leaders now under way in the capital of Tunisia

Libya, which has been seeking OAU support for a resolution to get two men accused of planting the Lockerbie bombs tried in The Hague by a Scottish judge, owes almost R13-million The biggest offender is Morocco, which has not chipped in for five years It now owes more than R20-million

South African diplomats in Tunis have noted the irony in that many of the African countries who are pressuring the United Nations to reclaim SA's R300-million arrears are behind in their OAU contributions (230)

Of the 13 countries who have met their OAU commitments, five are southern African

Africa's economic predicament is perhaps the biggest challenge facing the OAU

The continent's collective debt of R970-billion now matches economic output and is more than three times its combined exports

Financial reform programmes assisted more than 16 countries to grow by more than four percent last year, but OAU economic commission secretary Layashi Yaker warned that Africa must diversify and compete if it is to sustain development at a higher level

He identified a need for more efficient work cultures and attitudes in order to help development He added that international partners must share responsibility in transforming Africa into a viable trade partner.

Mr Nzo hopes the post-liberation era will free funds for reconstruction

"Every year liberation movements recognised by the OAU received some form of financial and humanitarian assistance from it That chapter is now closed

"The decolonisation of Africa is over and there will be no need for the extra contributions to the liberation committee budget This removes that burden from the African states and their capacity to make a contribution will increase," he said

Mandela gets hero's welcome

Liberation 'an act of redemption' OAU summit told

(230) ARG 13/6/94

GERALD L'ANGE
Argus Africa News Service

TUNIS — President Nelson Mandela told Africa's heads of state today the "Titanic effort" that brought liberation to South Africa was an act of redemption for the world's black people and a gift of emancipation for whites who had "imposed on themselves the heavy burden of assuming the mantle of rulers of all humanity"

As Mr Mandela was escorted into the conference hall at the Organisation of African Unity summit, the heads of state rose and gave him a prolonged ovation while he walked down the aisle to a seat in the front row

Mr Mandela based his speech on the fact that Tunis is near the ruins of Carthage which was destroyed by the Romans

"During the long interregnum the children of Africa were carted away as slaves Our lands became the property of other nations, our resources a source on enrichment for other peoples and our kings and queens were servants of foreign powers

"In the end we were held out as the outstanding example of the beneficiaries of charity because we became the permanent victims of famine and of destructive conflict

"On our knees because history, society and nature had defeated us, we could be nothing but beggars What the Romans had sought at the destruction of Carthage had been achieved

"But the ancient pride of the African peoples had asserted itself and by their deeds and the struggle of their leaders they gave up the message that 'neither Carthage nor Africa had been destroyed'

"They conveyed the message that the long interregnum of humiliation was over

"It is in their honour that we stand here today"

WELCOME: President Nelson Mandela is welcomed by Tunisian president Zire El Abidine Ben Ali at Tunis Airport Mr Mandela, who is on his first official visit outside South Africa since he was elected president, will attend the three-day Organisation of African Unity summit

Picture The Associated Press

Mr Mandela payed tribute to African solidarity for the defeat of apartheid

"Finally at this summit meeting in Tunis we shall remove from our agenda the question of apartheid South Africa

"Where South Africa appears on the agenda again, let it be because we want to discuss what its contribution shall be to the making of the new African renaissance Let it be because we want to discuss what material it will supply for the rebuilding of the African city of Carthage"

Mr Mandela said that as one epoch closed another must commence with its own challenges He listed among these challenges the fact that Africa continues to be an exporter of capital and suffers from deteriorating terms of trade

Referring to Africa's capacity to produce a better life for its people, Mr Mandela said "we surely must face the matter squarely that where there is something wrong in the manner in which we govern ourselves, it must be said that the fault is not in our stars but on ourselves that we are ill governed"

He committed South Africa to helping to bring about a new renaissance

ily of African nations ● 'Racist incident' 1

Mandela takes his OAU seat

Sowetan 13/6/94

AFRICAN NATIONS SA leader expected to play a vital role in the Rwandan crisis:

TUNIS — South Africa returns to the family of African nations today when President Nelson Mandela takes his seat at the 30th annual leaders' summit of the Organisation of African Unity in Tunis

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The three-day summit will be attended by the heads of state or senior Ministers of the OAU's 53-member states

South Africa, the pariah of the continent of Africa during the apartheid years, joined the OAU on May 25 after the African National Congress' election victory

The summit, which will be dominated by issues surrounding the civil war in Rwanda, will be opened by Tunisia's President Zine el Abidine ben Ahmed this afternoon

Professor David Welsh, of the department of African politics at the University of Cape Town — who is attending the summit — said a concerted response to the devastating civil war in Rwanda was clearly a priority at the summit

Action was also needed to address other simmering conflicts on the continent, such as those in Angola, Liberia, Somalia, Sudan and the Western Sahara

The host president takes over as OAU chairman from Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak at the end of the summit

The opening will be followed by two days of intensive discussion and debate on critical issues facing the continent

These include Africa's massive debt crisis, ethnic conflict, religious tensions and the upsurge of Islamic fundamentalism as well as the general failure of regional economic institutions

The African leaders will end their deliberations on Wednesday with resolutions highlighting their concerns and providing possible solutions

President Mandela is expected to play a key role in attempts to end the bloody carnage in Rwanda. Although he has ruled out South African military intervention, the South African head of state may be asked to personally mediate between Rwandan rebels and government forces — *Sapa*

OAU pomp for Mandela

#230

CT 13/6/94

High hopes from SA deflated

From LINDA ENSOR

TUNIS — President Nelson Mandela arrived amid pomp and splendour last night for the Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) 60th meeting of heads of state with a note of caution for his fellow leaders

Expectations of South Africa intervening to help solve Africa's problems have reached exaggeratedly high levels

However, Mr Mandela pointed out at a brief press conference shortly after his arrival that South Africa had its own problems to deal with and would help Africa "within the context of our abilities"

"We must remember that the new democratic government is still trying to settle down and is addressing formidable problems But we have already responded positively, for example to the trouble in Rwanda by providing assistance

"We will continue to do everything in our power"

Mr Mandela also cautioned against being seen as a messiah who would provide moral leadership for the continent

"Africa has produced very eminent sons and daughters who have made a very important contribution to the development of the continent I don't think it is proper to look to any single individual as being the messiah, the saviour"

Mr Mandela visited the King of Morocco en route to Tunisia from South Africa He was met at the special VIP reception hall at the airport here by Tunisian Prime Minister Mr Ben Ali The elaborate, marble-floored building was especially built by Tunisia in time to welcome African heads of state attending the summit

After passing a guard of honour, and standing with his right hand on his heart while a brass band played the OAU anthem, Mr Mandela walked down the hall He was the only head of state to stop and talk with journalists and press photographers

Mr Mandela was accompanied by foreign affairs director-general Mr Rusty Evans and presidential director-general Professor Jakes Gerwel

He is due to address the OAU summit today

Mandela is main attraction at OAU

TUNIS — After an almost messianic buildup, Nelson Mandela arrived in Tunis yesterday for his first OAU summit as SA's president.

The African leaders waiting to roll out the red carpet are hoping some of the Mandela magic will rub off on them and their debt-ridden club, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Since his election in May, Mandela and his team have strenuously played down talk that the "new SA" can work miracles on behalf of the world's most beleaguered continent

B/Day 13/6/94

He is certain to repeat that message in Tunis, where he will address what could be a record turnout at an OAU summit.

The hosts expect about 40 heads of state or government from the body's 53 member states to be at today's opening Mandela's presence is the main magnet, organisers say.

Since arriving in Tunis last week, SA Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo has not stopped shaking hands, and has had 42 bilateral meetings with other countries.

Mandela was jailed for life in 1964, a year after the pan-African body was created amid high hopes for newly independent Africa.

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While Mandela's and SA's fortunes picked up after his release in 1990, the OAU has lurched from crisis to crisis.

The scale of inter-ethnic massacres under way in Rwanda overshadows grim conflicts in Angola, Liberia and Somalia.

Political instability is chronic in many countries A timely reminder came on Saturday when the military rulers in Nigeria said they wanted to arrest millionaire politician Moshood Abiola after he declared himself president.

Accounting for less than 2% of world trade, Africa's poverty makes its people prone to disease. The World Health Organisation says some 4-million African children will have been orphaned by the AIDS epidemic by the year 2000

Seven-million of the world's 18-million refugees are Africans

Most African governments fail to fund the organisation battling to deal with their problems. The OAU said only 14 of the 53 members were up to date with their subscriptions, and that it was owed $62m. — Sapa-Reuter

Mandela is main attraction at OAU

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Mandela appointed to top OAU post

B/Day

LINDA ENSOR

TUNIS — President Nelson Mandela, who was yesterday appointed second vice-chairman of the OAU, said that with the liberation of Africa from white minority rule, the continent's leaders would have to dedicate themselves to bringing about an African renaissance 14/6/94

In his first address to an OAU summit meeting, he called for action to regenerate the continent and uplift its peoples out of humiliating poverty and dehumanisation

Mandela committed SA to achieving these goals, saying it would use its resources to help Africa secure its rightful place in the world (230)

"One epoch with its historic tasks has come to an end Surely another must commence with its own challenges Africa cries out for a new birth There can be no dispute among us that we must bend every effort to rebuild the African economies On your shoulders rests the responsibility to restore to our continent its dignity"

In a pointed jibe at the way some African countries were governed, Mandela said that central to Africa's capacity to produce a better life for its people was the equality of governance "We surely must face the matter squarely that where there is something wrong in the manner in which we govern ourselves, it must be said that the fault is not in our stars but in ourselves

"Even as we speak, Rwanda stands out

☐ To Page 2

Mandela

B/Day 14/6/94

☐ From Page 1

as a stern and severe rebuke to all of us for having failed to address these matters (of peace, stability, democracy, human rights, co-operation and development)" (230)

For its part, SA was determined to remain true to the vision Africa held up for it and was ready to contribute what it could to ending the genocide taking place in Rwanda and to bring peace to Burundi.

In addition to paying its OAU dues, Mandela said SA had contributed R1m to the OAU fund for peace.

He thanked Africa for its help in the struggle to overthrow apartheid and said the liberating SA constituted an act of redemption for the black people of the world Africa had contributed to the advance of human civilisation and expanded the frontiers of liberty everywhere

● Picture: Page 6
● Comment: Page 12

Rwanda is acid test for OAU

Star 14/6/94

■ BY GERALD L'ANGE and AFP

Tunis — African leaders confront a challenge today of what to do about the bloodshed in Rwanda, spurred by President Nelson Mandela's plea for specific action

Rwanda could be a test case in an Organisation of African Unity summit whose opening was devoted to speeches

The first day of the summit yesterday was overshadowed by the entry of former pariah South Africa and the overpowering presence of Mandela

His keynote address underlined the continent's concern about Rwanda, where an estimated 500 000 people have died in two months of massacres

Mandela called the bloodletting "a stern and severe rebuke" to all African leaders, and called for steps to end the carnage.

But summit participants predicted a tough working session today when hard decisions will have to be made

"We are going to have to get into the nitty gritty This will be no time for diplomatic language," Ghana's President Jerry Rawlings told reporters

He hinted at the possibility of a stormy session when he singled out France and its African allies for condemnation on the Rwanda issue

"France was so quick to intervene between Nigeria and Cameroon I don't see the moral justification why they couldn't step in and stop a faction that was properly armed and in government, ordering the massacre of unarmed men, women and children," said Rawlings

MANDELA calls civil-war bloodletting a stern and severe rebuke to all of Africa's leaders

Mandela's speech to the summit has been praised by diplomats and observers as courageous and visionary It was seen by some as an unusually honest appraisal of Africa's ills and their root causes

Mandela conjured the vision of a renaissance in Africa — now that colonialism and apartheid had been overcome — in which Africa would use its strengths and resources to climb out of debt and decay

He went out of his way to describe the defeat of apartheid as the work not only of the South African liberation movements but of Africa in general

"We are here to salute and congratulate you for a most magnificent and historical victory over an inhuman system whose very name was tyranny, injustice and bigotry," he said

"When South Africa appears on the agenda again, let it be because we want to discuss what its contribution shall be to the making of the new African renaissance" (230)

In an unusually outspoken attack on states condoning human rights violations, OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim called for a new outlook on the African continent

"An integral component of our new resolve to address conflicts comprehensively must be a new outlook, a change of habit of mind by which in the name of political restraint and diplomatic deference we have allowed many mistakes to pass uncriticised"

Africa hails Mandela as its strongman

(230)

ARG 14/6/94

☐ OAU leaders praise 'visionary'

GERALD L'ANGE
The Argus Foreign Service

TUNIS. — President Mandela's speech to the Organisation of African Unity summit has been widely praised by diplomats and observers as a timely, courageous and visionary statement.

It was seen by some as an unusually honest appraisal of Africa's ills and their causes but nevertheless as a positive and even inspiring view.

"He's a great man and it was a great speech," said the Namibian foreign minister, Theo-Ben Gurirab.

"It has again demonstrated to all of us that Mandela is in so many ways a pillar of strength. He is there for us to hold on to as we sort out so many new ideas after having achieved liberty

"It's good for somebody who carries so much moral strength to talk cold turkey at the level of the heads of state I hope he'll continue to speak out frankly and honestly."

Mr Gurirab saw in the Mandela speech yesterday the capacity to "instil a sense of vision and rededication" in African countries.

Speaking only a few kilometres from the ruins of the ancient city of Carthage, which was destroyed by the Romans, Mr Mandela used them to illustrate his theme of recovery from destruction.

He conjured the vision of a renaissance in Africa now that colonialism and apartheid have been overcome, a renaissance in which the continent would use its own strengths and resources to climb out of debt and decay.

He went out of his way to describe the defeat of apartheid as the work not only of the South African liberation movements but of Africa in general

"We are here to salute and congratulate you for a most magnificent and historical victory over an inhuman system whose very name was tyranny, injustice and bigotry.

"When South Africa appears on the agenda again, let it be because we want to discuss what its contribution shall be to the making of the new African renaissance."

He went on to say, however, that when Africans were ill-governed they should look for the fault "not in our stars but in ourselves"

ers ● SA resources to help African development

South African President Nelson Mandela is welcomed by Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali on his arrival at Tunis airport on Sunday night. Mandela, who is on his first official visit outside South Africa since he was elected President, will attend the Organisation of African Unity three-day summit. PIC: AP

Sowetan 14/6/94

Mandela gets top OAU post

TUNIS — President Nelson Mandela was yesterday appointed second vice-chairman of the Organisation of African Unity.

As second vice-chairman, Mandela will serve under the chairmanship of Tunisian President Ben Ali until the next summit, to be held in June next year, hopefully in South Africa.

Immediately after his appointment, Mandela told the organisation's 30th summit that South Africa had already given humanitarian support to war-torn Rwanda.

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He said if requested, South Africa could send armed personnel there to maintain peace and stability.

Contrary to reports that South Africa would be the superpower of the African continent because of its strong financial muscle, Mandela said his country was prepared to help other African countries develop, not destabilise them as had happened in the past.

He said South Africa would use its ability and resources to help Africa secure its rightful place in the international political and economic system. — *Sapa.*

OAU's hope to Africa

CT 14/6/94 (230)

From LINDA ENSOR

TUNIS — President Nelson Mandela yesterday said he was confident Africa could produce the calibre of leadership needed to redress the legacies of colonialism.

At a briefing after his speech at the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit, Mr Mandela said he had "real confidence" in a relationship between South Africa's central government and kwaZulu/Natal

A solid basis had been laid and both Inkatha leader Chief Mangosotho Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelethini were co-operating with the government

Mr Mandela was very impressed with the leaders he had met and would leave the OAU summit "full of confidence and hope for Africa"

"Africa's problems had to be seen in a context of colonialism which had done nothing to develop its economy or educate its peoples The raw materials were used to enrich colonial powers"

Imbalances

Lack of education was at the core In South Africa the churches had played a powerful role in ameliorating the situation and as a result creating a leadership sensitive to the issues of national unity.

However, there were examples of African states which had redressed the imbalances of the past and produced model economies

Mr Mandela said he was convinced the OAU would play a role in promoting international peace but said its capacities had to be strengthened One OAU priority was to invest in education

He said it would be foolhardy for South Africa to throw its weight about in the Southern African region — unless a country cooperated with its neighbours, it would not succeed

South Africa's policy in the region would aim to promote peace, acting as an equal partner

Mr Mandela was adamant that SA would not be involved in developing nuclear capacity other than for peaceful purposes.

He said South Africa was considering a request to lend armoured personnel vehicles for use in Rwanda.

He said United Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Gali had asked for 50 such vehicles from South Africa

An impotent and divided OAU needs to be restructured

BiDay 16/6/94

CHRIS LANDSBERG

AMID great pomp and ceremony, SA has joined the OAU As with the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), SA joined as if nothing was wrong with the OAU, as if it was unquestionably a worthwhile exercise SA behaved as if it simply owes the rest of the continent brotherhood Now it remains for the country to confront the crucial question what is wrong with the OAU, and what should be done?

Since the OAU's establishment 30 years ago, many African politicians have been more interested in consolidating their power than in unity African politics has been extremely divisive The newly independent states quickly moved towards two antagonistic poles, leading to negative effects that will reverberate far into the future — the Casablanca Group, led by Nkrumah, and the Monrovia Group, led by Emperor Haile Selassie

Schisms have posed a great threat to Africa's unity, badly needed after centuries of European colonial domination The factors which have divided Africa seem far more numerous than those which have united it It has been plagued by internal political crises and civil wars, ideological tensions and multiple loyalties to different international organisations The divisions have been so wide and marked that at times it would have been more appropriate to "drop the U from OAU", as a colleague remarked recently

The Congo crisis of 1960-64 was an early illustration of division The intervention of Cold War protagonists, France and the UN served as a crude reminder of the continent's inability to resolve its quarrels free from outside interference So much for "African solutions to African problems"

Africans tried to right these divisions with the OAU charter signed on May 25 1963, which institutionalised the concept of unity The charter included "seven commandments" non-alignment, condemnation of political assassination, the sovereignty and equality of all states, non-interference in the internal affairs of states, respect for the territorial integrity and independence of all states, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and dedication to the emancipation of Africa

But, despite the rhetoric, the OAU chose to dodge the problem of disunity This is reflected in four noteworthy institutional flaws in the charter which have plagued the organisation during its three decades

Firstly, the charter renders the OAU executive and administrative branches ineffective by limiting their powers Resolutions of the OAU assembly are not binding, rendering it little more than a talk shop with no implementation powers The ministers' council responsible for implementing assembly decisions meets only twice a year, and the secretary-general has merely an administrative role, leaving this office without significant power in an already loose organisation

Secondly, the OAU's commission of mediation, conciliation and arbitration, its diplomatic machinery for resolving conflicts, is not a judicial organ and lacks any powers of sanction. It merely admonishes states to resolve conflicts peacefully Along with the economic and social commission, the educational, scientific and health commission and the defence commission, the OAU's conflict resolution mechanism has been largely moribund since it was created in 1963

Thirdly, the OAU's policy of "collective non-alignment" is made difficult by the dependence of virtually all African states on foreign powers The economic and military weakness of many African states, coupled with the tenuous political control held by their leaders, means it is exceedingly difficult to establish a competent organisation free of foreign interference

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Fourthly, the OAU lacks adequate peacekeeping structures and capacities The organisation continues to pursue a largely reactive approach to resolving conflicts, with insufficient emphasis on peacemaking and preventive diplomacy There are no organisational sanctions against violators of the charter's non-interference and aggression clauses The OAU's peacekeeping machinery lacks provisions for collective security Unlike the UN, for example, the OAU has no provisions for third-party intervention

These flaws have proved embarrassing throughout the OAU's existence. The OAU was impotent during the invasion of Guinea in 1970, Cuba's intervention in Angola in 1975, Cuban and Soviet intervention in Ethiopia in 1977, Tanzania's invasion of Uganda in 1979 to depose Idi Amin, the Western Sahara crisis and the Somalia crisis of 1991, to mention just a few examples

Since its inception, the OAU has functioned mainly as a club of lifetime presidents and military leaders

While the organisation championed the principle of "one person, one vote" in SA, its own motto is "one person, one vote — once" While they have criticised the atrocities of apartheid, African leaders have failed to respect the most basic rights of their own peoples

The organisation has been even less effective tackling economic liberation than in dealing with political liberation

The glue which has held the OAU together for three decades — the Cold War and the struggle against apartheid — has come unstuck, and the organisation is now facing a crisis of vision It must change its focus and forge a new political will if it is to avoid the permanent marginalisation of Africa

The OAU is badly needed for Africa's survival It remains the only organisation that can promote African unity in the face of threatened marginalisation And SA can and should become an important player in its reconstruction

There are at least five ways the OAU's effectiveness could be improved. Firstly, it should trim down its bodies and its goals Instead of trying to be a supranational body, it should facilitate co-operation between regional economic blocs such as the Economic Community of West African States and the Southern African Development Community Economic development is becoming the most crucial issue Africa faces

Secondly, regional peacekeeping agreements must be developed to deal with troubled spots like Rwanda This the organisation could do by creating a small, efficient permanent staff modelled on the EU The organisation's peacekeeping policy should stress mediation and post-conflict peacebuilding

Thirdly, the office of the OAU secretary-general should be strengthened from an administrative to an executive centre It should be empowered to initiate political moves, and to mediate in political conflicts The office also needs its own staff, with loyalties to the OAU rather than to their home countries

Fourthly, the OAU should have a supreme economic organ, an assembly for economic co-operation, that will give political backing to desperately needed economic development

Finally, the OAU must find a way to force its members to pay their dues There are currently only 40 members who are up to date with membership fees Article 19 of the UN charter penalises UN members for not paying dues, and the OAU could similarly bar members from meetings if they do not settle their accounts

Despite all its flaws, the OAU has an important role to play promoting African co-operation in a post-Cold War, post-apartheid context

SA, with its peculiar status as an African power, will be a strong candidate to join this process Given its own constitutional success story, it could serve as a model for OAU member states

But SA must guard against the presumption that it can act as the policeman and saviour of Africa Like all other African states, it must first get its own house in order.

☐ **The author is a research officer at the Centre for Policy Studies.**

SA joins African 'security council'

(230)

ARG 16/6/94

GERALD L'ANGE
The Argus Foreign Service

TUNIS. — South Africa has been appointed to a new body, something like the United Nations Security Council, that has been formed by the Organisation of African Unity to prevent conflicts on the continent.

Announcing the formation of the new body yesterday at the end of the OAU conference in Tunis, Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim said its main role would be to try to nip incipient conflicts in the bud through diplomatic intervention and negotiation.

He did not categorically rule out the deployment of troops but made it clear that any such action would be an emergency measure and should not be seen to reduce the main responsibility of the United Nations for peacekeeping in Africa as in the rest of the world.

The new body will be known as the Central Organ of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. Its first members will be Tunisia (chairman), South Africa, Ivory Coast, Mauritius, Zaire, Benin, Tanzania, Chad, Nigeria, Egypt and Ethiopia.

Mr Salim said it was intended to provide a means to "respond swiftly and effectively to the needs of the hour". It would also provide expertise in conflict prevention.

The Mechanism for Conflict Resolution was accepted in principle at last year's OAU summit in Cairo with the aim of creating machinery for preventing disputes from erupting into conflict and stopping the conflict if the first efforts fails.

It was described by Mr Salim as "a new team. It's not exactly a Security Council, its sort of a body dealing with some of the issues that the Security Council of the UN is dealing with"

It will function at three levels: ambassadorial level, with meetings every month or whenever a crisis arises; at foreign minister level, meeting twice a year; and at heads of state level, with meetings once a year.

If necessary, special meetings of the heads of state will be called to deal with crises.

SA on OAU conflict body

(230)

CT 16/6/94

TUNIS — South Africa has been nominated to serve on a high-profile committee which will steer the Organisation for African Unity's mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution, OAU secretary-general Dr Salim Ahmed Salim said yesterday

At a press conference to mark the end of the two-day heads of state summit, he said the committee would deal with African conflicts at ambassadorial, ministerial and summit levels

It would implement an early-warning system to identify potential flashpoints and introduce measures to manage and resolve African conflicts

President Nelson Mandela was due to arrive in Pretoria about 9.30am today

His participation in the proceedings was seen as the main contributing factor for the appearance at the summit of 434 heads of state — an all-time record of attendance for the OAU

Dr Salim praised South Africa for paying its OAU membership subscription in full and called on member states who are in arrears to emulate its example

• The South African military said in Pretoria yesterday senior officers were visiting other African countries to evaluate sending aid to Rwanda — Sapa-Reuter, Own Correspondent

OAU to develop 'conflict' data bank

(230) CT 17/6/94

From LINDA ENSOR

TUNIS — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) is trying to develop a data bank and early warning system to assist in its conflict-prevention and resolution efforts

OAU secretary-general Mr Salim Ahmen Salim said at a press briefing at the end of the summit here this week it was hoped that this would enable the OAU to foresee and prevent crises

The summit decided that Africa should take a leadership role in resolving continental conflicts, and assume responsibility for solving them

"When the chips are down, Africa will not be found wanting in meeting its responsibilities," Mr Salim said, adding that co-ordinated, collective action was necessary to put Africa's house in order

However, he also stressed that the UN Security Council was still the main body responsible for maintaining world peace and it should act universally in doing so

The mechanism for Conflict Prevention Management and Resolution was established by the OAU at its summit in Cairo last year

The mechanism is financed by a Peace Fund, which underwrites its operational activities, but its resources are still inadequate for it to perform its task.

Budget gently frisks higher earners

Star 23/6/94 (230)

◀ From Page 1

The levy would be raised to pay for the transition to democracy, which cost R4 billion, twice the estimated R2 billion

Keys also announced a range of moderate "sin taxes" on beer (up 2c on a dumpy), spirits (up 53c on a 750 ml bottle) and cigarettes (up 9c on 50 g of tobacco) The "special case" of increased excise duty on tobacco products would be the subject of a phased approach in future years

The expected increase in VAT did not materialise, but the issue has been referred to a special tax commission.

The Budget is primarily directed at social spending and the Reconstruction and Development Programme

Keys cut the corporate tax rate from 40 percent to 35 percent, with effect from April 1 1994, but raised the secondary tax on companies from 15 percent to 25 percent, with immediate effect. This will ensure that the corporate sector pays the same tax — but in a framework far more favourable for new, small and medium companies.

Dr Azar Jammine, director of the Econometrix think-tank, said: "Investors, who have been hesitant so far about commitment, will give three cheers The emphasis of government expenditure has shifted from more than a decade of unproductive consumer spending to investments in a faster economic tempo"

Business optimism about the new South Africa's economic outlook would also be brightened by the reshaping of company tax rates in a way that promised to encourage investment.

Econometrix researchers said the importance of improvements in the economic growth rate could not be overstressed.

Even the relatively modest 3 percent growth rate set in the Budget as the target for the next year would result in a windfall of R46,9 billion in additional tax revenue over the next five years

This would be achieved without movement in actual tax rates The benefits of a wider tax base would be felt.

News that the cost of transition had climbed came as a shock to most economists, but they approved the decision to settle bills as quickly as possible — even by a special levy It was pleasing that the levy package had been designed to add no extra burden to lower-income taxpayers.

"Economists and businessmen will be delighted that Keys appears to have been given elbow room to stay on course with longer term strategies that promise a far healthier economic growth rate," said Jammine

Economists applauded the gradual build-up in the pace of the RDP — to stay within economic capabilities, rather than a sensational "fireworks display" that could soon burn out

"There was a bit of fancy footwork with a recalculation of the gross domestic product — bringing in the informal sector and oddments from the homelands — to hold the lid on the size of the Budget deficit in percentage terms," said one analyst "But the gap between revenue and expenditure looks manageable — if the Government keeps a firm hold on the rudder"

Much would depend on the proposals for a major overhaul of the tax system.

Keys explained, in his speech to a joint sitting of the Senate and National Assembly yesterday, that the transitional tax levy would not apply to those earning less than R50 000 annually — including those taxpayers paying the Standard Income Tax on Employees

Keys said the abatement for married women would be set at a higher level "to take into account their disadvantage in tax rates when compared to other taxpayers" The 5 percent levy would apply to married women earning over R175 000 a year

The total yield of the levy is expected to be R3,4 billion, with about R2,6 billion collected in this fiscal year and the balance in the first half of next year Total expenditure, including the supplementary proposals for 1994/95, is estimated at R135,1 billion — up 10,2 percent on last year's revised estimate of R122,6 billion

Revenue, including the tax proposals, will be R105,8 billion — an increase of 11,2 percent.

This leaves a Budget deficit of R29,3 billion — equivalent to 6,4 percent of GDP if the full collection of the one-off levy is taken into account. This compares with 6,9 percent last year on the same basis

Other features included

- The immediate removal of the import surcharge on all capital and intermediate goods — all those which carry the 5 percent surcharge
- An allocation of R2,5 billion to the RDP These funds will come from reductions in departmental expenditure, with the social service departments largely spared and the biggest contribution coming from the defence budget. The Government contribution to the RDP will rise to R12,5 billion over five years
- An allocation of R292 million for job creation
- Keys expected positive real growth of about 3 percent for the fiscal year and "an inflation rate in the present range"
- Civil pensions will rise by 5 percent and military pensions by 5,6 percent

COST OF DEMOCRACY

and how the millions mounted

	1993	1993/94		Total
	VOTED RM	ALLOCATED RM	ADDITIONAL RM	
INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION	119	128,5	700,8	948,3
INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY	-	-	24	24
INCORPORATING MK AND DEFENCE FORCES OF TBVC STATES	-	688,2	798	1 486,2
MK ASSEMBLY POINTS	-	-	223,1	223,1
INAUGURATION	-	-	18	18
ALLOWANCES FOR MEMBERS OF SERVICE DEPARTMENTS DURING ELECTION	-	-	526	526
NATIONAL PEACE KEEPING FORCE	129,3	-	255,2	384,5
TRANSITIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL	7,5	8,4	-	15,9
PEACE SECRETERIAT	20	34,1	-	54,1
NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD	10	20	-	30
PARLIAMENT	-	66	-	66
ADVANCES TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS	-	139	97,2	236,2
	285,8	1 084,2	2 642,3	4 012,3
LESS: INCIDENTAL SAVINGS	-	-	186	186
TOTAL	285,8	1 084,2	2 456,3	3 826,3

OAU disbands liberation body

(230). CT 13/7/94

DAR ES SALAAM — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) is to disband its Liberation Committee next month after 30 years of fighting apartheid and colonialism

The OAU office here said President Nelson Mandela would attend a special OAU session on August 15 to terminate the committee's mandate — Sapa-Reuter

OAU body meets to discuss six wars

(230) ARG 3 4/8/94

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Organisation of African Unity conflict resolution committee meets in Tunis today with six wars on its agenda

South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo is at the meeting with OAU Secretary General Salim Salim of Tanzania

Rwanda, where half-a-million people have died in fighting, tops the agenda Other conflicts under discussion are

● Burundi, Rwanda's neighbour, where clashes between Hutus and Tutsis have cost 2 000 lives

● Liberia, where 140 children are dying of starvation every day.

● Angola, where South Africa has moved in to help United Nations peace brokers.

● Mozambique, where banditry and political in-fighting threaten a 1992 peace accord.

● Somalia, where inter-clan fighting threatens to reignite a civil war

OAU sees liberation task as completed

B/Day 15/8/94

HARARE — Zimbabwean Foreign Affairs Minister Nathan Shamuyarira said on Saturday the Organisation of African Unity's liberation committee, due to be disbanded today, had successfully completed its task after 30 years fighting colonialism and apartheid

"The committee is one of the most successful committees of the OAU," he was quoted by Ziana as saying

Shamuyarira said the committee's success was evident from the fact that, whereas it was founded by 30 countries, there were now 53 countries in the OAU

This meant that 23 countries were liberated through efforts of the committee, through financial and military support, Shamuyarira said

"With the liberation of SA, the task of the liberation committee is now complete," he said "Now that we are through with the task of liberation, we are left with the task of economic liberation, getting rid of poverty, and instability"

(230)

Shamuyarira will accompany President Robert Mugabe to today's one-day summit in Arusha, Tanzania.

The committee, which is based in Tanzania, was set up by the OAU in 1964 to spearhead the total liberation of Africa from colonialism and foreign domination

The committee was responsible for mobilising moral, financial and material support from the OAU member states and the international community on behalf of liberation movements

Minister of Foreign Affairs Alfred Nzo will represent SA at the ceremony President Nelson Mandela, who was to have attended, has withdrawn for health reasons and pressure of work.

Nzo will be accompanied by Pan Africanist Congress MP and head of international relations Gora Ebrahim, who represented the PAC on the Liberation Committee while in exile.

The ceremony symbolically marks the end of the struggle against colonialism in Africa — Sapa

Last Post for Liberation Committee

(230) CT 15/8/94

WINDHOEK — African presidents, ministers and old revolutionaries gather in Tanzania today to ceremonially close down the body that for 31 years assisted their fight against colonialism

The Organisation of African Unity decided at its Heads of State summit in Tunis earlier this year that its Liberation Committee had completed its work with South Africa's transition to democracy

South Africa is represented at the meeting in Arusha by Foreign Minister Mr Alfred Nzo.

President Nelson Mandela cancelled last week, citing health reasons and work pressure

"This is a historic occasion which will celebrate the total liberation of Africa from colonialism, apartheid and foreign occupation," Namibian President Sam Nujoma said yesterday before leaving for Arusha, where the Liberation Committee was based

It worked closely with regional bodies like the frontline states.

He is accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, Swapo secretary-general Mr Moses Garoeb and Defence Minister Mr Peter Mueshihange.

Zimbabwean Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Nathan Shamuyarira said on Saturday the committee had successfully completed its task after 30 years fighting colonialism and apartheid

Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe will address the summit, together with other African leaders, including former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, who helped set up the committee in 1964 — Sapa

'SA can challenge OAU from inside'

(230) ARG 16/8/94

☐ Africa free: Liberation body closes shop

DALE LAUTENBACH
Foreign Editor

ARUSHA (Tanzania). — South Africa should not be too shy of making its voice heard on the continent, says secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity Salim Ahmed Salim

"South Africa can inject new blood into the OAU and challenge it from within," he said in an interview here on the occasion of the ceremonial closure of the OAU liberation committee

As South Africa finds its feet in the foreign policy arena, its relationship with its African neighbours still resides between the duelling perceptions that the country has much to offer on the one hand, but should not throw its weight around on the other.

Dr Salim, it appeared, would like to see a little weight

"South Africa should not be too shy. It's now a fully fledged member of the OAU and if it is not satisfied and thinks things can be changed it should say so"

He qualified this by saying that South Africa's contribution should "bear in mind" existing initiatives in the OAU. But it is known too that Dr Salim has experienced enormous frustrations with the continental body and he might well want to hear a muscular voice calling for action and results rather than words and resolutions.

A South African Foreign Affairs delegation led by Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo attended a meeting of the conflict resolution committee of the OAU in Tunis about 10 days ago.

Conflict resolution and preventive diplomacy is one of Dr Salim's pet projects, but the South Africans came away from their first meeting disappointed by the "watered-down" resolutions that were agreed to and by a general lack of commitment.

Dr Salim is widely held to be similarly frustrated

Taking a longer view of the continent, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, former Tanzanian president and one of the founders of the OAU in 1963, delivered a challenging message at the Arusha meeting yesterday

"Africa as a whole stays a weak and marginalised part of the world because the OAU has no strategy for unity," he said, lambasting members for failing to pay their contributions and for expecting the United Nations to deliver whenever there was a crisis.

He urged the new generation of leaders to make a difference and create a unity committee where the work of the old liberation committee — created to free the continent of colonialism and racism — was leaving off.

Leaders should "match talk with action" he said. But while his message found resonance with several delegations, no move was made to respond to the old statesman's urging.

Mr Nzo embraced the idea warmly but agreed that unity "begins at home" within regional groupings.

In this respect South Africa's place in southern Africa is in its infancy and the heads of the state of the region all meet together for the first time late this month in Gaborone for the summit of the Southern African Development Community when South Africa will become a member

At its close, the Arusha meeting was a nostalgic event with the wrapping up of the liberation committee signalling a free and liberated continent. Voices did note, though, that "free" did not mean free of conflict.

POLITICS Rate of robber

Africa notes end of colonialism

Sowetan 17/8/94

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE Organisation of African Unity's Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa was dissolved in Tanzania this week as 23 countries celebrated the continent's freedom from colonialism and apartheid (230)

African heads of state and envoys gathered at Arusha on Monday to celebrate the triumph of the OAU's Liberation Committee over settler conquest.

Singularly and collectively, tribute was paid to the youngest member, South Africa, and President Nelson Mandela; to the father of the African liberation struggle, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, who was the guest of honour, and to Tanzania.

Under Nyerere's 30-year leadership, the poor East African country became the refuge for freedom fighters and the armed struggle on the sub-continent.

The Government of National Unity was represented by Foreign Minister Mr Alfred Nzo who was accompanied by Mr Gora Ebrahim, MP, Pan Africanist Congress foreign affairs secretary

Said Nyerere in his main address " when South Africa was admitted to the membership of the OAU and later, very appropriately, when one of our generation of freedom fighters, President Nelson Mandela, took his seat at the Tunis summit in June this year to represent a nonracial post apartheid democratic South Africa — the first objective of the founding fathers had been achieved

"The total liberation of Africa from colonial and racial minority rule and the unity of Africa were objectives of the OAU Liberation Committee when it was established," said Nyerere

For now, Nyerere said "Unity is our objective Our purpose and our instrument for serving Africa effectively

"The two tasks which the OAU had set itself were inextricably linked — the achievement of unity required the freedom of the whole of Africa "

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe who chaired the summit summed up the mood and determination of the leaders "*Aluta continua* — the struggle continues — but for unity and economic empowerment and independence, region by region and totally "

President of Botswana Sir Ketumile Masire's observation was sobering "Is it not sad and ironic that an auspicious occasion like this when we are rejoicing . should coincide with a moment of grief and sadness in several African countries (Rwanda, Angola, Somalia and Sudan)?"

OAU broke, owed R224m in arrears

(230)

ARG 7/12/94

ADDIS ABABA. — The Organisation of African Unity is broke and is owed more than $64 million (R224m) in arrears — while being urged to do more on the world's poorest continent

"The OAU has run out of money and is facing a very critical financial situation," OAU acting Secretary-General Ahmed Haggag said at its headquarters in the Ethiopian capital

He said the OAU's new roles in conflict management and election monitoring in a continent beset by unrest and a wave of polls had used what little money the organisation had.

"The financial situation is critical because member states have failed to pay their annual contributions," said Mr Haggag, adding that they owed a total of $64 million in arrears.

An OAU report shows that Libya, Sudan, Zaire, Ivory Coast, Congo, Kenya, Central African Republic and Cameroon are among those which owe millions of dollars to the 52 member-state body.

Mr Haggag said only an estimated $1 million (R3,5m) had so far been paid towards the organisation's 1994-95 budget of $30 million (R10,5m).

OAU sources said the organisation had been saved from financial collapse because its newest member, South Africa, had donated $2 million (R7m) to ease the financial crisis. — Reuter.

OAU 'has run out of money'

ADDIS ABABA — The Organisation of African Unity is broke and is owed more than $64 million (about R224m) in contributions while being urged to do more in the world's poorest continent (230)

"The OAU has run out of money," a spokesman said CT 7/12/94

The OAU's role in conflict management and election monitoring in a continent beset by unrest and a wave of polls had used what money it had — Sapa-Reuter

OAU gets deep in debt, but SA helps

Sowetan 7/12/94

ADDIS ABABA — The Organisation of African Unity is broke and owed more than R115 million, while being urged to do more in the world's poorest continent.

"The OAU has run out of money and is facing a very critical financial situation," OAU Acting Secretary-General Ahmed Haggag said at its headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, yesterday

He said the OAU's new roles in conflict management and election monitoring in a continent beset by unrest and a wave of polls had used up what little money the organisation had

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AN OAU report shows that Libya, Sudan, Zaire, Ivory Coast, Congo, Kenya, Central African Republic and Cameroon are among those which owe millions of rands to the 52 member-state body. Haggag said only an estimated R3,5 million had so far been paid towards the organisation's 1994-95 budget of about R105 million

OAU sources said the organisation had only been saved from imminent financial collapse because its newest member, South Africa, had donated R7 million to ease the financial crisis.

(230)

Haggag said OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim was currently touring African countries in an attempt to impress on governments the gravity of the organisation's money problems

The role of the OAU, set up in 1963 to promote unity and solidarity among African states, in promoting peace through talks has been severely curtailed this year by the lack of funds

(230) ARG

OAU chief to address parliament

3/04/95

Diplomatic Correspondent

THE president of Tunisia, Zine el Abidine Ben Ali, will address a joint session of parliament in Cape Town on Thursday

He will be in South Africa on a three-day State visit, starting tomorrow.

Added significance is given to the visit by the fact that Mr Ben Ali is also chairman of the Organisation of African Unity

His main purpose here will be a series of talks will President Mandela

The two presidents will review the role of the OAU on a troubled continent

The presidents are expected to discuss attempts to bring about conflict-prevention mechanisms

Mr Ben Ali will be met at the airport by Mr Mandela and will return to Tunisia on Thursday. On Wednesday he will be guest of honour at a banquet at Tuynhuys.

The presidents will exchange decorations at a ceremony at Tuynhuys.

- Mr Ben Ali will also meet singer Miriam Makeba.
- For tickets to the public gallery telephone 40-32197 up to 5 pm tomorrow.

OAU chief arrives for three-day visit

(230)

CT 5/4/95

TUNISIAN President He Zine el Abidine Ben Ali, also president of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), arrived in SA yesterday for a three-day state visit.

Mr Ben Ali was met at D F Malan airport by President Nelson Mandela, his daughter Zinzi and members of his cabinet

He was welcomed with a 21-gun salute and after inspecting a guard of honour, the national anthems of the two countries were played.

Mr Ben Ali's three-day programme in the city will include a meeting with singer Miriam Makeba, a visit to the South African Museum and a speech in Parliament tomorrow.

Trade and Industry Minister Mr Trevor Manuel said earlier Mr Ben Ali's visit as OAU president was important "because it strengthens ties across the African continent"

He said the issue of air links between North Africa and South Africa will definitely be discussed.

— Sapa-Reuter

Parliament takes custody of original peace accord

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — Parliament took custody of the original copy of the national peace accord yesterday in a ceremony to celebrate peace, the impact of the accord on capping violence in SA and the winding up of national peace structures. BD 7/4/95

National peace committee chairman John Hall, the first non-MP or visiting head of state to address a joint sitting of Parliament, called for the spirit of the accord to live long in the words and minds of South Africans.

The accord, which had assisted in putting a lid on violence in SA, had brought together a divided leadership and set the standard for tolerance and respect, he said.

Accepting the accord, National Assembly Speaker Frene Ginwala said the search for peace remained an integral part of SA's transition to democracy.

The signing of the accord in September 1991 had marked a crucial landmark in this bid by bringing about a significant reduction in levels of violence, highlighting the awareness that SA was on the edge of a precipice and by involving all sectors of society, Ginwala said.

The accord was a reminder to the people of SA of their collective responsibility to keep justice and peace alive.

National peace committee spokesman Val Pauquet said more than 160 local peace committees wound down their activities last year due to a lack of funds.

'SA link strengthens OAU'

CAPE TOWN — SA's membership of the Organisation of African Unity had strengthened African ranks and consolidated the continent's capacity to meet challenges and achieve progress, Tunisian president and current OAU chairman Zine el Abidine ben Ali said yesterday.

Addressing a joint sitting of Parliament, he said African nations had to rely on their own potential to achieve national development goals. BD 7/4/95

Ben Ali, who is on a two-day state visit to SA, paid tribute to President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President FW de Klerk for their role in SA's transition.

He said the democratic changes and climate of freedom in SA were encouraging signs amid wars and conflicts in some parts of the continent. (230)

"We are confident that your country's human resources and potential will reinforce our continent's ability to promote our common interests, the success of our efforts for Africa's development, the strengthening of its position within the world economy and the avoidance of its marginalisation on the international scene."

The OAU chief said Africa had to "assume responsibility for settling its own problems".

The Tunisian leader also called for Africa's foreign debt to be managed on the basis of partial or complete cancellation or recycling debt into the financing of development and environmental protection projects.

Greater co-operation was required among African states to keep abreast of changes in the world economy, especially international trade relations in terms of the new World Trade Organisation, he said. — Sapa.

LEADERS PLEDGE TO GET SERIOUS ABOUT PEACE

Burundi requests larger OAU presence

(230)

CT 13.4.95

BUJUMBURA: A delegation from the Organisation of African Unity was asked during a visit to Burundi yesterday to deploy more military observers in the country.

Burundi asked the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) yesterday to expand its mission there as leaders pledged to get serious about restoring peace

The OAU visit yesterday came during a lull in the ethnic bloodletting which has claimed the lives of hundreds in recent weeks, with thousands of Hutus driven out of this city, Burundi's capital

An OAU team led by secretary-general Mr Salim Ahmed Salim met Hutu President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya and Prime Minister Mr Antoin e Nduwayo from the Tutsi minority during the one-day visit here

The team included ministers from Egypt, Mauritius, Tunisia and South African Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alfred Nzo.

"What the OAU heard was very reassuring because there is a clear indication that at the highest levels of state there is a move to deal with the crisis," said OAU special envoy to Burundi Mr Leandre Bassole.

Against the tide of tribal violence, an OAU mission has just 47 military observers deployed as an unarmed monitoring force

Mandate

But during their talks, Burundi requesteded Mr Salim to deploy a further 20 military observers This will be decided at a head of state meeting in Tunisia next month, Mr Bassole said.

"The secretary-general was requested not only to strengthen the mandate, but to extend it here," he said The current mandate will expire in mid-June.

Mr Bassole said the OAU planned to return for another visit next month

A delegation of ministers from francophone nations, including Belgium, also arrived in Bujumbura yesterday for two days of talks with government leaders and other officials. — Sapa-Reuter

CRISIS: South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo is part of the OAU crisis mission to Burundi.

NEWS Madiba to meet ex-president Ny

'SA thanks Tanzania'

Sowetan 31/5/95

(230)

STATE VISIT President Mandela reiterates OAU call for African unity:

PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA yesterday paid tribute to Tanzania for its support in South Africa's struggle against apartheid, and said the two countries were now partners in a mission to eliminate poverty

Speaking at a rally in Dar es Salaam on the second day of a state visit, he said Tanzania became the home of liberation movements because it recognised the goal of liberation as a right for which it was prepared to sacrifice

"For this support and for the example of selflessness which you set us, the people of South Africa thank you from the bottom of our hearts," he said

"Our liberation would have been unthinkable without the sacrifices of the Tanzanian people"

Mandela said if Africa was to ward off the threat of failure, it would have to pursue unity with even greater vigour than before

When the Organisation of African Unity's Liberation Committee met for the last time in Arusha last year, a special plea was made for a new drive to promote African unity

"We must carry out this decision," he said

South Africa's acceptance as a full member of the OAU, the South African Development Community and the Non-Aligned Movement allowed it to play a full and active role in Africa

South Africa had a limited capacity, but it would, as far as possible, assist in efforts to make the region and continent a better place

He said fellow Africans felt particular anguish at the horrifying events which the world had witnessed in Rwanda, Somalia, Burundi, Liberia and Sudan

"We are confident that these problems will be resolved speedily, so that Africans everywhere can get down to the serious business of development".

The president will return to South Africa tomorrow

During the visit he is expected to meet with Tanzanian statesman and former president Julius Mwalimu Nyerere, who retired from politics a few years ago — *Sapa*

OAU meeting right on track

(230)

Star 21/6/95

Addis Ababa — Organisation of African Unity foreign ministers are due to meet here today ahead of a summit that will try to restore credibility to the OAU and put its desperate financial situation in order

For the first time in OAU history, this 62nd ministerial meeting has been cut from six days to three, both to save cash and use the time more efficiently

The agenda, prepared by a committee of ambassadors and other representatives, includes 27 draft resolutions, many of them concerned with conflict in such countries as Angola, Burundi, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Somalia to be put to the heads of state meeting beginning on Monday

This year's summit will review for the first time the OAU mechanism set up two years ago for preventing, managing and settling conflict While it is costly and has yet to prove its effectiveness, it is backed by the US and the EU, which want to see the OAU play a greater role where they do not want to send in peacekeepers

The representatives of the 53 OAU states will also discuss the enormous problems caused by the refugees fleeing these wars, as well as the enormous social and economic problems facing Africa, which is struggling to apply "structural adjustment programmes" imposed by the world's financial bodies and introduce more democracy

As last year, Somalia's seat at the conference table will remain vacant, as it has no national government as yet — Sapa-AFP

OAU 'must work to end Africa's wars'

(230) CT 22/6/95

ADDIS ABABA: African states must take steps to halt future conflicts before they started, Ethiopia's prime minister told foreign ministers yesterday

Wars had harmed Africa's image and development, Mr Tamirat Layne said.

"What is required of the Organisation of African Unity is not financial commitment, of which it has little, but the courage and determination to take the necessary steps at least within the sphere of preventive diplomacy

"The OAU will be better off reacting now rather than later," he said

He was speaking at the opening of a three-day foreign ministers' meeting before the annual summit of the OAU

The organisation had taken a back seat while the UN or other organisations worked towards ending Africa's endless conflicts, he said

OAU officials said the organisation now planned to set up a network of "early warning systems" covering the continent. Officials would be stationed in the 52 member countries to report on internal conflicts and signs of tension before they degenerated into open war —Sapa-Reuter

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OAU calls for rethink on military spending

(230) ARG 7/9/95

ROGER FRIEDMAN
Staff Reporter

THE Organisation of African Unity has encouraged South Africa to rethink its military spending.

The assistant secretary general of the OAU, Ahmed Haggag, told a meeting of the Inter-State Defence and Security Committee in Cape Town today that Southern Africa's "cold war" had ended with the demise of apartheid, and the OAU welcomed the debate on levels of military spending.

The Inter-State Defence and Security Committee was formerly known as the Organisation of Frontline States.

The 17th annual session was officially opened by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

The session is being attended by defence, police and home affairs ministers from all Southern African states.

Countries represented were: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Mr Haggag said it was time for Southern Africa to "reassess its priorities".

The first task should be to redefine security needs and elaborate on new defence doctrines to enhance the region's momentum from confrontation to co-operation

This should embrace democracy, economic and social development and environmental co-operation.

He said increasing regional co-operation had led Africans to question why "with no military conflict in the region, there is such high spending".

"I know there are problems around the demobilisation of forces but in the long run real rethinking of this matter should be encouraged."

He asked for Southern Africa's input into the growing debate on the creation of an African peacekeeping force to resolve conflict on the continent

Speaking after delivering the opening address, Mr Mbeki said any reduction in military expenditure should be proceeded with cautiously.

Although Southern Africa was "the most peaceful and stable" region on the continent, the question of regional security had several elements.

"One of them is that none of the countries in the region should feel threatened by another," he said.

Regional security was inextricably linked with economic development

Only when regional economic development was well on track "would it become possible to ask why we are maintaining such large military forces, because no one is threatened any more".

"Then it is possible to address the question of a reduction in military spending"

African autocrats Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi and Nigerian General Sani Abacha it is time for autocrats like them to relinquish power

OAU's role needs to be redefined

Sowetan 10/11/95

(230)

'Heads of state in Africa have fat bank accounts and live in mansions while the masses live in poverty'

By Coudjoe Amankwaa

SOME CALL IT a talkshow Others say it is an occasion where most African heads of state meet yearly to show off their expensive suits, gold watches and big tummies at the expense of the masses ravaged by poverty

Yet the primary focus of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) is supposed to be on Africa, its people and their problems

The name of the organisation gives the impression of a united Africa, for Africans, and for its neighbours in the context of inter-dependency with Western countries

However, on the contrary, although Africa is the most beautiful continent, it is also known to be tribalistic and marginalised

Ghana's famous leader Dr Kwame Nkrumah once said "An African in Africa should never be termed alien"

Yet the opposite is happening as Mozambicans in Swaziland and South Africa, for instance, are treated with contempt and called all sorts of derogatory names

There is also genocide in Rwanda and tribal wars in Angola, Nigeria and Burundi in pursuit of self-interest by some of Africa's autocratic leaders

But, despite all this, instead of the OAU taking real measures to address these problems, it has kept quiet as if everything is normal

So the question that comes to mind when one thinks of all these issues is Is the OAU really needed?

To an ordinary person, the answer is a big NO! But, on second thoughts, it is only fair to suggest that the role of the OAU must change and be redefined to meet the many needs of the African people

The OAU should not only talk, as Africans are now tired of great speeches, but it should be seen as being in the forefront of addressing African problems

Looking at the OAU since its formation, its only success story was its support for the liberation struggles on the continent based on the ideology of pan-Africanism

There have been many concerns from various Africans both abroad and at home about the lukewarm attitude of the OAU – but to no avail

Economists will argue that the OAU does not have the necessary funds since member states do not pay their subscription fees What a pity, as most African leaders have fat bank accounts and mansions in foreign lands

The real issue is greed, non-commitment to good governance, non-transparency and abuse of power

No wonder most African leaders will cling to power by hook or by crook in total disregard of the disapproval of the masses Lives have been lost, families torn apart, others deformed and millions become refugees

A diplomat once remarked that African leaders are the most extravagant spenders and well-dressed, yet they are always asking for aid The United Nations has to intervene in conflicts in Rwanda while the OAU sits back in comfort and watches from a distance

It is no secret that most leaders in Africa have abused the trust of their people and hence need to be dumped into the dustbin of history There is no need to pass the blame on to others when we are doing nothing about our problems

> **For the OAU to function well, most African leaders should first begin by putting their own house in order, allowing true democracy to thrive**

For the OAU to function well, most African leaders should first begin by putting their own house in order, allowing true democracy to thrive Lift states of emergency and other draconian laws which scare off people from effective participation in government

The core of African traditions and culture – to be our brother's keeper – seems to be fading away quickly while capitalist ideas like "each one for himself, God for us all" become the norm of the day

There is a need for autocratic African leaders to resign, retire peacefully and give way to a young pool of people to come to power with fresh and better ideas of good governance and mass participation

It is high time the Sani Abachas, Yuweri Musevenis, Daniel Arap Mois and Mobutu Sese Sekous relinquish power The patience of the people is being exhausted

(The writer is a Ghanaian freelance journalist based in Johannesburg)

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Sowetan 18/11/95

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